# Workers Press

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

SATURDAY 13 JULY

NO 509

PRICE 3

# JOIN WITH FIGHT FOR NEW PARTY



Liverpool dockers' Strand Road picket. For latest news, see page 3

# Hillingdon hospital protest Saturday 13 July, 11am

Colham Green Recreation Ground, Colham Green Road, Uxbridge.

Opposite the hospital. Tube: Uxbridge. No car parking at Colham Green.

# **Summer Dockers' Festival**

A great day out for all the family!

Sunday 14 July, 11.30am-7pm

Edinburgh Park Dockers' Club,

Townsend Lane, Clubmoor.

Promoters: Tony Melia and Jimmy Davies Jnr, 0151-207 3388.

# Workers Aid for Bosnia Durham Miners Gala

Saturday 13 July: Bosnian miners will be raising their banner in the Market Square, Durham at 9.30am. We ask everyone who has supported their struggle against racism and fascism to march with them to celebrate workers' internationalism and solidarity.

Advance notice: There will be no Workers Press on 27 July and 3 August

A NEW political organisation of Marxists who will fight together to mov towards a new party of the working class will be formed this October.

This was the decision of last weekend's national congress of the Workers Revolutionary Part It comes after two years of intense discussion initiated by Workers Press on the necessity of new socialist party of the working class.

In 1995, the last WRP congress resolved to devote itself to this aim.

Then followed the 16 March conference, 'Crisis in the Labour Movement: the need for a ne socialist party', attended by 200 people.

The Liverpool dockers' fight against sackings and casualisation, now nearing its tenth month, has brought home the need to move now.

This fight of the dockers rallied workers in other industries — JJ Fast Food, Hillingdon hospital — but above all it has struck a great blow for working-class internationalism.

Travelling to the four corners of the world these dockers have won support from dockers internationally.

In February they called a highly successful international dockers' conference attended by workers from 17 countries. This was a big step forward, because the reconstruction of working-class internationalism is at the core of the reconstruction of the working-class movement that is now vital.

At the heart of this reconstruction is the need for the most advanced workers in each section of the class and its movement to come together in a new party.

From the start, the dockers' committee recognised that the fight is political as well as industrial. From the start a new party must also reject the traditional division between the so-called industrial and political arms of the movement.

Support for the dockers' fight and for their paper the Dockers Charter has opened up a new stage in the work that has to be done in the reconstruction of the workers' movement on new foundations

There is a growing recogni-

#### Our resolution:

The WRP proposes the formation of a new Marxist political organisation, to be founded at the October recall conference decided on 16 March, called provisionally 'Marxists for a New Party'.

Workers Press and all other resources of the WRP will be resources of this new organisation. The WRP will then cease to exist as a separate organisation.

#### BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

tion that support groups and so on must go beyond organising solidarity for current disputes. They must become the network within which grows the understanding and organisation to prepare for the coming decisive struggles against capital and its state.

Such a preparation is the very opposite of what the Labour Party is doing. Having thrown out Clause Four and introduced a rule-book that is nothing but a straitjacket for any socialist and class-conscious worker, Blair and company are 'preparing for government'.

They have made it crystal clear that they will serve capitalism faithfully, making full use of the anti-union and anti-immigration laws against the working class.

#### Conviction

The WRP carried its resolution in the firm conviction that millions of workers will be forced into conflict with their traditional party, the Labour Party.

They will be forced to confront the question of a new socialist party and they will join those who though still in a minority at this stage understand the need to prepare *now* for the building of that new party.

We are therefore calling a conference — in fact the recall conference decided on 16 March — to set up an organisation which will be a transition towards a new party.

We are convinced that the great changes brought by the collapse of Stalinism and the intensification of capitalism's world-wide crisis means that the Trotskyists must break out of their isolation and propaganda-group existence imposed on Marxists for so long.

The initiatives already taken by the Workers International (of which the WRP is the British section) have proved that this can be done.

- In June the Internation
  Trade Union Solidarity Ca
  paign/African Liberati
  Solidarity Campaign confience was able to bri
  together representatives of
  countries who now constitut
  a truly international communication
- For three years, Works Aid for Bosnia and its covoys, initiated by the Works International, has foug tooth and nail to break isolation imposed by impealism and nationalism on tworkers of Bosnia.
- The comrades that I this work can be proud the Bosnian trade unionists coube brought to last mont Unison conference, to toda Durham Miners' Gala and meetings with the Liverpedockers.

The reconstruction of tworking-class movement, its internationalism, and the Fourth International, begun, and these gains a important steps. Worked Press's columns are completely open to discussion this initiative for a new par

We ask all socialists, those intellectuals who fig for the development of Marism in their fields of study, those workers who real that the fight facing the woring class is political and r simply industrial, to join with us in forming this new organisation of Marxists for socialist party.

Help us build for October.

For our part, the WRP determined that this init tive will succeed.

There will be a meeting the steering committee from the 16 March conference London, Wednesday 17 Jun 7pm. Queen's Head pub, Acton Street, London Wordsteer, London Wordsteer,

Unemployment, p2 ★ Liverpool dockers, p3 ★ Fraud and fall of Mr Copper, p4&5 ★ China, p6 ★ US labour news, p7 ★ Bosnia, p

# Workers Press Letters

# Some sombre figures

A LOOK at the latest survey of trends in the labour force casts a new and sombre light on the much talked of, but rarely understood, 'crisis of the Welfare State' as well as on the nature of the capitalist crisis that will confront any future Labour government

The basis on which the unemployment figures are calculated has been changed no fewer than 30 times since 1979. In 29 cases, the effect has been to reduce the recorded level of unemploy-

ment compared to the old basis.

One of the major effects of these changes has been to take off the unemployment register those who, in the statistician's jargon, are deemed to be 'economically inactive'. These are the people who while not working are not reported to be looking for work. Many have given up searching for the good reason that they know that no work is available.

According to the latest official Labour Force Survey, there were 2.3 million people unemployed in this country last winter. Of these 1.5 million were males of working age (defined as 16 to 64).

But on top of these figures there were 2.7 million men categorised as 'economically inactive'. These were people who had not sought work in the previous four weeks, or if they had, were not able to start work soon. Thus the total non-employed number of men came to 4.2 million. In addition, however, there were 1.2 million adult men working only part-time. This gives a grand total of 5.4 million men of working age who were either not working or not in full-time employment.

There were still far more women who were 'economically inactive' or in part-time work, even though the 'economic activity' rate of women has

been rising sharply compared to men.

SINCE the early 1960s, the number of male workers has dropped by nearly 4 million, whereas the number of women workers has risen by almost 3 million.

Inactivity among male workers is heavily concentrated among the older sections of the working-age population. For men, almost one in three aged 50 and over are now economically inactive,

some 1.25 million people.

None of them is eligible for unemployment benefit or a state retirement pension. Figures show that a good number are on invalidity benefit, which explains why the Tory government has been trying to clamp down on this form of benefit. Others have retired early and are drawing occupational pensions, which in the majority of cases (for example, teachers) are financed by that shrinking proportion who remain at work.

THIS is part of an international trend. In France, 60 per cent of men in the age range 55 to 64 are not working. In Germany, the figure is nearly 50 per cent.

But the inactivity rate is also heavy for young workers. Some 40 per cent of 16- to 19-year-olds were also inactive, with a good proportion of this being accounted for by those studying or on so-

called 'training schemes'.

Here is one of the fundamental elements behind the crisis of the Welfare State. Capital has less and less use for millions of workers, both young and old. The shrinking proportion of the population that is in work must be exploited ever more brutally to pay even minimal benefits to the unem-ployed and 'inactive' proportion of the population. But there are definite limits to how far this exploitation can be stepped up.

As we prepare to enter a new century, the question for capitalism looms with ever greater starkness: what to do with this surplus, 'inactive' population? War and the extermination camps

were the answer in the 1930s. For capital today they remain the only long-term

answers.

**WE WELCOME LETTERS** SEND THEM TO: WORKERS PRESS, PO BOX 735, LONDON SW8 1YB - OR FAX 0171-387 0569

Letters longer than 500 words WILL be cut

# Blue peril

THE following ditty was sent to me the other day by Laurie Mulling, of Martock, Somerset:

O Lady Porter what shall I do. The asbestos in my council flat is a nasty shade of blue, Take me back to cardboard city

as quickly as you can, And if the boxes come from Tesco I shall be a happy man. Tom Carter

Somerton, Somerset

# Popular front

THINK the following series of lectures and discussions on the

popular front may be of interest to some Workers Press readers.

The format will be papers of 50 to 60 minutes, followed by an hour of discussion.

The aim of the organisers 'is both to promote comparative historical study and to contribute to the necessary process of coming to terms with the heritage of the communist experiment.'

The lecture titles are:

■ 4 October, John Saville (Hull), 'The Communist Party of Great Britain in the 1930s - a Reassessment'.

■ 18 October, Stanley Mitchell (Derby), 'Aesthetics and Politics in the USSR in the 1930s'.

■ 1 November, Steve Edwards (Derby), 'Communist Intellectuals in England and the Figure of "the People".

■ 15 November, Sarah Wilson (Courtauld Institute), 'Art and the Popular Front in France'

■ 29 November, Robert Radford (Winchester School of Art), 'The Artists International Association and the Popular Front'

■ 13 December, O.K. Werckmeister (Northwestern University), 'Picasso's Guernica and the Cultural Policy of the Popular Front in Spain and France'.

All seminars will take place at

5.30pm in the British Local His tory Room at the Institute of His torical Research, Senate House Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.

In the spring term subject will include 'Communist Partie and the Labour Movement', 'Com munist Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean', 'Destalinization', 'Feminism and the Communist Movement', and 'Communist: After Communism?'

Queries should be addressed

Rick Halpern, Department of History, University College London, Gower Street, London WCIE

John Plant

Email: ucrahex@ucl.ac.uk.

jplant@cix.compulink.co.uk

# Cable Street commemoration **Demonstration, Sunday 6 October**

Called by Cable Street '96 Commemoration Committee, Cable Street Group and Tower Hamlets Trade Union Council

ON 4 OCTOBER 1936, Oswald Mosley attempted to lead his fascist Blackshirts through the heart of the East End's Jewish community in Cable Street.

