

RECLAIM THE FUTURE

RECLAIM THE FUTURE may well prove to be the most significant coalition of grassroots, direct action, environmental and social justice groups to date.

In it are: Reclaim the Streets, Campaign Against the Criminal Justice Act, Campaign Against the Arms Trade (the East Timor 'Hawk' women), Earth First!, Communities Against Toxics, Wales Against Opencast, Youth CND, Justice?, Corporate Watch, Critical Mass and The Land is Ours. And each day brings new support from a new organisation.

Their first leaflet calls upon members and supporters to take part in the Liverpool dockers' anniversary march and rally on 28 September (see ad page 2).

On that day 12 months ago, 500 dockers, having refused to cross a picket line, were sacked by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company (MDHC), sparking what has become one of the greatest international labour movement struggles in history.

From the outset of their dispute the dockers have rightly maintained that their fight for reinstatement is not a personal issue, but one which embodies the rights of all workers and future generations.

BY CHRIS KNIGHT

They stand opposed to the anti-trade-union laws, privatisation, casualisation and unemployment.

They support all the oppressed, as is revealed in their sponsoring of the Turkish human rights campaign. They have always refused to handle toxic waste, and they have always been first to act in solidarity with struggling workers in other countries.

In the last 11 months the Liverpool dockers have given a new meaning to 'flying picket'.

They have travelled the world, occupied gantries, organised an international dockworkers' conference, won support from dockers throughout Europe, Australia and the US for a boycott of the

port of Liverpool leading to a fall of 17.1 per cent in MDHC's profits.

It is therefore understandable that those in Reclaim the Future support the Liverpool dockers.

Outside the confines of the traditional labour movement, there have been more than 500 separate 'actions' against the authorities in the past year.

Growth

The fastest growth in grass-roots protest has been in city-based groups which have neither membership nor constitutions.

In July in west London, 7,000 young people took over a half-mile section of busy motorway, halting all traffic both ways and holding a

street-party from mid-afternoon to midnight.

Making a total mockery of the Criminal Justice Act, fire-eaters, body-painters, magicians, a bagpipe player, drummers, ravers and a smoke-breathing dragon defied van-loads of police and got away with it.

A tip-up truck deposited sand across the tarmac for kids to make castles with. A road-drill appeared, a hole was sunk and a sapling was planted in the fast lane — symbolic vengeance for the many oaks felled in building the Newbury by-pass.

High across the M41 fluttered an immense red banner urging: 'SUPPORT THE TUBE-WORKERS!'

And they did. When ASLEF

and RMT workers stopped the tubes on 7 August, hundreds of green, socialist and anarchist cyclists in the London area took to the roads in support, converging on Trafalgar Square, contributing to general gridlock and advising commuters to do some gardening or go to the seaside on a tube-strike day.

In a well-planned action, Reclaim the Streets activists on the same day occupied London Transport's Head Offices at St James's Park, unfurling from the seventh floor a banner reading 'SQUEEZE THE CAR, NOT THE TUBE!'

Letter

Jimmy Knapp, General Secretary of the RMT railworkers' union has since sent a letter to Reclaim the Streets saying:

'Friends, On behalf of the RMT, I would like to thank your organisation for your gestures of support for the striking train staff last week.

'While my union cannot normally associate itself with the more direct forms of

action that your group involves itself with, your defence of RMT and ASLEF members was most appreciated.'

The cyclists and other activists, delighted, have decided to frame Jimmy's letter.

Cynics

Cynics will point out that a street party is not a revolutionary party; a few hundred cyclists are not the organised working class. But how do you build a revolutionary party, if not by leading and being part of whatever anti-capitalist action is actually taking place?

You have to start somewhere, and the streets seem as good a place as any. The most active environmentalists are themselves looking for a lead.

Throughout the protest movement, 'single-issue campaigns' are now increasingly felt to be a thing of the past: we all have the same enemy, and we all know that this vast alien threat to life on this planet operates on a global scale.



Taking parliament by storm. On the left 'the people' and on the right the state. Australian Prime Minister John Howard described what happened as 'un-Australian' (see last week's Workers Press), but many others saw it as legitimate protest expressing widespread anger at a government determined to attack the most vulnerable. Future issues of Workers Press will keep you informed!

