

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside

The fight for workers' unity in the North
—centre pages

Malcolm X —page 12

Mexico: Protests at clampdown —page 5

£1.80 FOR PENSIONERS

£35m FOR THE BANKS

Quinn looks after the rich

IRELAND'S TWO major banks are making nearly £2 million profit a day.

Profits at the Allied Irish Bank and the Bank of Ireland have shot up last year and they will now turn in a combined profit of £700 million.

The sharks who own the banks

should not be let keep this money. But instead of attacking their greed, the Labour Minister Ruairi Quinn is cutting a £35 million levy on the banks.

Sacked

He claims that this will help to create jobs. This is nonsense. The banks have sacked thou-

sands of their own staff and created a low paid yellow pack grade.

They are not interested in jobs—only in profits.

But Quinn has no generosity when it comes to Ireland's pensioners.

He gave them a miserable £1.80 increase.

"He expects us to live on toast

and beans—while he swans around with the bankers" is how one pensioner put it.

Fine Gael are determined to reward their rich friends.

Insulted

The big farmers, the banks and big business have gained millions from the last budget.

But Labour and Democratic Left have insulted their supporters.

Once they get into a Mercedes they forgot about people who are forced to live on social welfare.

This new government has shown that it will only take care of the rich.

We have to organise to fight them.

COLLEGES IN CRISIS

Students take action

Galway

A THOUSAND students from Galway and Athlone braved the rain to protest at the decline of facilities for students in their region.

Overcrowding has reached incredible levels.

Libraries are the scene of a fierce struggle for books.

Students often have to sit on the floor of classrooms.

At UCG semesterisation has had a very detrimental effect on students lives.

Decline

The Student's Union has seen a large decline in the activities of all the sports clubs and societies.

Even worse, the college does not have the facilities for the February

exams.

The authorities have send students to sports halls and leisure centres—without providing transport.

The conditions at these halls are so bad that students have been taking their exams while wearing scarves and gloves.

U.C.D.

U.C.D. CAME to a standstill on February 10 as students boycotted their lectures. It was a show of anger at the attempt by the college authorities to impose semesterisation. This means having two exams a year.

In a referendum held on the previous day, 94% of students voted against



On the march in Galway

semesterisation.

Students like workers have come under massive attacks. Library funding has been cut. Lecture theatres are overcrowded and there are fewer tutorials. The summer dole has been abolished and grants remain totally inadequate.

For students it will mean

shorter summer holidays and this will limit their ability to earn enough money to put themselves through college.

Several thousand students joined the protest outside administration building on February 10th. It was a great show of strength which could make a powerful im-

pact on the college. But the students union needs to take more militant action. A golden opportunity was thrown away by not occupying key parts of the college.

Follow up action should now be planned until the authorities give a commitment to withdraw their plans.

Keeping incest a secret

THE DECISION by a High Court Judge, Paul Carney that all incest cases must be held in total secrecy in future hardly raised an eyebrow in the media.

Cases can now be held even without the public knowing that they are taking place.

The judiciary claim that the move will further protect the identity of incest victims.

But they say nothing about abuse being driven even further into the dark.

The public will have no access to information about the problem or its

extent, and it will not be open for discussion.

Ruling

If this ruling had gone through, the logic would be that the X case would never have been heard about.

Co-incidentally, a Garda superintendent is up on a child abuse charge.

Are the full details of the case to be kept secret?

FOR 'QUEEN AND COUNTRY'

IN THE midst of the British establishment's campaign to free Private Lee Clegg, his old mates in the Para regiment may have unwittingly hurt his case.

They certainly hurt James McGuire from Aldershot.

Four of them laid into Mr McGuire as he queued outside a night club.

Having made fun of his Scottish accent, one of them punched him in the face.

Tripped

When he tried to run, he was tripped up and repeatedly kicked as he laid on the ground.

The beatings put him out of work for six months.