Tens of thousands of local workers and their families including Jewish workers and large numbers of Irish workers tore up paving stones, erected barricades, attacked busloads of fascists and did battle with the police to prevent their passage. They succeeded.

This year will be the 60th anniversary of that event and will coincide with an anti-racist festival that will be part of the commemoration.

But fascism still rears its ugly head internationally. In France, Germany, Austria and Italy, racists and fascists have used elections to propagate their anti-union, anti-worker, racist programme.

Ethnic partition, concentra-tion camps, genocide and rape have been inflicted on the people of Bosnia, creating barbarism in former Yugoslavia.

In east London itself, the fascist British National Party continues to stand in elections on a racist platform seeking to divide one section of workers from

So the Cable Street anniversary is not just a commemoration of the past. It is a celebration of workers' unity in common struggle, here and now.

Assemble 10am for rally at Altab Ali Park, near Gardiner's Corner. March 11am to St George's Town Hall, Cable Street. Speakers and festival, 12noon. Bring your banners! Bring your friends!

■ Tower Hamlets Trade Union Council: 0181-555 7045.

# Question of Leadership

# A film by Ken Loach

Wednesday-Thursday 17-18 July, 7pm Admission free

Iranian Community Centre, 266-268 Holloway Road. London N7.

Tube: Holloway Road

Organised by Iranian Workers' Left Unity, London branch, BM Box 2699, London WC1 3XX.

In this long documentary, to be shown in two parts over two evenings, Ken Loach reviews the British working-class movement until its demise by the Thatcher government. The film also focuses on the issue of leadership and the role of reformist leaders in the realisation of Tory policies.

At the end of the film, a socialist worker who participated in the film will answer questions.

# **Socialist Labour Party**

**Public meeting** 

Wednesday 31 July, 7.30pm

Rivoli Ballroom, Brockley Road, London SE4 (opposite Crofton Park Station) Speaker: Arthur Scargill

# Women of the Waterfront

Trade councils open meeting

Thursday 18 July, 6pm

William Morris Hall, 267 The Broadway. Wimbledon.

Battersea & Wandsworth, Croydon, Kingston, Lambeth, Merton, Sutton

# William Morris Centenary

Part of the Merton Arts Festival Sunday 14 July, 12noon-10pm Morden Park, London Road (A24) Morden tube

Merton Unemployed Workers' Centre: 0181-540 1895

# Tolpuddle Martyrs Rally

Sunday 21 July

(Tolpuddle is 7 miles from Dorchester on the A35) Programme commences 12.30pm March 2.30pm

Old Dorchester Crown Court will be open 10am-1 30pm

# **SAOIRSE (LONDON)**

PO Box 3923, LONDON NW5 1RA

#### IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BRITAIN Please send birthday cards to all POWs. Cards are welcome at

any time. Name **Number Birthday** 

vaine	FIISUII
iam McCotter	Belmarsh
lan Taylor	Whitemoor
Paul (Dingus) Magee	Belmarsh
Nicholas Mullen	Whitemoor
iam Quinn	Full Sutton
loe McKenny	Frankland
Pat Hayes	Whitemoor
Pat McGlynn	Frankland
Patrick Kelly	Full Sutton
Denis Kinsella	Full Sutton
ddie Butler	Full Sutton
oe O'Connell	Full Sutton
Micheal O'Brien	Full Sutton
Peter Sherry	Belmarsh
Stephen Nordone	Frankland
incent Wood	Full Sutton
homas Jack	Frankland
incent Donnelly	Frankland
ean McNulty	Frankland
larry Duggan	Frankland
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iam O'Dwyer	Belmarsh
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#### **Prison addresses:**

Framed prisoner:

Danny McNamee

HMP Frankland, Finchdale Avenue, Brasside, Durham DH1 5YD.

Belmarsh

HMP Full Sutton, York YD4 1PS.

HMP Whitemoor, Longhill Road, March, Cambridge PE15 0PR. HMP Belmarsh, Western Way, Thamesmead, London SE28 0EB.

Workers Press also calls for the release of supporters of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in addition to the Sinn Fein supporters listed above.

Further Information: Saoirse, PO 3923, London NW5 1RA.

# Workers' blockade of Mersey

BY DOT GIBSON

INTERNATIONAL action of dockworkers is gradually putting in place a total blockade of the port of Liverpool.

The boycott of vessels which load or unload in the port has already cost the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC) and giant shipping companies—Atlantic Containers Limited, and Canmar line owned by Canadian Pacific—millions of dollars.

Both companies have now withdrawn from Liverpool, cutting trade by 75 per cent. It is expected that the Canadian Pacific CAST line will follow.

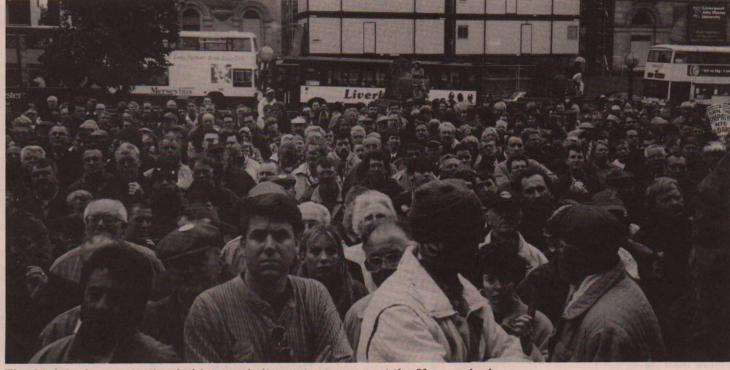
This is a far cry from the MDHC directors' boasts when they sacked the 500 dockers almost 10 months ago for refusing to cross a picket line put up by young Torside Limited dockers, opposing the introduction of casual work.

At a port users meeting in October 1995, director Bernard Cliff declared that within two weeks they would have a fullyworking, trade union-free port. Even a few weeks ago MDHC's press statements lyingly stated that the port was unaffected by the boycott.

But on 5 July a meeting called by the Liverpool Shipowners' and Port Users Association discussed the impact of the international boycott.

Present were 40 shipping lines, agents, freight forwarders, hauliers and local chambers of commerce. According to the daily paper of the shipping industry, Lloyds List (6 July): 'the rump of shipping lines using the port attended the meeting, including Norse Irish Ferries [owned by

dock employer tightens



The 29 July demonstration in Liverpool city centre to support the Mersey dockers

MDHC] which has lost transshipment business as a result of the ACL withdrawal.'

If these worried port users want to overcome the problem, all they have to do is reinstate the sacked dockers. But their aim is not settlement of the dispute.

They 'are launching a cam-

paign to counter alleged spoiling tactics by sacked dock workers,' and have agreed to contribute to a fund to promote the port'.

Port Users Association spokesperson Terry Malone said they would 'establish an action plan' and 'look at ways to employ a public relations expert to promote Liverpool's positive aspects'. Men with 20 to 40 years' service in the port of Liverpool, thrown out of work and fighting for reinstatement, are accused of 'spoiling tactics'!

The fund is to pay for a campaign of intimidation, lies and distortions to attempt to isolate and defeat the sacked dockers.

MDHC wants casual labour,

camcampany) have failed to break the dockers' unity with offers of

lies and to isolate dockers. labour, labour, labour to solate dockers.

They have been unable to weaken, break and isolate the Mersey Port Shop Stewards' Committee. At the 29 July union and community rally in Liverpool, sacked dockers' secretary, Jimmy Davies spoke out against the church leaders for pressurising dockers to sell their job for £25.000.

hired and fired at will, working

for £4 an hour or less, with no

rights to holidays, no pension

It is no accident that the crisis meeting followed the announcement of government approval of the MDHC's £20m expansion plan—involving both private and public money—to develop 70 acres of land to the east of the dock road and develop an 80,000

square metre complex of new warehousing and industrial buildings.

Lie

A dock company spokesperson said this could generate 500 long-term jobs as well as construction jobs. They aim to spread the lie that they bring jobs into Merseyside, but that the dockers were trying to close the port and deprive people of work.

The opposite is true. Privatisation of the port has put thousands of acres of land along the Mersey waterfront into the hands of MDHC shareholders, driven thousands onto the dole queues and brought back the scourge of casualisation.

The sacked Liverpool dockers are fighting, not only for their own reinstatement, but for the rights of future generations.

However, MDHC acts out of weakness, not out of strength. Driven by the necessity to compete for world shipping against other major European ports, it must attack wages, conditions and trade unions. After the 1989 national dock strike defeat, Liverpool was the only port in Britain with a trade union contract and no casual labour. MDHC directors have been trying to overcome the 'anomaly' ever since. Now they are driven to panic and revenge as the dockers' boycott eats into their profits.

In the absence of a united fight of the whole working class against the whole capitalist class, workers are divided, economic fear dominates, and they lose confidence in their own strength.

The internationalist stand of the Liverpool dockers has begun to rebuild confidence. They have travelled the length and breadth of the country and around the world explaining their fight.

They have won the utmost respect from thousands of trade unionists, received many donations and put in place the international boycott.

Neither the government, the dock company nor the trade union leadership were prepared for the intransigence, the ingenuity and the capacity of these men and their wives and partners (Women of the Waterfront).

ers (Women of the Waterfront).

They refuse £25,000, risk their pension rights and face losing their homes in the fight for principles.

#### Success

The success of the interntional blockade now faces the dockers and the whole working class with their biggest test.

While the port was operating, even with some difficulty, the government and the dock company were prepared to let the dockers sit it out on the picket

The fund and action plan launched by the port users is intended to give them time to carry out a legal and publicity campaign to break the blockade and to starve out the dockers.

These plans must be countered by the united and unstinting support of all trade unionists and socialists for the dockers.

The labour movement must not stand aside.

While the dockers take the lead, their union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, stands aside in fear of the anti-trade-union laws.