Liverpool dockers

Monday 9 September: TUC lobby. Contact London support group (0956 138496) or Unison (0171-388 2366) for details of coaches.

Saturday 28 September: First year anniversary march and rally, Myrtle Parade to Pier Head, 1pm.

DOCKERS CHARTER

LATEST ISSUE OUT NOW!

Available from the Liverpool Docks Shop Stewards' Committee, c/o 19 Scorton Street, Liverpool L6 4AS. Money to 'Merseyside Dockers Shop Stewards' Appeal'. Price 50p (20p unwaged). Add postage. Also send donations. Bulk orders tel: 0151-207 3388.

SOUTH AFRICAN APPEAL

We are proud to be able to tell our injured comrade NM in Durban, South Africa, that comrades in the Iranian Refugee Workers' Association have sent a donation from their meagre resources. Many many thanks to them.

This is not a general appeal. There is a specific, **immediate** and critical need for finance to assist NM who was severely wounded when six attackers shot him at close range in the stomach and hands. Although he is now out of hospital, he is unable to use his hands, and it is uncertain how much that situation will improve.

Neither NM nor our other comrades in Durban can identify the attackers who were wearing balaclava helmets. Sectarian attacks on workers are rife in Natal. So much so that when we telephoned the hospital for news of our comrade, we were told: 'Oh if he is one of the ones brought in with gunshot wounds, we probably do not even have his name.'

But our comrade has a name and has a place in the fight for socialism. He lost his job because of his principled fight for his trade union. He is dedicated to workers' internationalism. For the moment he is immobilised, shot down outside the home he shares with his wife and five children. We appeal to you to give generously to our appeal.

Cheques/money orders payable to 'South Africa Solidarity Fund', PO Box 735, London SW8.

arise

Fascism tried to destroy Bosnia, but it did not succeed. Bosnia is raising its head again. Bosnia is the first line of defence for the whole of Europe, because if fascism crushed Bosnia, it could only spread all across Europe.

'At the most difficult time in the war, my husband and I thought about leaving this hell. Now, there is no question of that any more. Our struggle for the future was a struggle for our children. Defending our country was to educate the children, give them knowledge.'

Mevlida would also like contact with the comparable trade unions in Serbia. I propose an international trade union conference of teachers in former Yugoslavia — Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo — with trade unionists from Western Europe and others, in Hungary, because the job of knitting together international links has made progress and it can be done in the near future.

Everybody agrees with this. There is no doubt that the Bosnian unions will be at the centre of such a conference, for if Yugoslavia was murdered on the body of Bosnia, the renewal of the trade union and political movement of the workers of the former Yugoslavia will come from Bosnia.

The surest guarantee of this is the new people who have arisen in Bosnia. Mevlida is one of them.



Mostar divided by the war in Bosnia

Herzegovina Croats steer Croatia's politics

Travelling through Herzegovina before the Croatian elections last autumn, you passed hoardings with President Franjo Tudjman's sinister portrait and the words:

'The right man, the right time, the right party'. It was the wrong country. But the Croat nationalist 'Herceg-Bosna' statelet, centred on 'ethnically cleansed' West Mostar, still obstructing re-unification of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been an important bastion of Tudjman's regime — much to the resentment of other Croats, says MARINKO CULIC, one of the journalists Tudjman intends to prosecute for 'defamation' next month. The following article is by Culic, written from Split, Croatia.

SINCE President Franjo Tudjman came to power in Croatia in 1990, Herzegovina Croats have played a disproportionately large role in Croatian politics.

Only about 200,000 out of 4.5 million Croats in the former Yugoslavia live in this traditionally impoverished region. But by energetically

supporting Tudjman when he stepped onto the political stage, Herzegovinians were able to gain political prominence in Croatia.

With the help of Herzegovinian emigres in the United States, Australia, and Canada (including the No.2 man in Croatia, Defense Minister Gojko Susak), Herzegovinians provided critical financing for Tudjman's electoral victory over the communists.

These favours are still being paid for: a significant number of Herzegovinians hold top positions in the Croatian government and military or are among the narrow circle of *nouveaux riches* whose business empires emerged overnight with the direct support of the state.