The judge who heard the case described the attacks as "a moment of madness". But these thugs are trained to behave just like this.

None of the Paras was imprisoned for the attack.

The judge had said that "the service you have given your country must weigh in your favour".

WATER CHARGES CON

THE LABOUR Party and Democratic Left said they were against water charges when they were in opposition.

But now they are only offering a small tax rebate on the charges.

A maximum of £40 tax relief on water charges is being offered to those who pay £150 on the charges.

But even this miserly relief will not be implemented this year.

People will have to wait until the end of 1997 to make any gains. Co-incidentally, the postponed local elections take place in 1998.

This sick measure should be resisted.

The campaign not to pay the charges should be re-galvanised.

Quinn's budget is...

A giveaway for bosses

RUAIRI QUINN's budget has been described by most of the media as a 'giveaway' for workers. 'All workers will be better off' said the *Irish Times*. 'Superquinn' was the banner headline on the *Star*.

But the first budget by a Labour Party finance minister is far from radical. His tax,

social welfare and PRSI concessions total £1 million less than what was given last year by Fianna Fail's Bertie Ahern.

Quinn's real giveaway is to the employers and the Irish rich. *Socialist Worker's* 'at a glance' budget guide below gives the real story behind the hype.



What WE get

- The average industrial worker comes out of a boom year budget just £2.32 better off.
- A married couple with two children on one spouse's income of £15,000 a year will only gain £3.56 a week.
- Increases in child benefit. But these only amount to £1.30 a week per child and come in in mid June.
- After April new entrants to low paid Civil Service grades will have to pay full PRSI—this will make them worse off than they would be at present.
- Social Welfare payments will go up by a miserly 2.5 per cent. The Lone Parent Allowance will only increase by £2.50 a week.

The REAL winners

- **BUSINESS:** Corporation tax will be cut by 2 per cent from 40 per cent to 38 per cent. This will benefit the service industries which already make huge profits. The new measure will save them at least £43 million.
- **EMPLOYERS** will have to pay less PRSI for workers who earn between £9,000 and £12,000 a year.
- **BANKS:** The levies on the banks which raised £35 million are to be scrapped.
- **STOCKBROKERS:** The dealers who are setting up on the Dublin branch of the New York Cotton Ex-

- change can claim a refund on their income tax over the last three years.
- **BIG PROPERTY OWNERS:** Labour have done a U-turn on the Residential Property tax—and have cut the taxes on those who live in mansions. Someone with a house that is valued at £200,000 will save £410 pounds in tax.
- **PRISONS:** The prison budget will double as the coalition gives the go-ahead for new prisons in Castlereagh and Mountjoy.
- **LARGE FARMERS:** More tax relief for farms that are valued at £300,000 plus.

Disability Demo

A LIVELY demonstration was held by the Irish Wheelchair Association on February 1st.

Representatives handed in a letter to the Minister for Health demanding more access and services.

Micheal Noonan responded by announcing that an additional £2.5m would be found to meet this demand.

But the IWA pointed

out that this money covered only essential support services and said "it's only a drop in the ocean, more is still needed in order to address the deficiencies that exist."

The Department of Health's own review group in 1993 recommended the immediate allocation of £5.6m to improve services for people using wheelchairs, 88% of whom are without full time work.

STOP THIS 'SUPERDUMP'

PEOPLE IN Mulhuddart are angry at plans to build a "superdump" in their area.

National Toll Roads are looking for permission to locate the dump near the Wellview housing estate.

Not only will the toxic

waste be a health hazard but children will be in danger from juggernauts driving through the area on their way to the site.

National Toll Roads are trying to buy off lo-

cal anger by promising to hide the dump with trees and build a playground nearby!

Socialist Worker's Blanchardstown branch has called a picket of the dump site in Wellview for Sunday 26th February at 2pm.

'Big Issues' bugs bigots

JOHN CLERKIN of the Children's Protection Association has complained that the *Big Issues* magazine is 'promoting sodomy'.