The dockers are right when the say the TUC should call a one-day strike — or stay-away from work — in their support and in opposition to anti-tradeunion laws. They are right to request that the TUC establish a hardship fund for the dockers' families.

These demands on the TUC must be taken up throughout the movement, but — like the dockers — the rank-and-file must independently stand by the principles at the heart of this dispute.

The Mersey Port Shop Stewards' Committee has called the first national support group committee on 20 July where actions can be decided to build and extend support and solidarity and raise the weekly sum of £35,000 necessary to sustain the fight.

# Spending cuts demanded to fund tax breaks

CHANCELLOR Kenneth Clarke is piling on the pressure to slash public spending by holding out the prospect of tax cuts to his partners in crime in the cabinet. The Tories' 'Holy Grail' for

winning the next election, cuts in personal tax, has seemed even further away in recent times, with rising public borrowing.

But the Tories may decide to cut taxes and run, leaving the next government, probably led by Tony Blair, to pick up the pieces. The chancellor has been predicting that the economy will bounce back'. But sluggish performance has forced him to revise growth forecasts from 3 to 2.5 per cent and increase public borrowing predictions.

Even so, City analysts are sceptical and say that even to meet these new predictions interest rates would need to be cut.

Latest Public Sector Borrowing Requirement estimates are £26.9bn, £4.5bn more than the prediction in last November's budget.

As one example of the way spending cuts would be sought, Health Secretary Stephen Dorrell called for volunteers to shoulder the burden of looking after elderly people. In a speech to the right-wing 'Politeia' thinktank, Dorrell said:

'Social services departments provide a means-tested, safety-net service. Their objective is to ensure that no individual falls through the net, but to do so without undermining the important principle that those who can afford to do so should provide for their own social care needs.'

According to the Guardian (10 July), Dorrell wants to set up volunteer networks to 'help families where generations had moved apart and where working women [why just women?] were unable to care full-time for a dependent parent.'

What this means in reality is that ordinary people will be forced to live in worry as they get on in life, while the rich will continue to be cared for by their lackeys, as they are now. The 'net' will have holes so wide that most will fall through. And those caught by any 'net' will have to live in conditions so demeaning, so miserable, that many may consider life to be not worth living anyway.

Behind Dorrell's rhetoric is the billowing social care public spending. Last year it reached £9.2bn, including £7.3bn by social services departments.

So the government wants people to take out insurance and look to volunteers, mostly women, probably from their own families, to take the strain. The 'volunteers' would join the elderly in

# Mine safety deteriorates

DEATHS in privatised mines in Britain has increased by 150 per cent, backing National Union of Mineworkers anger that its 1947 victory in its long fight for nationalisation for just this reason, had been taken away from it.

Yorkshire miner Terry Harrison reported this, along with the 18 per cent increase in major accidents, to the 1996 NUM conference in Scarborough.

While the increase from two to five deaths, can be said to be 'not statistically significant', the rise in serious accidents, from 135 to 159, reveals the dangers of privatisation. The mines were sold on 1 January 1995.

Private mine owners 'ignored' miners' safety warnings, Harrison maintained at the NUM conference. One example of neglect was a worrying build up of gas at Yorkshire's Thorsby pit, where miners were told to 'get on with their work and ignore the smell' by management. Yet, this management is reluctant to provide detailed accident figures.

Private firms don't want to give more than three days off work to injured miners because then they have to appear on accident figures, said Harrison. At some mines there are so many injured miners at work it's like a 'war zone'.

Management have a number of ways to keep down accident rates. 'At Wistoe in the Selby complex in North Yorkshire, miners with a "clean" accident and attendance record are given prizes — watches and personal stereos,' reports Seamus Milne in the Guardian (10 July).

'In other pits, injured miners are often called back to work on the pit top after two days away to avoid a serious accident report.'

Michael Heseltine has been using mining safety after privatisation as proof that the government could be trusted on BSE

The largest of the private mine owners, RJB, has been claiming a 14 per cent drop in accidents overall. But the NUM claims that returns for minor accidents have been artificially reduced by incentives and pressures on miners not to report.

At RJB pits, the serious accident rate per 100,000 shifts increased by 52 per cent between 1994-95 and 1995-96. RJB is considered by the unions as being the safest of the private employers.

The figures are even worse when contractors — who carry out development and salvage work — are included.

# Tuzla's festival and Bosnia's future

PREPARATIONS are going on in Bosnia, Britain, Macedonia and elsewhere for an arts festival this summer in Tuzla that could make a difference to Bosnia's future.

Tuzla's Social Democrat mayor Selim Beslagic has given the town's official backing to the festival, which will emphasise the multi-cultural traditions and progressive outlook the mining town is proud of.

In Britain, Artists for a United Bosnia — a joint venture of the Bosnia Solidarity Campaign and Workers Aid for Bosnia — is organising a conwoy, led by actor

Last weekend artists were

Asian Mela, and there's a benefit at the Hackney Empire (see advert back page).

Besides going to Tuzla to perform, the convoy will take art materials, musical instruments, etc., for schools and colleges.

Some 71 young people were killed on 25 May last year in a Serb nationalist mortar attack on Tuzla town centre. Sculptors are interested in creating a lasting memorial.

The attack united Tuzla people more than ever. Most of the victims were buried together, regardless of religious or ethnic background, because parents said they should remain with their looming, political issues have intruded.

Following a candlelit vigil on 25 May honouring those who died last year, the right-wing local paper Zmaj od Bosme claimed candles were alien to Islamic tradition, and accused Mayor Beslagic of upsetting Muslim religious sensitivity.

The attack was taken up by regional television station TV TPK, which unlike Tuzla's own station, TV Tuzla, is dominated by the Muslim SDA party.

In reply, parents of the victims held a press conference at the Union of Bosnian Social Democrats centre to protest the broadcast on TV-Tuzla.

Although the Artists Convoy

Although the Artists Convoy is not 'party' political, but simply dedicated to a united Bosnia, against the background of reactionary divisions, one shouldn't ignore the significance of culture.

Hackney Empire benefit see back page

WORKERS PRESS IS THE PAPER OF THE
WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
Bailing section of the Warkers International (to Rebuild the Fourth International)

British section of the Workers International (to Bel Please send me information	
Name	date
Trade union (if any) #6	e (i under 27)

Send to: PO Box 735, London SWE 199

# Inside left

# Forget, with Dr Feelgood

ORGET poverty, let's talk about the al issues,' suggests Mick Hume in the arrent Living Marxism. Apparently me readers do not understand why is magazine devotes whole issues to abjects like 'masculinity' or 'the parnting crisis'. 'What do such matters ave to do with left-wing politics?', ney ask (or so Mick Hume says).

The assumption is that a magazine ith "Marxism" on its masthead ought be devoted to protesting about nemployment, poverty, welfare cuts nd the other economic problems used by capitalism, ... '

Hume acknowledges poverty exists. lever analytical insights are not necsary to see that there are a lot of poor eople around, ... Nobody needs Living farxism to tell them that poverty, eprivation and need are ugly features

They can read that in respectable ublications like the Rowntree Trust ports and hear it from countless nurch pulpits. . . .' (Or even, we might d, experience it first hand; but then, bey wouldn't have £2.50 to waste on iving Marxism.)

A recent survey showed more than alf the young people in Britain were aying with their parents. Joblessness, omelessness, cuts in student grants? mee-jerk economic analysis', says ick Hume; in previous times people thome to find work and 'make their ay in the world'. Right! Make 'em get their bikes!

Marxism is misunderstood as little ore than defending the underdog," implains the editor of Living Marxm. He has a point.

Only recently I read an article pasonately defending the impoverished lesian weavers, by some 19th century erman writer, Karl somebody-orher. Not the kind of stuff you'd want

Living Marxism. When a Liverpool reader asked why ey'd said nothing about the dock rike, all he got in reply was a sneer, ying sentimental people collecting r the dockers were like campaigners

Save the whale'.

What many of us find increasingly estionable about Living Marxism is t just its focus, but its alien class andpoint. From Bosnia to Nigeria, ientific' racism to BSE, however uch capitalism lurches towards barrism, Living Marxism assures us erything's OK.

Its July/August issue is devoted to ru Dr Frank Furedi's complaint that ciety' is 'obsessed with safety'. 'Trade ions rarely organise industrial tion over jobs or pay any more,' says redi. The main focus of their eneres is lobbying management to prove safety at work....

Trade unions rarely get a mention Living Marxism, though readers ose copy didn't arrive by post cently might also have noticed that e tube station outside which it is metimes sold was closed as well. But orkers and bereaved in the Construcn Safety Campaign do spend time bbying over safety, as do those claimcompensation for asbestosis.

Through the media, we are all conrually reminded of the risks we face environmental hazards,' says redi. Well, some people are minded every morning when they ruggle for breath.

But if they'd read the London ening Standard on Monday 1 July, ey'd have enjoyed Christopher Huda's article 'Danger: nanny state at ork, accusing the Health and Safety ecutive of introducing too many ft regulations' when we should be

t to look after ourselves. And if this Tory rag didn't persuade em government 'de-regulation' hadgone far enough, they could always rest some of their generous sickness mefit on a copy of Living Marxism. sooner have a pint.

**Charlie Pottins** 

## **Market collapse**

# The fraud and fall

BY NICK LEE

Hardly have the Singapore prison doors closed on the former Barings trader Nick Leeson than the financial world is being rocked by yet another scandal of the same type. Yasuo Hamanaka, head financial dealer with Sumitomo, a leading Japanese corporation in the copper industry, made \$2.5 billion (£1.2 billion) losses through unauthorised trade over the last decade on the international copper markets.

The Sumitomo fiasco comes less than a year after Japan's Daiwa Bank debacle, in which a bond trader at the bank's New York branch ran up losses on unauthorised deals over

Hamanaka had been trading in 'futures' (agreements to buy or sell an asset at a fixed price on a specific date) and 'options' (which give the right, but not the obligation, to buy or sell the asset). He had carried out unauthorised trades of up to \$20 billion a year — twice the amount he showed in the company's official records. His activities surfaced when bank documents meant for his eyes only were mistakenly sent to the company's financial department.