Croatia also continues to back Herzegovina Croats stubbornly striving to secure the utmost autonomy for their para-state in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the self-declared Republic of Herceg-Bosna.

If not for the Dayton agreement, the *de facto* union between Croatia and Herceg-Bosna would likely become *de jure*.

The Herzegovinians' strong position is not appreciated by many of the Croats in Croatia proper. According to a recent poll, Croats generally have greater antipathy toward Croats newly arriving from Bosnia-Herzegovina than they do toward newly arriving Muslims.

At the same time, Bosnian Croats who see their future in a unified, ethnically mixed country have been pushed aside to the political sidelines.

Favoured

THE special relationship between Herzegovinian Croats and Tudjman's party is particularly evident in the struggle for control of the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nominally the sister party of Tudjman's, in reality it has become simply a branch of the Croatian HDZ.

The first chairman of HDZ in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Davor Perinovic of Sarajevo, was replaced after a short period for resisting Tudjman's supremacy over HDZ policy in Bos-

nia. But his replacement, Stjepan Kljuic, also from Sarajevo, quickly came into conflict with Zagreb and Tudjman for the same reason as his predecessor.

Kljuic's conflict with the Herzegovinians was equally severe, reflecting fundamental differences between the Croats of Bosnia and those of Herzegovina.

Bosnian Croats have traditionally lived integrated with Muslims as well as Serbs, and thus have had no choice but to seek cooperation with one or both groups.

The Herzegovinians, by contrast, live in a fairly compact area that borders on Croatia and view their territory as an ethnically pure extension of Croatia.

Kljuic tried to convince Zagreb that the interests of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina lie in preserving the country's unity, while the Herzegovinians argued for a high degree of autonomy for Croats, Serbs, and Muslims alike (although, in reality, the Herzegovinians wanted to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts and to unify the Croatian part with

Croatia). In early 1992, the Herzegovinian conception prevailed and Kljuic was forced to step down. He later left the party.

Kljuic's position was given to Mate Boban, a Herzegovinian under whom the HDZ in Bosnia-Herzegovina was completely assimilated into the HDZ of Croatia. Also under Boban's leadership, Herceg-Bosna waged war against the government in Sarajevo for most of 1993.

After the Washington agreement of March 1994 brought a tenuous peace between the Croats and Muslims, Boban left his posts in Bosnia-Herzegovina for a high-level position in the INA oil company in Zagreb that is widely regarded as an HDZ sinecure. But he continues to have a great deal of influence in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

After Susak, considered by many to be the unofficial governor of Herzegovina, Boban is probably the most powerful Herzegovinian. Thanks to them, the continuity of radical nationalists, mainly Herzegovinians, has been preserved in the Herceg-Bosna statelet.

The racketeer

THE stone desert of western Herzegovina boasts more tinted-windowed 1995 Mercedes and fewer indoor toilets per capita than any other region in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mladen Naletilic Tuta, the local 'godfather', probably owns an equal number of both.

Tuta admits to carrying out more than 90 terrorist acts across Europe for the 'Croat cause'; he prides himself on his links to Carlos the Jackal, to the IRA and to Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak.

His resume includes casino manager, Croat 'convicts' brigade leader and Bosnian federation saboteur. Though he suffers from migraines caused by the shrapnel lodged in his head, Tuta is flourishing.

Winked at by Croat police and politicians and unmoved by the laments of Mostar's European Union administration, he and his militant allies have caroused freely for four years — allegedly hijacking humanitarian relief convoys, running drug

and prostitution rings, and doing their utmost to stuff their foreign bank accounts and divide Bosnia.

During a recent military parade the Herzegovina Croats showcased a daunting arsenal of heavy hardware in the same stadium where they tortured and starved Muslim prisoners in 1993.

Dressed in Darth Vader black, Bosnian Croat local commander Mladen Mistic appeared on West Mostar television, unrepentant about violating the EU rules.

'Here we are dealing with a handful of lepers, and we will not succumb,' Mistic vowed, adding, 'If we had only received high-level orders from our leaders long ago, these people not only would not have approached [Mostar] but would not be here at all.'