But the High Court has refused to give the magazine an injunction stopping Clerklin from organising a boycott against them.

Clerkin is a bigot who once stood as a candidate for the right wing Christian Centrist Party. He is now part of Nora Bennis' Solidarity, a group that claims sex education is a form of child abuse!

They also campaigned against the Stay Safe programme which combats child abuse. So much for protecting children!

what we think

Coalition wants a low wage economy



Knightingales strikers picket in Dublin's ILAC centre

IFA hysteria

The farming industry in Ireland is up in arms. The IFA and Unionist politicians such as Ken McGuinness have started to denounce the "rent-a-mob" demonstrators who are protesting about the live animal export trade.

But the protesters are genuinely concerned with the welfare of animals.

One demonstrator, Jill Phipps, was brutally killed as she sat under a lorry in Britain to stop the export of calves.

Nobody does that because they are "paid agitators".

Animals are exported from Ireland in an atrocious fashion.

Purcell Meats sends thousands of cattle on a two week trip to North Africa in overcrowded pens.

The big ranchers in Ireland want to keep a large live export trade rather than create jobs.

But this treatment towards animals is only one aspect of a system that values only profits.

The big farmers have

pumped cattle with growth enhancing hormones which are a danger to humans.

They have even hidden the full story about the BSE disease which can mutate from animals to humans.

Animal rights activists are reacting against the brutality inflicted by capitalism.

Pretend

A decent society would ensure that animals are treated humanely.

The main problem in capitalist society is that not even human beings are treated humanely.

Travellers are more likely to die at a young age because of the appalling conditions they live under.

Prisoners are locked

up for 22 hours a day with little concern for their welfare.

And when it comes to producing the necessary drugs that keep people alive, it is better that these drugs are tested on animals than humans.

Anyone who wants a better world could not argue that a new drug for AIDs be tested on poor working class people who have to offer their bodies for experiments rather than on animals.

The main division for socialists is not between humans and animals but between rich and poor within human society itself.

Working class people have the potential to liberate themselves.

This holds out the prospect of a better society for everyone.

It would also guarantee that the needless brutality which capitalism inflicts on animals would end.

THE FIRST budget introduced by a Labour Minister has brought no real change for working people.

Even the bosses newspaper, the *Sunday Business Post* could point out that "Increases in unemployment payments, old age pensions and other supports will be less than on any other occasion in the last 30 years".

The Labour Party used to argue that previous Coalitions failed because the right wing parties controlled the key Ministries like the De-

partment of Finance.

But Ruairi Quinn has shown why this argument makes no sense.

Committed

He is as committed to a market driven, low wage economy as John Bruton or Bertie Ahern.

Quinn has followed the policy of every other Irish government in cutting taxes on big business and the banks.

Companies like Packard Electric, for example, will save around £7 in PRSI payments for every worker they employ—provided they keep wages rates below £12,000 a year.

And in order to encourage workers to take more low paid jobs, Quinn and de Rossa try to keep social welfare payments to a minimum.

The proudest boast of the Labour party in the past was that it looked after those on social wel-

fare. Today they are much happier to be cheered on the stock markets.

In every country in Europe parties like the Labour party and Democratic Left have turned on their own supporters.

In France, Italy and Spain right wing parties have grown on the disillusionment.

The first budget of a Labour Finance Minister shows why there is a need for an alternative party for working people in Ireland.

Fees abolished... Now give us decent grants

THIRD LEVEL fees are to be abolished—and not before time. It will only cost the government £6 million a year after they scrap the upper class tax covenants.

The move has been criticised by groups such as the Conference of major Religious Superiors and even the students union in Trinity College as a sop to the middle classes.

This is nonsense. Thousands of workers could never afford to send their children to college.

Irish universities

for access to college.

It only puts pressure on students to follow courses which they may not want to take.