Like Nick Leeson at Barings Singapore branch, Hamanaka was also trading in 'derivatives'. This involves placing bets that the price, in this case copper futures and options, would reach a certain level at a certain time. Meantime he was doing his best to make sure his bets came up by using Sumitomo funds to corner the copper market and control the price.

At the London Metals Exchange (LME), where 90 per cent of world copper production is dealt with, Hamanaka was known as 'Mr Copper'. But he was also trading 'over the counter' and out of sight of the LME and its regulations. He did business through a string of 'offshore' companies (companies registered in countries with strict bank secrecy on behalf of customers).

Over the counter trading is illegal in the US but not in Britain and most other countries. By building up a huge stash of copper in this way Hamanaka tried to rig the price. Officials from the London Metal Exchange discovered Hamanaka controlled as much as 70 per cent of the copper in their warehouses.

So successful was he that the price of copper for immediate delivery (known as the 'spot' price) was higher than the price of futures (copper for delivery in three months time). It would normally be the other way around.

Copper for future delivery has to pay warehousing and financing costs. Hamanaka explained this away by reference to a big order from China raising short-term prices but it convinced dealers around the world that the price was being rigged.

More and more dealers started selling in an attempt to force down the price and so Hamanaka had to engage in massive buying to try to keep the price up. He was finally defeated last May, mainly by China selling at a lower price.

## Dismissal

World copper prices collapsed and on 13 June Sumitomo announced the dismissal of Hamanaka as a 'rogue trader'. The corporation predicts it will lose \$1.8bn but others predict a loss of around \$4bn.

But other shit is hitting the fan. The Sunday Times (30 June) carried a report on another copper dealer, David Threlkeld, who has for the past five years 'been living with fear and insecurity, and a loaded pistol by his side.' Threlkeld is an honest man.

In 1991 he got a fax from Hamanaka with a bill for \$225 million worth of deals which he claims never took place. Threlkeld alerted the LME. But they, and most others in the financial world, accepted Hamanaka's explanation that it was just for 'Japanese tax purposes'.

But after that everything started to go wrong for Threlkeld. His own dealership was forced into liquidation as a result, he claims, of unauthorised trading by his own dealers, one of whom went on to set up another company, Winchester Securities. He was meanwhile blackballed by the tight knit world of metal trading.

He got a warning in a London pub: Something nasty is going to happen to you in the streets of London or New York.' He received telephone threats that his children would be kidnapped. In 1991 his assistant Paul Scully was killed in a fire at his home in Vermont.

Meanwhile Hamanaka was using Winchester Commodities and a US company, Global Minerals and Metals, for some of his 'over the counter' trading. Both companies made overnight fortunes to the tune of \$100 million.

Winchester Commodities also features in the activities of another copper fraudster, Juan Davila, the chief trader for the Chilean state-owned corporation Codelco, the world's biggest copper producer. In 1993, Davila made losses of \$174m by unauthorised dealings acting through Winchester Commodities.

He is now in custody in Chile charged with tax evasion and fraud. He is, as they say, 'singing his heart out' to the authorities. According to the Financial Times (29 June) Davila claims that Hamanaka was 'not a single operator — he had a team'. He insists, as do others, that 'Sumitomo's positions were discussed quite openy' in London, New York and with Sumitomo officials.

Similar things have been said about Nick Leeson: that he was a fall guy for Barings and all sorts of people knew precisely what he was doing. The reluctance of the British authorities to have a Leeson trial in Britain and their relief when he was sent back to Singapore was commented on at the time.

Be that as it may, it is obviously in the interests of finance capital that openly fraudulent activities can be pinned on individual 'rogue traders' like Leeson and Hamanaka.

#### **Theme**

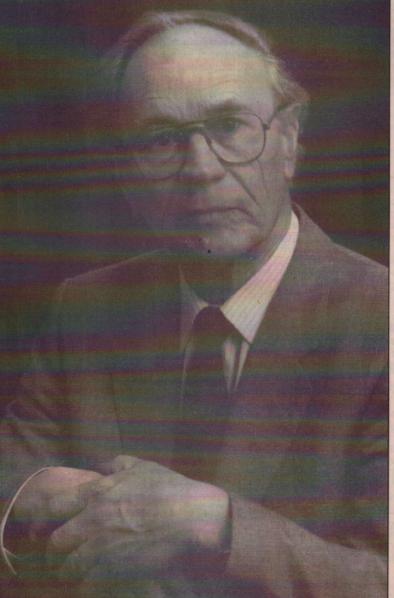
The other theme which is usually stressed in these scandals is the ineffective policing of the financial world. Typical was the Guardian's claim (29 June) that the 'underlying explanation for all this is that commodity dealings are far more lightly regulated than trading in Stock Exchange listed shares.'

It is more relevant to point out that in all areas of financial dealing it is difficult to supervise global trading that takes place increasingly by computer completely outside the control of institutions like the LME or the new 'regulators', the Securities and Investments Board and the Serious Fraud Office, set up ten years ago. Indeed there has been more international fraud since these bodies were set up than before.

Another even more relevant explanation is provided by the Financial Times (28 June): the frustration of Japanese companies at the currently low profit levels. An official at another leading Japanese metal corporation told the FT: 'Actual trading doesn't make much

Hamanaka shifted the emphasis to trading on the London Metals Exchange — using surplus cash to supplement corporation profits by speculation in the securities markets.

Akio Morita, the founder of Sony and an 'old school' capitalist, deplored the 'unhealthy notion' that



Tom Kemp, 1921-93

# History, Econom and the Future of

# **Essays in Memory of Tom Ke**

THIS tribute to our comrade Tom Kemp, judged to be 'the most useful, because I who died on 29 December 1993, has been two and a half years in the making. History, Economic History and the Future of Marxism, Essays in Memory of Tom Kemp (1921-1993), edited by Terry Brotherstone and Geoff Pilling, contains work from those who knew Tom Kemp well and from others who contributed out of their admiration for his work as a Marxist scholar.

Tom was unfortunately only able to participate in the very early planning for the book. Once he had been persuaded to set aside the characteristic reticence with which he greeted the idea of such a volume, he suggested some of the contributors him-

Brotherstone and Pilling write in the first chapter on the life and work of Tom Kemp, a distinguished economic historian and member of the Fourth International through the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Revolutionary Party.

In the second chapter, Pilling takes up and develops some brief theses by Kemp, drafted as part of the discussion inside the WRP after the expulsion of its leader Gerry Healy in 1985. The theses concern the crisis of capitalist economy at the end of the 20th century.

Pilling addresses the question of how to apply, develop and draw political conclusions from Lenin's theory of imperialism, which Tom Kemp in his first major book (Theories of Imperialism, London, 1967)

comprehensive'.

Michael Turner and Donald Woward, former academic colleagues of Ke examine 'the extent to which enclosure a class conspiracy . . . to rob [the poor their sense of independence, to make the constitution of the con wage-dependent, and to fashion an a able labour force to meet the demands of increasingly commercial world.'

David Richardson and E.W. Evans, colleagues of Kemp, discuss the importa of the acquisition of the profits of Euro imperial trade, including that in slave creating the conditions for industrial

Theodore Koditschek provides a ma terial survey from a US standpoint of part played by Marxists in developing discipline of British social history, and gests how historians who wish to rege ate Marxism today may respond to 'postmodernist' challenge of deconst

Richard Farnetti deals with the o tion: 'Is Japanese Direct Investment in United Kingdom going to Regenerate Erstwhile Workshop of the World?'

Stuart Coupe picks up on Tom Ker interest in the South African econ under apartheid, using a study of partic

industries as his empirical base. Reflecting the fact that Kemp's main cialist works concerned modern Fra Leonard Gomes and Keith Gibbard

# Market collapse

# of 'Mr Copper



New York: Global trading takes place increasingly by computer

money management was 'more profitable than investments in real goods.

One can only agree, but for entirely different reasons.

It is precisely because capitalism globally is in long-term decay that the declining opportunity for investment in production must be increassupplemented through deployment of the growing surplus of money capital as speculative funds for various types of financial

The increasing levels of global financial fraud show that even this

speculative activity has to continually 'break the rules' that capital once set up to guarantee its own orderly expansion in the intensifying competition between rival blocs to guarantee profit.

Hence Nick Leeson, hence Yashuo Hamanaka.

#### Crime

It is often said that financial crime is less harmful than rape or burglary because poor people do not suffer as victims.

Here we can entirely endorse the the whole rotten system.

observation of the Guardian (29 June) that the real victims of the copper price rigging and its subsequent collapse are 'the lowly paid day-rate miners in Chile, Zambia and China whose livelihood has been threatened by the greed of global speculators who play the commodity markets like an outsized casino.'

Where such fine liberal sentiments would be more ill at ease, no doubt, is in the further observation that it is precisely that class of miners and workers who are the only force on earth who can put a stop to

# c History Marxism

# mp (1921-1993)

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respectively, with French financial policy between the world wars and with the Regulation school of economists.

The final chapters return to the more direct exploration of questions of Marxism.

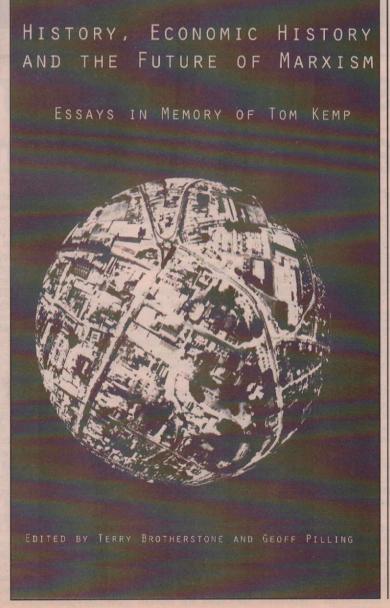
A provocative essay by Cyril Smith details the weaknesses he sees in the treatall- ment of Hegel and of Marx's Capital by f an modern economists.