He said Muslims have no place governing Bosnia: 'Tudjman was given Bosnia, Milosevic Kosovo and the Sandzak province, and everything has been signed.'

After the signing of the Dayton accord, Tuta permitted a Croatian

journalist unusual access to his palm-treed villa in western Herzegovina. He said he wasn't sorry for the role his soldiers played in the destruction of Mostar's 16th-century bridge, Stari Most, exclaiming, 'I would have destroyed it to get even for a damaged nail on a child's little finger.'

Tuta has no faith in Dayton: 'I never gave the survival of Yugoslavia any chance... But I give even less of a chance to the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I do not know why they want to create another powder keg.'

From Samantha Power
New Republic, 21 February.

Priests for Pavelic

ON HOLY DAYS the priests go from house to house in the villages of western Herzegovina, the villagers anxiously awaiting their blessing.

In Bobani, Mike O'Connor of the *New York Times* met Reverend

Vinko Mikolic doing his rounds. The brown-robed Franciscan told him Croats would never accept the Bosnian government:

'That is a government of Muslims,' Mikolic said. 'They are no better than the Turkish occupiers from our history. We cannot let them occupy us again, never.'

For Sister Maximila, Bosnian Croats are simply resisting another blow by mortal enemies, as they have for centuries. In their lonely struggle, as she explained it, they have often been misunderstood.

Before a mural covering the wall behind the altar of St Stephen's Church, on a hill above this village, she pointed out scenes in the painting, titled 'The Suffering of the Croat People'.

There is their defeat by the Turks, their battles with the Serbs through history, and the establishment of a Nazi-backed Croatian fascist movement during World War II known as the Ustashe.

On the mural, next to images of Franciscan priests, is the local hero

of the Nazi period, Ranko Boban, in the uniform worn by the Croatian nationalists who killed hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, and Muslims, as well as Croatian opponents.

'They say bad things about the Ustashe,' Sister Maximila said. 'But to us they were defending Croat culture, and they are heroes.'

The photograph of Ante Pavelic, leader of the wartime, pro-Nazi Croatian state, is proudly displayed in the home of two Catholic priests.

They explained that people who think the Ustashe regime was guilty of genocide have been duped by anti-Croatian propaganda.

The priests described their opposition to the Bosnian peace agreement as part of the Croats' historic effort to defend Christianity against Islam, to protect the West from the East.

'The Muslims have a holy war with us,' Maric said. 'We cannot accept the Dayton agreement. No. No. No.'

Report in *New York Times*
13 February.

Silajdzic to boycott Bosnian election

FORMER Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic, tipped as the most serious challenger to President Izetbegovic, says he will boycott the general election in two weeks time because he fears the elections will be used to legalise the country's ethnic division.

Silajdzic told visiting US Secretary of State Warren Christopher this would be 'ratification of genocide'.

The former prime minister quit the governing party of Democratic Action (SDA) to form his own Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina aimed, he said, at maintaining the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural traditions fought for in the war. Polls have showed Silajdzic to be the one politician most Bosnians respect.

People are angry to see Serb nationalists maintaining their 'ethnically cleansed' separate Republika Srpska and terrorising opponents, and at the equally arrogant stance of Croat nationalists backed by President Tudjman.

With the war criminals still at large, the only aspects of the US-brokered Dayton agreement being carried out are the installation of NATO's massive Implementation Force (IFOR) and the elections, which Clinton wants before he goes to the polls in November.

Serb nationalists are intimidating Muslim refugees from returning to vote, and denying non-nationalist parties the right to stand. In Doboj, the Serb

BY CHARLIE POTTINS
nationalist SDS told Serb refugees they must register to vote where it told them, or they would not get humanitarian aid.

Croat refugees have protested that the nationalist HDZ wants to use them as voting fodder in places like Prozor, in Herzegovina, thereby accepting their 'ethnic cleansing' from other areas.

Bosnia's SDA government stands accused of acquiescing in 'ethnic cleansing', by allowing intimidation of Sarajevo Serbs, and moving Muslim refugees from Srebrenica to replace them.

Condemned

After adverse publicity the government condemned the campaign in Sarajevo. Izetbegovic has also sought to dissociate himself from his supporters' recent disruption of opposition meetings.