Expected

The real problem with Niamh Breathnach's move is that it does not go far enough.

Students are still expected to live on a miserly grant of £1600. It does not cover much more than the rent on a flat.

15,000 Post Leaving Cert students from mainly working class backgrounds do not get any grant at all.

The fees should be scrapped—and the grants raised substantially so that education is a right and not a privilege.

Nor is it the case we have to choose between having a grant or no fees.

We should have both and insist that the rich are taxed heavily to pay for them.

Meningitis: Poverty is the real scandal

LAST MONTH there was a significant rise in meningitis in the Dublin area.

The disease which is associated with the meningococcal organism attacks the blood system and causes brain damage.

If not detected early enough, it can cause death, particularly among children.

The disease is clearly related to poorer living conditions.

One standard medical text book claims that those susceptible to the disease are more likely to live in overcrowded, badly ventilated and insanitary conditions.

Conditions

Reported figures show that large working class areas of North West Dublin—including Blanchardstown,

Cabra and Finglas—have a higher incidence than other areas of Dublin.

One doctor who spoke to *Socialist Worker*, said "Groups such as travellers are much more prone to the disease."

"The Eastern Health Board reacted well to the outbreak—but there was not enough emphasis put on the need for better ventilated and living conditions".

A vaccine for the disease

which has been produced in Cuba has a 83% rate of effectiveness.

The vaccine is used widely in Brazil and Argentina.

The Irish Department of Health, however, refused permission for the use of the vaccine.

Instead it has snapped up an order of the HIB vaccine which has been produced by the giant drug company Wellcome.

Plenty of repressive powers left...

THE LIFTING of the "State of Emergency", declared during the 2nd World War has been heralded as a progressive move by politicians and media alike. But the truth is that this government has more than enough laws to ensure that the police can deal with any so-called threat to the State.

The *Offences Against the State Act* is still widely used. It allows the police to arrest without warrant and detain suspects for up to 48 hours. Without it they can only

hold a suspect for six hours with a possible extension for another six. This Act is used widely in all situations and not just in political cases.

The *Special Criminal Court*, a non-jury, politically biased institution, has been extensively in use and heard cases earlier this month. There seems to be no sign of the government relinquishing this bastion of power which was used to frame many of its victims, including Nicky Kelly who was treated under the law just like the Birmingham 6

and Guildford 4.

The *Public Order Act* introduced by our "liberal, government" last year, gives further sweeping powers to Gardai and has been used to threaten workers in TEAM Aer Lingus and trade union pickets on Dunnes Stores.

Meanwhile, the Minister for Justice, Nora Owen is planning to put a bill before the Dail that will severely restrict the right to bail. She wants to remove the "presumption of innocence" in bail applications.

THINGS THEY SAY

"When I attended the EU summit in Corfu, practically everybody was at the pool on the morning after the first day. Nobody said we were all on the doss"—*Bertie Ahern*
 "'Twas like a funeral. Like a death in the family"—*Phil Hogan on reaction to his resignation*
 "You have your own company, your own temperature, your own music and you don't have to put up with dreadful human beings sitting beside you"—*British Transport Minister, Steve Norris, pushing the value of the private car.*
 "Ruairi's bourgeois budget"—*Headline in the Sunday Tribune*

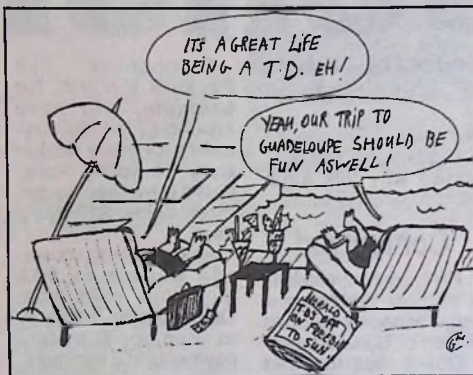
LOW WAGES

HOW MANY times have you been at work and the boss tells you to get a move on, probably ranting at the same time about Irish workers being "un-competitive" and "way out of line with our European counterparts." Recent research shows they are talking rubbish. Comparing the average labour costs in manufacturing for 1993, a British study found the figure for Ireland was 11.88 dollars an hour. In Britain it was 12.37 dollars an hour. Both countries are also below Italy (14.8), France (16.2), US (16.4), Japan (16.9) and many others.