> The Marxist philosopher István Mészáros gives a major study of how philosophers have wrestled with the concept of the specificity of particular periods of history, including their own, and of how a lack of grasp of what he calls 'historical temporality' provides the ruling class with its most crucial ideological weapon.

Brotherstone finishes the book with an account of how many like Tom Kemp broke from the Communist Party of Great Britain

In an appendix, Peter Fryer and Tom's son Michael Kemp give an interim bibliography, which they explain is necessarily incomplete. But it gives some indication of Tom's intellectual range.

History, Economic History and the Future of Marxism, Essays in Memory of Tom Kemp (1921-1993), edited by Terry Brotherstone and Geoff Pilling, is available from Porcupine Press, price £14.95. Individuals may order direct (add £1.50 for postage) from Porcupine Press, Woburn Bookshop, 10 Woburn Walk, London WC1H 0JL. Tel: 0171-388 7278. Fax: 0171-263 5196.



# Science focus

A monthly column by Daniel Robertson, principal scientist at a leading bio-technology company

#### The sunflowers of Suffolk

ACCEPTANCE of the majority view of scientists that global warming is a reality has finally obliged British government ministers to speak the unspeakable.

John Gummer, the environment minister, has admitted that enormous climate changes are on the way. Over the next 25 years the 'Garden of England' will have moved to Yorkshire and the south of England will be covered with maize and sunflow-

Gummer says that tourism will benefit but increased storms, flooding, destruction of wildlife and the need to rapidly change farming practices will cause problems.

The expensive lobbying efforts of the polluting industries in attempting to rubbish the work of concerned scientists have been successful in the

These people include major chemical polluters and the oil interests of the USA and Saudi Arabia.

But there are signs now that capitalist politicians everywhere are beginning to worry about the predicament they face. They can no longer deny that there is a crisis. They know that this strengthens the hand of radical critics of the status quo as witnessed by the continuing growth of green political movements. Insurance companies are facing increasing losses as climate disasters increase in frequency.

Over the next few decades large areas of Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy will have turned to desert the process of desertification is already underway in these countries. Many more backward countries will be destroyed completely by the coming changes.

As readers of this column have been warned previously the effects will not be predictable. One possible outcome is that the Gulf Stream that brings warm Atlantic air to Britain may reverse. This could plunge British temperatures to a Scandinavian climate almost overnight.

Denying that this is a crisis made by capitalism will soon become unfeasible and radical solutions will have to be sought by the millions whose lives will be ruined in even the most advanced countries.

The UN Convention on Climate Change will meet in Geneva this month to discuss new plans for restricting levels of the industrial gases that cause the greenhouse effect. Will international capital be able to reverse this coming disaster or will a means be found to unload the resulting suffering onto the poor of the world?

The latter will be capital's ultimate solution — despite the protestations of concern from the likes of Gummer. We must ensure that a third solution is built that identifies the guilty and mobilises the forces necessary to resolve humanity's greatest crisis.

#### Nuclear power is safe

IT's like saying that British beef is safe — safe as long as you stay well away. This is the lesson that dockyard workers at the Chatham Royal Naval Dockyard are learning as the Ministry of Defence admits that working on nuclear submarines exposed them to unacceptable levels of radiation.

An investigation by local Rochester City council found that up to a third of the dockyard's nuclear workers may have been exposed to levels of radiation up to 12 times that allowed by international standards.

The 18 May Science Focus described how sloppy standards were exposing workers in Murmansk in Russia to radioactive dangers from Soviet nuclear submarine waste — now we learn that dockyard workers in Britain, only a few miles

from London, have also been exposed to this deadly threat.

As many as 3,000 former Chatham dockyard workers will now be screened for evidence of radiationinduced cancers.

Several, including a Labour councillor who worked at the yard, have already died from suspicious diseases such as leukaemia.

The MoD have generously offered 'counselling' to worried workers.

The still radioactive buildings

used to house submarines are now used to store fruit.

#### Tiger economies decimate rain forests

TWO recent stories in the news demonstrate how the 'Asian Tiger' capitalist economies of some Far East countries are using destruction of the rain forests to fuel their drive for expansion and profit.

The prime minister of Malaysia has for years wanted a prestige industrial project to mark that country's emergence as a successful capitalist power. His favourite has been a £4bn dam that will create a massive lake in the centre of the rain forests of Sarawak, one of the states making up Malaysia.

This will generate energy for Malaysia's future industrialisation The economics have been questioned but have been swept aside by the vested interests likely to make vast fortunes from the construction project and sale of cleared timber.

Concern about the environmenta damage this will cause has beer ignored by the clever trick of removing the project from Malaysian federal environmental legislation by making it a Sarawak state project free of restraints.

Now 270 square miles of virgir forest will disappear along with the indigenous peoples and wild life they contained.

But the Tiger economies' impac on rain forests stretches beyond their home area. Malaysian, Indonesian and Korean timber companies are buying up enormous areas of the Amazonian basin where they hope to join the cattle ranchers who have previously rained death and destruction onto these areas.

I am not referring just to the death of the forests and their contents here. The people profiting from the destruction and rape of these remote areas readily use death squads to murder anyone attempting to resist them. Until now these murderers have been largely local busi-

How long before the Tigers from the Far East acquire these habits for dealing with awkward protesters particularly in these areas miles away from media attention.

### **Socialist Science** Forum

THE June meeting of the Forum made several commitments that wil be of interest to readers. We wil shortly be distributing the first Socialist Science Forum Newsletter Please contact me via Workers Pres if you would like to join the circulation list. Subscriptions will be free until the quality of my home word processing achieves a standard that dare charge for!

The Newsletter will contain information about our activities as well as discussion of issues raised a meetings and in this column. We will soon start a series of public meeting on science topics of current political

Suggested topics cover areas such as the human genetics/IQ debate animal rights and capitalist farming methods, human health, destruction of the environment, and the crisis in science. Please do not hesitate to for ward your views on topics that you feel we should include.

# Carey's dilemma

IN MY heart of hearts, I can't help feeling a bit sorry for the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey. However well paid he is for doing his job, and however gorgeous those lawn sleeves and the rest of the ineffably camp costume he gets to wear while doing it, there are moments when his earthly life must seem to the poor prelate more like hell than

One of those moments clearly arrived the other morning during a radio interview. He had just launched 'Carey's Crusade', a call for us all to go back to the simple, straightforward moral values of Judaeo-Christianity how those of us who never adhered to such values can return to them is not easy to apprehend.

Nothing, so far as one can see, was missing from the Archbishop's litany. 'Do-it-yourself' morality would lead to 'chaotic gangsterism'. Religion should not be relegated to a 'private hobby'. Spiritual education of schoolchildren should not be an 'add-on extra'. Christians should not be embarrassed about publicly standing up for the important values they share.

Then the naughty interviewer mentioned the royal divorce. Would the Archbishop care to take the opportunity to stand up against adultery, publicly confessed to by both the heir to the British throne and his estranged consort, the would-be queen of all

The Judaeo-Christian Bible, in all its numerous translations, is quite clear on this matter. The seventh commandment doesn't beat about the bush. It goes straight to the point: Thou shalt not commit adultery.' So does the Book of Common Prayer, largely devised by Dr Carey's distinguished predecessor Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), who was burnt to death for heresy (but not, thank God, for condoning royal adultery).

Dr Carey took his seat firmly and unequivocally on the fence. don't really want to go into that', was the flinching reply of the Church of England's highest dignitary. This really does put into a terrible quandary all those concerned with teaching children the difference between right and wrong, which is the declared object of the Archbishop's cru-

If the Bible says a deed is wrong, does that apply to everyone, or does the exalted rank of those who do the deed make it somehow less wrong? Is there one moral law for the royals, another for the plebs? Or is this some-thing we shouldn't discuss publicly? Is it morally wrong to embarrass an archbishop when you're interviewing him, or is that just bad manners?

Clearly we have here the subject-matter of a whole series of class discussions for 13- and 14-year-olds: the age when, judging by my own experience parent, young people are most insistent on clarity and consistency and most sensitive to confusion and double standards on the part of those seeking to tell them the difference between right and

I doubt whether many examiners would be brave enough to set such questions. And more's the pity. For once young people begin to be aware of the hypocrisy and intellectual bankruptcy of their ruling-class preceptors, then they will begin to question much else about the society they live in. And that will be all to the good.

# A matter of death and life

THE LAST act is cruel, however fine the rest of the play may be.' So wrote the French philosopher

# PERSONAL COLUMN

and physicist Blaise Pascal (1623-62), who in his 20s developed the world's first calculating

Pascal's sombre but realistic view of death and life was quoted by my old friend Nicolas Walter in a talk, broadcast in the BBC's World Service a couple of months ago and printed in The Free-thinker, on the non-religious attitude to death.

Nicolas is an anarchist, and we have big differences on political matters. We share however a resolute opposition to censorship and a deep respect for the freethought tradition which has defied state and church censorship for several centuries, and of which Nicolas gave us a useful history in his Blasphemy Ancient & Modern (Rationalist Press Association, 1990). Nicolas and I share also a non-

religious approach to death, and Nicolas in his radio talk summed up that approach. Whatever we believe, Pascal's words hold good for most of us, he said. He went on: [I]f there's no future consolation, it's all the more important to reduce present suffering — to cure illness, relieve old age, make death as easy as possible.'

As for those of us who are ill and old and dying, we can learn to face our predicament, at least with dignity, if possible with humour, even at times with joy.

T've been very ill with cancer, I've been crippled by the treatment for it, I shall die fairly soon. But this makes my life more precious, not less,

Every day is a new gift, to be relished. Every time I look at my wife is a new look, to be cherished. Every time I meet a friend is a new occasion, to be celebrated. Every time I see my children, and now my grandchildren, I observe new life and love carried on down the generations.

Every time I'm helped, appreciate the human fellowship. Even travelling in a wheelchair can be fun, because there's more chance to slow down and look around as I go.