The president said those responsible had no right to use his name, that he wants people to be free to think and speak, and that the attacks only damaged Bosnia.

But as well as violence against

political opponents, and placing SDA hacks in state and management positions, SDA media have been whipping up chauvinism and religious prejudice against opponents like the Social Democrats, who head the city council in Tuzla.

In parliament speaker Miro Lazovic said his Social Democrat party and its allies was considering an election boycott.

The International Crisis Group, consisting of former premiers, foreign ministers, and other public figures urged that elections be postponed, and a new Dayton-style agreement be worked out.

On Tuesday it was reported that the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) monitors had recommended postponing municipal elections, though not the general election.

■ See centre pages for Bosnia background, and interview with teaching trade unionist.



Haris Silajdzic

Shoot-out settles Serb sacking

POLICE attempting to remove a distillery manager exchanged automatic weapon fire with opponents holed up in the distillery in the Serb nationalist-held town of Teslic, northern Bosnia. The town was sealed off while the police stormed the factory.

It was the latest incident in a burgeoning civil war in the so-called Republika Srpska, between Radovan Karadzic's Serb nationalist SDS, which controls the police, and its opponents. Distillery manager Rade Pavlovic (no relation to our comrade of the same name!) was forced to step down because he is the local

leader of the Socialist Party linked to Serbia's President Milosevic.

Biting the hand that once fed it, the SDS has aligned itself with Milosevic's right-wing opponents, such as Seselj's Serb Radical Party. Socialist party candidates have been attacked and bombed.

Karadzic's successor as leader Mrs Biljena Plavsic, who boasts of being a lifelong anti-communist says after the Dayton agreement she told Milosevic 'it is a real pity the Serbs don't have a proper leader, as the Croats have in Tudjman'.

'When you get in there, forget about human rights'

The ANC's prison camps

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

'THE ANC deeply regrets the excesses that occurred.' For the first time in public the African National Congress has admitted that it executed 34 cadres in its camps in Angola in the 1980s.

But its 300-page report to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission plays down the scale of the oppression against its own members. It attempts to portray the abuses as the mistakes of a few inexperienced people.

As the truth begins to find a larger audience a pamphlet produced in 1990 becomes very relevant and its opening paragraph:

'It is time that the people of South Africa heard about the events in the camps in Angola and Tanzania: about the use of corporal punishment in the schools, the abuse of girls and women, the organisation of smuggling rings, the use of torture and the meting out of brutal punishment, the conduct inside notorious prison camps, the suppression of all criticism.'

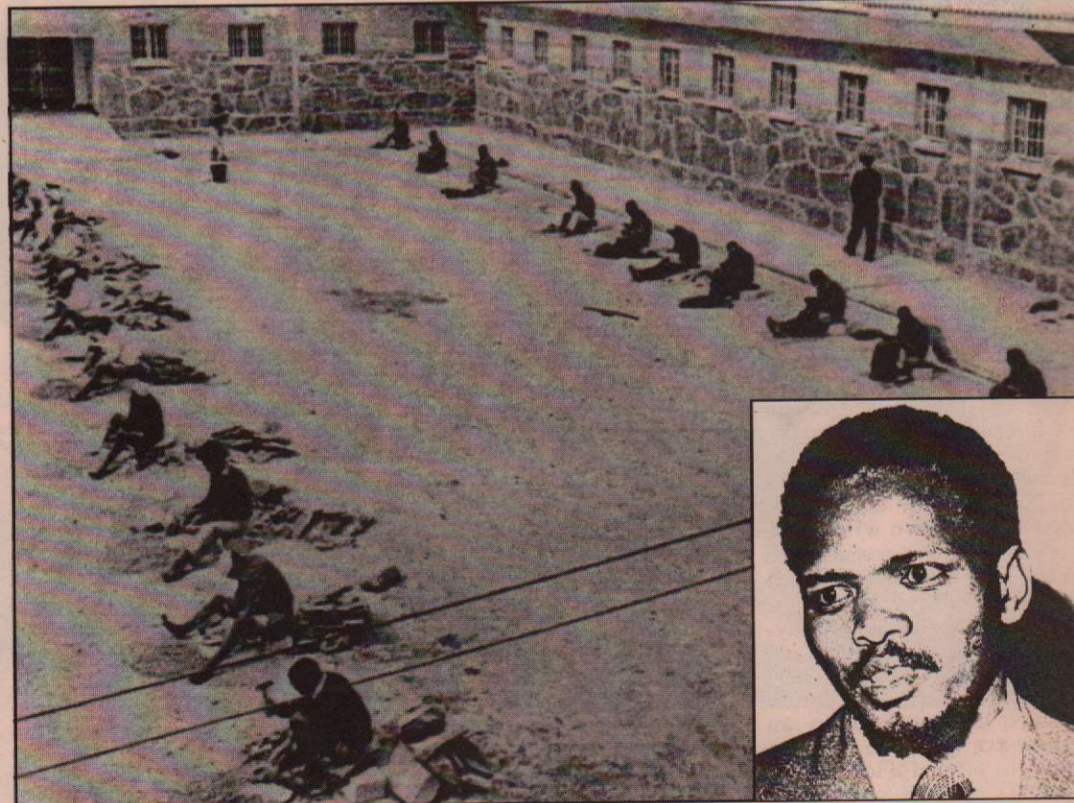
The pamphlet, 'Mutiny in the ANC, 1984' includes an 'Open letter to Mr Mandela from ex-ANC Detainees'.