'Not to be able to enjoy live plays and concerts any more is a blow, but I can read books and listen to music at home, remember how much I've enjoyed, and realise how much I've missed. For the first time, I have the chance to stop and think.'

These are words that cannot but give courage to others who, in the autumn of their lives, are forced to brace themselves for the inevitable winter. That is why I have quoted them here.

# The murderers walk free

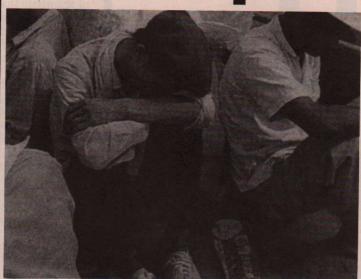
CONGRATULATIONS to our Brazilian comrades in the Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Workers' Party) on the launch of their new weekly Opiniao Socialista ('Socialist Opinion').

Alongside its thorough coverage of working-class struggles all over Brazil — including the fight of landless rural workers in the northern state of Pará, who have occupied a tyre factory owned by a subsidiary of Goodyear — this lively, well-designed 12-page paper also gives prominence to international news.

A moving memorial article in the issue of 12 June recalls the brutal murder on that day in 1994 of Rosa Hernandes and José Luis Sundermann, party leaders in the town of Sao Carlos - a crime which, like other recent political murders in Brazil, is no nearer solution now than it was when it was committed.

Peter Fryer

# Capital punishment: China's poor made to pay



Peasants are pouring into the cities

being hunted down and executed in the Chinese government's latest barbaric 'anti-crime' campaign. At least 1,000 people have been summarily shot in the last months, according to Amnesty International.

Last month three men were executed in Heilongjiang province for 'the serious case of stealing farm animals'.

The Chinese media complains that 'ruffians and evil forces' roam the countryside and reports the re-emergence of highway robbery, prostitution and secret societies, along with 'witches and

Almost 1.5 per cent of the population, 1.75 million, attended public rallies across China on 28 June whose purpose was to senoffences. More than 230 of those convicted were executed on the same day.

Most of these trials are in public, in city squares or stadiums, with cheering and clapping crowds looking on. Prisoners have their hands tied behind their back, some are in shackles with ropes around their necks.

After the trial most are driven off in open trucks to be paraded around the town before being shot on an execution ground.

The broad masses of people clapped their hands with joy, went one official report of 13 people being sentenced to death in Xianyang City, Shaanxi province. What happens to those who don't 'clap with joy'?

Communist launched its campaign to 'strike hard' against criminals at the end of April. The leadership 'was responding to widespread alarm that crime and lawlessness are thriving in the new climate of economic reform, according to John Gittings in the Guardian (4

# Corruption

The real criminals are the Chinese Communist Party govern-ment and the new capitalists who are creating conditions of the most brutal exploitation and mafia corruption in China.

The so-called crime wave is blamed on peasant migrants des-perately seeking work in the cities. In Guangdong province, bordering on Hong Kong, about 600,000 peasants have 'flooded in' and 'loiter in the streets'. Five out of six executed in Beijing, the capital, come from the provinces.

Most defendants are not given time for a proper defence. Special legislation is being used which comes from the last mass campaign against 'crime' in 1983.

It allows defendants to be tried without being told in advance of the charges being brought against them. It also allows 'appeals' to be dealt with immediately so that sentencing and execution can take place in a couple of hours.

In a smaller campaign last year the death penalty was used against those charged with 'killing a tiger', 'reselling value-added



Chinese execution in 1994

# Turkish state attack on international human rights delegation to prisons

On Monday 1 July, the delegation tried to visit Bayrampasa jail in Istanbul. But when it arrived at the prison at 11am, the delegawas immediately surrounded by police, who checked their IDs.

Then, with journalists looking on, all the delegates were arrested, apart from German MP Heidi Lippmann Kasten (Green) and a lawyer, Behic Asci.

The delegation included Greek lawyer Dimitris Hadji-parnyotou, Greek human rights representative Magda Spiliopulo, German journalist Heike Schrader and the German civil servant Udo Kim.

Those under arrest were taken first to Bayrampasa police station. There they were told that they didn't have permission to visit the prison.

Instead of being released on bail, they were taken from there to the anti-terrorism department in Istanbul. There their translator, Süleyman Özcan, was separated from them and tortured. He was beaten, strangled and had his dragged out by three police. When they were outside she was hit the face and told by one: 'We will show you what we do here with people like you.'

Then he tried to dislocate her elbow but was prevented from doing so by the others.

The foreign delegates were placed in a room where they waited for some hours. Repeatedly police entered the room to insult those arrested.

The Greek participants were particularly under threat. The reactionary Islamic party leader, Erbakan, has threatened all Greeks would be shot if he was prime minister.

#### **Punched**

About two hours later the translator was returned to them. His neck bore the marks of the strangulation and his face was

swollen from being punched. The anti-terrorism department director came in to accuse the delegation of working with terrorists. He called the human

ANOTHER series of arrests of international human rights delight of stop the translator from that if the delegation wanted to visit the prison. prison conditions they should talk to the police and not terrorists! And so on.

After a long discussion about the aims of the delegation, he promised to release them following some formalities. They were first returned to Bayrampasa police station. Then on to the department of foreign affairs.

There they were told they would be immediately deported. Police were ordered to escort them to fetch their luggage and airplane tickets.

Kasten had meanwhile informed the consulates. The arrested part of the delegation was brought back to the foreign affairs department, where the Greek consul and the German embassy's lawyer awaited them.

Although the embassy and the lawyer were prepared to vouch for those arrested, they were not allowed to even spend the night

The delegation was accused of demonstrating before the prison and of wanting to read a press release. All those arrested swore that no such action was planned

The foreign affairs official confirmed his decision to deport them and they had to spend the night in jail. The next day they

were deported.

#### Intervention

Through the intervention of the German embassy's lawyer, Oguz Ugur Olcat, the translator was prevented from being placed in the hands of the anti-terrorism

department and he was released. Thousands of prisoners are on hunger strike and are close to death. The Turkish government is doing everything in its power to silence them, including this latest action against a human rights delegation.

Meanwhile Western governments, like Germany, together with Turkey in the socalled 'fight against terrorism'. It is the Turkish state that is the terrorist, not the people of Turkey and Kurdistan.

Information from the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front London information hureau. Tel/fax: 0171-272 2621

City Lights

# Drivers test LA law



California janitors won union recognition last year, now they're fighting for decent pay and conditions

Los Angeles/Long Beach Harbour area, with the backing of the Communications Workers, have taken their struggle against port trucking companies to the courts.

Fighting for better pay and benefits, the 6,000 mainly Latino drivers have been organised in CWA Local 9400 since April, but the companies have refused to recognise the union, claiming drivers are independent contractors' leasing their trucks.

Just before they joined the union, the truckers respected a Liverpool dockers' picket in the US port and this was an important element in them wanting to organise to defend themselves (see Workers Press, 27 April).

The local has filed suit charging Fritz Domestic Transportation Services and Sankyu USA Inc. with ignoring federal regulations by using unauthorised drivers for hauling foods that the US Customs Service has not yet inspected.

The US Customs Service explicitly forbids use of independent contractors from performing customs work.

'The trucking companies can't have it both ways,' said CWA Local 9400 President Tony Bixler. When it comes time to get a Customs ID Card, these companies suddenly claim that the drivers are employees, as their Customs ID Cards reflect.

'Yet the trucking companies

as employees, don't pay all the local, state and federal employee taxes and provide the drivers with 1099s claiming these drivers are owner-operators.'

When the companies fired some of the workers and suspended others, a company called the Transport Maritime Association stepped forward to deal with the truckers. The owner told drivers they could organise with CWA and achieve higher wages and better benefits if they gave up their independent status and joined his firm.

#### Union

The truckers agreed, but the industry now refuses to deal with TMA because its drivers are union, according to the company. 'Sometimes we worked 14 to 17

hours a day,' Eduardo Gonzalez said, but 'we want a 40-hour work week. If not, we at least want overtime after 40 hours.'

With a gross salary of \$700 a week after ten years on the job, Gonzalez has to support his wife and three children on a little more than \$400 after paying taxes and insurance.

'Now, they got me out of the company because I tried to get a union,' he said. 'We just want a better job and benefits for our families. We want to be regular

employees, not independent employees.' tally rehearsed her speech before the door was opened to her - just

to be told the family was busy

and did not have time to talk. 'Even if they say no, don't take it personally,' Campbell said. 'And always try to give them a flier or literature.' Sahara's perseverance was rewarded at another house, whose occupant invited her into the kitchen to talk, professed interest in joining a union and suggested a couple of neighbours who might be interested in work-

ing with ACORN. 'I feel all right now that I did that call,' she said. 'I was just nervous about messing up. But

that was easy.' By the end of the afternoon,

she had learned about local con-cerns, such as the traffic that zooms through the neighbourhood, and had six leads for potential community and union activists. It was a good afternoon, she said.

In Akron, Sarah Sherburn-Zimmer and Marija Kowalski heard about the cost of heath care from a resident undergoing chemotherapy; discussed bargaining prospects with a union members' wife, and met a single woman working three jobs just to keep her home.

'This is very difficult, but ben-eficial work,' said Sherburn-Zimmer. 'It's very intense, but I'm looking for a widespread way to fight social injustice.

At Washington State university, activists briefly occupied the administration block in support of the Service Employees' Industrial Union (SEIU) demands for a

new pay contract. Elsewhere, including Washington DC, Union Summer linked up with striking SEIU janitors, many of them immigrant workers, in rallies and

The janitors also called attention to 'America's Top Trash' companies - non-union cleaning companies that refuse to pay decent wages. The list also includes giant corporations that implicitly condone these actions by continuing to contract with 'enemies of justice'.

I love it. It's the most exciting summer I've ever had,' said Sara Marcus, a second-year student at Yale University, taking part in the Washington rally. I got involved in the labour movement at Yale and ever since then I've been active.

# Adam Smith, the mad monk, and Dr Marx

WHEN Mrs Thatcher came into office in 1979 the tale is told that her chief guru and fellow Cabinet member Sir Keith ('the mad monk') Joseph gave his officials 48 hours to read Adam Smith's The Wealth of Nations. For it was in this book, first published in 1776, that the philosophy that would guide the government's policies was best propounded, claimed Joseph.

The Scottish economist, it was argued, was the great advocate of free market capitalism, the sort of capitalism the restoration of which Thatcher pretended to be aiming for in Britain. Smith suddenly became fashionable as the darling of the right and in his name the Adam Smith Institute advocated the most reactionary policies — the deregulation of state services, the selling of the nationalised industries, and so on.

That his name should have been put to use in the service of such reactionary causes is a sad fate for one of the outstanding founders of political economy in the 18th century.

Smith was a powerful advo-cate for capitalism and an opponent of the intervention of the state in its operations. But he wrote at the time when industrial capital was still in its infancy, when it had not freed itself entirely from the constraints of the earlier form of merchant capital (that is, capital involved in trade).

This is why he wanted to see all restrictions on capital swept away - those on freedom of trade, on the fixing of wages, on the movement of labour, etc., which Smith rightly saw as inimical to the full development of the manufacturing system.

As one of the principal ideologists for the rising capitalist class, at a time when the development of humanity's productive forces lay with that class, Smith's role was entirely progressive.

Unlike the apologetic economics that was to emerge to a position of dominance from the second quarter of the 19th century onwards - that degenerated into a craven apologia for the ruling class when the contradictions of capital were becoming all too apparent - Smith's political economy involved the genuine attempt to elaborate a scientific analysis of capital.

These remarks are occasioned by the recent appearance of a two-volume history of economic ideas (Economic Thought Before Adam Smith and Classical Economics) by the late Murray Rothbard, one of America's leading right-wing economists and a close follower of the virulent anti-socialists Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich von Hayek — who claimed to have proved that socialism was 'impossible'.

Following the past lead of earlier historians of economics, nota-Joseph Rothbard takes a quite different view of Smith than many of his fellow right wingers.

For it appears that their patron saint was not the greatest free-market economist who ever lived. Nor did Smith invent economics (that honour is reserved for Richard Cantillon). To boot. he was a bumbling interventionist, a writer who failed to give the capitalist entrepreneur proper due, and one who held back the progress of economic theory for a century and more.

One might consider these to be hanging offences but even more dastardly crimes are on the charge sheet, for the Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow paved the way for

the horrors of Marxism. (That Smith rejected the idea that markets could regulate everything under capitalism indicated a somewhat greater deal of realism than is to be found in his

in the same vein, if Smith paid little attention to the role of the capitalist businessman it was because he was so firm a believer in the power of a 'natural law' operated against all attempts to subvert or modify it.)

Smith's theory of value was, complains Rothbard, an 'unmitigated disaster'. For in arguing that value is ultimately deter-mined by 'embodied labour' rather than by the subjective evaluations of 'the consumer', Smith, by injecting into economics the infamous labour theory of value', unwittingly provided the theoretical underpinnings of Marxism.

If the value of goods is to be found ultimately in the labour expended in their production, opines Rothbard, then Marx 'was right to condemn capitalism for exploiting workers'. For he was simply pursuing the arguments of Smith and other classical economists to their logical con-

EVEN this summary of Rothbard's comments on Smith reveals the depth of ignorance of a man who ended his career as Professor of Economics in the University of Nevada and academic adviser to the Mises Institute in Alabama.

Marx did not 'condemn capitalism for exploiting workers'. Rather he revealed that capital historically-formed, exploitative relationship between wage labour and the private owners of the means of production.

The birth of this relationship created the conditions for a leap forward in the development of the productive forces (the Industrial Revolution) but at a certain stage of its development this very relationship was destined to become a brake on the progress of the productive forces.

Nor did Marx take over the Smithian theory of value lock stock and barrel. He did, however, subject the whole of classical political economy to a systematic critique, and this included the work of Adam Smith and his law of value.

But however ignorant Rothbard (and he is by no means on his own in this respect) may be, he is perhaps nearer the truth than those in the Tory Party and elsewhere who imagined they were going to implement the ideas of the author of The Wealth of Nations.

For Thatcher's 'free market economics' was largely rhetoric. It did indeed involve the break up of state-owned industries and the privatisation of many of the welfare and other services provided by the state.

But all this was done under conditions of a great growth in the power of the state, not least in the regulation of the immediate relations between labour and capital (the anti-trade-union laws).

And Thatcher's measures were carried out not under conditions of a rising capitalist system but one in deep decay. In short we live in the epoch of monopoly capital and there can be no return to the laissez-faire capitalism of the last century (and even this never existed in 'pure'

On the other hand, Anglo-Scottish political economy brought to its peak by Smith and later David Ricardo - was one of the principal theoretical sources of Marxism.

Marx saw in political economy a decisive step forward in analysing 'the anatomy' of bourgeois society and on the basis of a thorough-going critique was able to integrate its brilliant achievements into a new revolutionary world outlook.

In this way all that was best in classical political economy was preserved within Marxism. So in a real sense the true heir of Adam Smith was not the Institute named after him, nor the 'mad monk' of Thatcherism but Dr

#### Colorado grocery victory GROCERY workers in Colorado

have declared victory in their struggle against Safeway and King Soopers, with a new threeyear contract, including higher pay, health and pension benefits.

About 9,000 retail and meat workers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 7, struck King Soopers stores in Denver and Colarado Springs on 14 May. Many pharmacists, represented by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-920, respected the picket

Safeway subsequently locked out about 4,000 union members. Pickets and lockouts followed in Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and other towns. The union said it would spread the pickets to other parts of the country if the employers did not offer a fair settlement in Colorado.

The companies wanted major changes that would cut union bs, such as contracting out, sanitation and maintenance. Management also sought the right to open new stores without being required, as they were under the prior contract, to fill 60 per cent of the new jobs with union mem-

The two chains normally take about 72 per cent of trade in the Rocky Mountain state, but during the six-week strike and lockout, half the regular customers took their dollars elsewehere.

Local 7 President Gary R. Hakes said customer support for the strikers was one of the major keys to the settlement. 'Local 7 members cannot thank the customers enough,' he said.

Hakes praised union members who 'drew the line and held the line against the destruction of living standards for working families.' The strike had marked an upsurge in activism among workers in the face of a growing corporate trend toward a disposable, low-wage, no-benefit work force, the union said.

## Republican guns on safety

AMERICAN workers are facing vicious attacks on safety at work from right-wing politicians. Young workers — 70 of whom are killed each year in work-related

accidents - are being targetted. Intent on hog-tying the Occupational Safety and Health Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA), Republican legislators have proposed decreased funding and restrictive riders on health and safety legislation.

The Appropriations Committee approved legislation cutting OSHA's budget by \$6 million (2 per cent), with \$5 million coming from enforcement alone. MSHA

also was cut by 2 per cent.
Funding for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) remained unchanged from the current year.

President Clinton had sought an additional \$32 million to transfer mine safety activities from the now-defunct Bureau of Mines into NIOSH.

Representative Henry Bonilla Texas) wants a rider prohibiting OSHA from using funds for the development, promulgation or issuance of any proposed or final standard or guideline regarding ergonomic protection or recording and reporting occupational injuries or illnesses directly related thereto.'

That would prohibit the agency from even collecting data on ergonomics-related injuries, (caused by unsafe, poorly-designed or badly-installed equipment) which account for one-third of lost-time work injuries in the United States and form the fastest-growing category of reported injuries and ill-

Cumulative trauma disorders such as carpal tunnel syndrome, repetitive strain injuries, tendonitis and back strains have increased at epidemic rates some 800 per cent in the last decade. In 1994, more than 330,000 new cases were reported to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Bonilla's rider would assure these numbers would disappear and, according to industry foes led by United Parcel Service, so would the problem.

Bonilla also gained approval for another rider to soften restrictions on teen-aged workers and dangerous equipment, such as cardboard paper balers used by grocery stores to crush

Republican House Majority leader Newt Gingrich failed to get a similar measure through the House last year.

The subcommittee's rider states OSHA can use no funds to enforce or issue fines to employers using 16- and 17-year-olds to load balers that comply with

industry standards. Each year, 70 teenagers are killed on the job and 200,000 are

majority of injuries are cuts from power-driven meat slicers and knives used to cut cardboard boxes; bruises from slips and falls; using power-driven bakery equipment and balers; and working with farm equipment.

Motor vehicle accidents are

the leading cause of teenage workplace deaths, followed by machine-related accidents and electrocutions.

# It's Union Summer

WE FEEL if we can organise communities to stand up for themselves eventually they will see the importance of organising where they work,' said Betty Gray. 'If they can take on power where they live, they can take on power where they work.'

Betty belongs to SCORE (Summit County Organising for Rights and Equality), which is affiliated with Service Employees Local 1199, and is working in Akron, Ohio with the 'Union Summer' campaign launched by the AFL-CIO unions.

Taking a leaf from the black civil rights campaigners' Freedom Summer 30 years ago, the giant US labour organisation has sent teams of enthusiastic young people out across America, helping union and community activ-

In Charleston, South Carolina, Union Summer workers set off to organise hotel workers at Hilton Head, while over in Los Angeles they joined pickets on a nonunion restaurant at the airport.

In Nashville there's a mass picket on Bridgestone/Firestone on 12 July, marking the second anniversary of the United Steel Workers' dispute with the com-

Campaigners in San Diego organised precinct walks and community meetings in support of the eight-hour day, the minimum wage initiative and San Diego Needs a Raise.

'Union Summer has given us additional resources to reach the community,' said Joyce Campbell of Boston ACORN (A Community Organization On Reform Now). 'We're trying to get people involved in the living wage campaign. We want to know their concerns and ideas.'

Sahara Wilson, a soft-spoken 18-year-old Boston college student, travelled across town to help Joyce call on residents in Boston's working-class Mattapan neighbourhood.

From Muriel Cooper, Colleen O'Neill and Sharolyn Rosier, AFL-CIO News.