Its main article, 'A Miscarriage of Democracy: The ANC Security Department in the 1984 Mutiny in Umkhonto we Sizwe', was written by five of those who mutinied against the abuses committed by the ANC's security apparatus.

It speaks of the young men of the security apparatus and how they were put into place as a response to the growing dissatisfaction among the young ANC fighters.

The main cause of discontent was the suppression of our uncontrollable desire to leave Angola and enter into South Africa to supplement the mass political upsurges of the people.

'Alongside this were also complaints about inefficiency of the front commanders and suspicions



De Klerk has sought absolution from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for brutalities like the hard labour at apartheid's prison camp at Robben Island and the death of Steve Biko (inset), but the victims' families seek justice (editorial, page 2)

that they were treacherously involved in the failure of many missions, leading to the mysterious death of our combatants in South Africa' (page 2).

'Mutiny in the ANC' goes on to say: 'The security organ of the ANC, which till then had just been composed of a few old cadres of the 1960s, began to be reorganised in all the camps.'

'Young men from our own generation who had recently undergone courses in the Soviet Union and East Germany were spread into all the camps. It was during this time that construction of a prison camp... was speeded up, which later took the form of the dreaded Quatro.'

The ANC report to the Com-

mission is forced to refer to 'Quatro' (known also as camp 32 and the Morris Seabelo centre).

'Mutiny in the ANC' quotes Saba Maledza, a former inmate, as making the best description of Quatro: 'When you get in there, forget about human rights.'

The five mutineers say of the prison camp: 'Quatro became worse than any prison that even the apartheid regime — itself considered a crime against humanity — had ever had.'

The administration of Quatro was limited to members of the security forces, mostly young members of the underground South African Communist Party. The Stalinist methods were learned in Stalinist schools.

Zimbabwe strikers challenge Mugabe

WATCHED by police with semi-automatic weapons and tear gas canisters ready, some 7,000 striking public service workers at a rally in Harare, the Zimbabwean capital, heard union leader Give-more Masongorera call on President Robert Mugabe to be 'man enough' to meet their demands.

'Intimidation is not the right approach', said the Public Service Association president. 'The manly thing to do is to face the problem right in the face, acknowledge our stance that we are not going to accept insults, and pay us.'

Hospitals, mortuaries and airports have been affected by the strike, for pay rises of over 20 per cent to catch up with inflation.

Labour Minister Florence Chitauro announced on television that: 'All the civil servants who did not return to work are fired and they will not be permitted to return to work.'

'We were not hired on television and so we cannot be fired on television,' Masongorera replied. There were procedures and the government must follow them.

President Mugabe claimed the strike was 'illegal' and remarked provocatively that this might be the opportunity to reduce the public service. But it was reported that the government would probably have to turn to negotiations.

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