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Newsdesk 0171-387 0564

# SREBRENICA - 'Scenes from hell'

SERB Chetnik soldiers, though they were well armed, often chose to use knives to kill their victims, as if relishing the experience, French investigator Jean-Rene Ruez told the International War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague.

Bosnian prisoners captured at Srebrenica had noses, ears and lips cut off. Streets were littered with corpses, and rivers red with blood. In this frenzy of death, Ruez told the court, a number of the refugees did not wait to be killed but hanged themselves.

After reviewing evidence, one tribunal judge declared: These are truly scenes from hell written on the darkest pages of human history.'

After Srebrenica, a UN 'safe haven', was handed over to the Serb forces in July last year, General Ratko Mladic stood before a crowd of refugees, and told them they had nothing to fear. Within days, most of them had been wiped out.

Mladic was in charge of the entire operation, Ruez charged. Witnesses and videotape shown to the Hague tribunal testified to Mladic's presence.

Ruez stared blankly and often paused before recounting the alleged atrocities. At one point, he said soldiers buried prisoners alive.

'An excavator appeared on site and dug a hole. The prisoners were ordered to gather around the hole; the soldiers surrounded them,' he said. 'The excavator pushed the people into the hole and began to bury them. Those who tried to escape were immediately shot.'

Asked how many people were missing from Srebrenica, Ruez said the highest estimate, which was one from the civilian authorities, gave a figure of about 10,300 people.

Ruez cited one case in which a soldier forced a man to cut open BY CHARLIE POTTINS

his grandson's stomach and then stuffed an organ from the boy into the man's mouth. In another incident, a soldier slit a baby's throat in front of the mother.

'One soldier approached a woman in the middle of a crowd,' he said. 'Her child was crying. The soldier asked why the child was crying and she explained that he was hungry. The soldier made a comment like, "He won't be hungry anymore." He slit the child's throat in front of everybody.'

In a videotape shown to the tribunal, Mladic said the takeover of Srebrenica was in response to the massacre of Serb officers by Turks in 1804. The time had come, he said, to take revenge.

#### Concluded

After examining more than 30 eyewitness statements, prosecutors concluded: 'Mladic personally supervised the take-over with great attention to detail.'

Colonel Thomas Jacob Karremans, who commanded Dutch UN troops at Srebrenica, described inhuman conditions in the besieged enclave before its fall. He revealed that Srebrenica was not attacked by the five brigades that surrounded it but by three brigades that came form an unknown direction. This could well mean that they came from Serbia proper, not from the so-called Republika Srpska.

After the fall of Srebrenica, on 11 July 1995, there were some 25,000 refugees there, according to Karremans' estimate, of whom 2 to 3 per cent of the male population found refuge at the UN base, Potocari, while some 15,000 remained outside.

The colonel testified that between then and the Dutch battalion's departure on 21 July, he met Mladic five times, and held extensive negotiations.

At one such meeting, at a hotel in Bratunac, Mladic started to scream, accusing him of being responsible for air-strikes and the death of Serb soldiers, and then forced him to drink a glass of water while the TV recorded the scene. The scene was recorded so that it looked like he had been drinking champagne, the colonel said.

Mladic proposed that civilians be evacuated by his soldiers. He only conceded that UN soldiers follow the convoys.

The Serb general wanted men from 16 to 60 separated from the women, maintaining that some of the men were war criminals with whom he had to talk. He stated that the wounded, some 100 persons, would be transported from the UN base to a Serb hospital in Bratunac where they would be treated in accordance with the Geneva convention.

When the first convoy arrived to evacuate the refugees, Serb soldiers took away UN vehicles and took UN soldiers hostage. After this, all the convoys departed without any UN supervision.

According to Karremans testimony, he was later preoccupied with the safety of his soldiers and the return of UN vehicles. 'I admit I did not remember to ask what happened to the refugees.'

Two of his soldiers testified to knowing about killings. Lieutenant E. Koster said he heard reports of nine corpses. P. Groenewegen said he saw Serb soldiers separating some civilians and killing them in front of a wall.

On 13 July, he heard some 20 to 40 separate shootings per hour. When Karremans met with Mladic a day after these incidents he did not ask him anything about them.

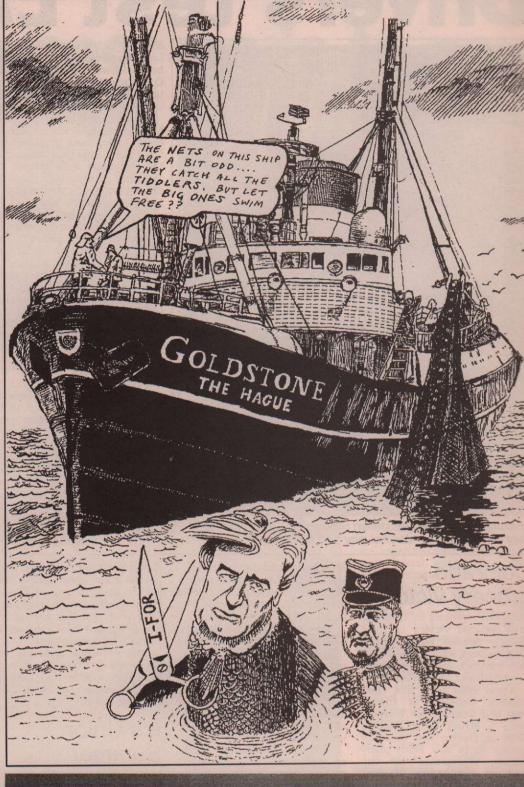
# Not yet united

CONTROVERSY continued after municipal elections in Mostar, with complaints about refugee ballot irregularities in Bonn, and the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) party, linked to Croatia's President Tudjman, claiming its candidate should be mayor because a Muslim SDA woman, Fatima Leko, is cantonal president.

The SDA-led List of Citizens for a United Mostar won the elections with 28,505 votes. The HDZ came second with 26,680 votes, while the third largest force, an alliance of anti-nationalist parties, including the Social Democrats, received 1,937 votes. Two Croatian rightwing parties received 619 and 386 votes, respectively.

Safet Orucevic, the mayor of Muslim east Mostar, should be mayor of the city if his United Mostar list victory is recognised. Among the first to congratulate him on his victory were President Izetbegovic, Mirko Pejanovic of the Serb Civic Council, and ex-prime minister Haris Silajdzic, chairman of the opposition Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Send your letters and photos — Deadline Monday Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW8 1YB Telephone: 0171-387 0564 Fax: 0171-387 0569 E-mail: søgp@exnet.co.uk



# What will they do about Karadzic?

AS the grisly truth about Serb nationalist crimes in Bosnia was being unearthed from mass graves near Srebrenica, and in testimony before the Hague war crimes tribunal, officials of the 'Contact Group' — Britain, France, United States, Russia and Italy — met in London last week to discuss what to do.

After going through the motions of standing down for his equally hard-line vice-president Biljana Plavsic — who says he is still in charge — indicted war criminal Dr Radovan Karadzic, boss of the so-called 'Republika Srpska', has appeared on television, and in the streets of Brcko — within sight of US troops —and says he may still stand in elections this September.

After talks in Belgrade with Serbian President Milosevic in Belgrade, US assistant Secretary of State Kornblum told a Sarajevo press conference on 28 June that Milosevic agreed Karadzic should be dismissed, as a prelude to extradition.

But Milosevic told US officials in Geneva last month that he was not in a position to deliver Karadzic, or General Mladic, to the Hague, and would not even arrest Mladic if he came to Belgrade, which he does regularly. Since then he has said he cannot remove Karadzic from the political scene either.

cal scene either.

Since both men could testify about Milosevic's responsibility for starting the war, and ordering 'ethnic cleansing', his reluctance to do anything is no

tance to do anything is no surprise.

Everyone knows that so long as the war criminals remain at large, other provisions of the US-

brokered Dayton agreement — such as free elections, and the right of refugees to return to their homes, are unlikely to be fulfilled.

Karadzic insists the Great Powers recognise his separate republic — where 'ethnic cleansing' is still going on — and says he'll hold on to Brcko, regardless of negotiations. At this rate, Bosnians, too, may decide Dayton is a dead letter.

US and British interests are as ready as any to invest in Karadzic's 'Republika Srpska' — Peat-Marwick has already signed £2.5bn contracts, and Greek companies have moved in backed by government loans.

'RS is set to become the Hong Kong of Southeastern Europe,' boasted a broadcast from Pale, claiming the Bosnian federation would not be included, because of an assessment that it will remain a place of constant conflicts.'

#### **Bloodshed**

But while big business doesn't mind dictatorship or bloodshed one bit, it would like a 'respectable' face at the helm, and some assurances that there isn't going to be another war. And if the US government, also facing elections this Autumn, is going to guarantee anything, it must act.

Suddenly last week, on the eve of the London meeting, there was talk of some action. Karadzic has to be removed off the political stage within the next two weeks, a European official said.

Some governments had spoken of a return to economic sanctions, but others argue that sanctions take time to get started, are difficult to enforce, and h

It was noted that US Admi Leighton Smith, NATO-IF commander in Bosnia, said is recent interview that the m tary was more willing to trisks in Bosnia than peo thought, and would arrest we criminals if the politicity ordered it to do so.

A military operation to see indicted war criminals is likely to be an official NA operation. That would required that they may only seize indicted war criminal if the happen to come upon him something they have been awoing. The consensus needed to that is lacking, with Greece a Britain being the leading openents.

Some advocates of captur Karadzic believe it can be do within the current mand: Clinton may seek support in part wate meetings with John Ma and President Chirac of Frant for an operation to see Karadzic. Mladic would probabe left untouched.

In recent weeks, NATO s diers have increased their patr in Pale, Karadzic's ski res stronghold, with planes and h copters flying over regularly.

Some US and NATO office seem to hope this will be su cient to intimidate Karadzic of political activity.

Meanwhile it is Karadzic we continues intimidating Sopponents, and it seems, every else. And whatever action taken for NATO face-saving, osiderations of justice remain long way behind.