EMERGENCY SERVICE

THE seriousness of the recent meningitis scare didn't seem to get as far as the ear of Gardai. A Dun Laoghaire mother was distraught to find one of her children very sick and showing, what seemed at the time, meningitis symptoms. Just as she phoned for an ambulance, she spotted a parked Garda car nearby,

with the two coppers doing nothing more than picking their noses. The woman rushed down to the car with the hope of getting her child to the nearest hospital. The Guard said: "Get the f*** out of this car." She couldn't believe what had happened. Luckily the ambulance came shortly and the child was okay.



Boot camp

THE IRISH Independent is on a law and order kick again. Last week they were gloating about a prison camp for children in America. They claimed it was "the best boot camp in the entire country".

Inmates have their heads shaved, get up at 5am, and "stand to attention immediately", the Indo wrote. "One 15-year old has been too slow with his boots. He had to undress and start again. This happened three times ... the atmosphere of sheer terror is tangible." Youngsters who don't go along with the tyranny in the camp are locked up on their own for up to 24 hours.

By the way, America has one of the worst rates of murder in the industrial world. But the Irish Inde-

pendent ignores this fact in its campaign for more brutality.

THE UUP seems to have warmed to the idea of a 32 county Republic. Or maybe councillor Jim Rogers' tongue slipped on *Morning Ireland* last week when he said: "We want everyone, Catholic and Protestant, to work together for a united Ireland"?

Brutal racist rites

SOCIALIST Worker recently reported on revelations that members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment had tortured a Somali to death in Mogadishu during their role as UN "peacekeepers".

Now comes evidence of degrading and racist initiation rites captured on video and recently shown on television.

Footage showed soldiers being made to eat bread soaked in excrement, vomit and urine.

The only black member was subjected to a particularly brutal ordeal and called "nigger" and "nig-nog". He was put on a leash, paraded like a dog and then

tied to a tree and covered in talcum powder.

Coming after the torture exposure, the revelations have so shocked the country that Ministers have been forced to pledge to disband the regiment.

But General John de Chastelain, Canada's top general, has pleaded for the regiment to be kept together for its next assignment—as part of the UN peacekeeping force in Croatia.

NEVER LET THEM FORGET

FIANNA FAIL again showed their true colours at a recent debate in the Seanad.

Senator Michael Finneran questioned a decision to debate the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, rather than flooding in the West of Ireland.

Finneran had the gall to complain that Auschwitz had happened a long time ago.

Thankfully, he was shouted down. Fianna Fail were not happy to hear Joe Sherlock (DL) point out that 50 years ago the Fianna Fail government refused entry to Jewish refugees from Hitler's Ger-

many. In 1938, an official in the Department of Justice wrote an internal memo to the effect that it would be unwise to consider admitting refugees "with Jewish blood".

THERE IS nothing to beat the enthusiasm of a British Bobby. In Oxford University a policeman had to be rescued by a porter after he climbed into a locked compound to confront a burglar he saw transfixed in the moonlight. It turned out to be found a statue.

TROLLEY BEDS

QUINN'S BUDGET has done nothing to help patients in Galway and surrounding areas, where horror stories continue to be revealed.

185 patients have had to sleep on trolleys in the past months and 2,000 operations were cancelled due to chronic overcrowding at University College Hospital. Occupancy at the hospital last year ran at 104%!

Dozens of very sick people are being turned away due to the crisis. One man suffering from serious coronary disease had to spend two nights lying on a trolley in Casualty because a bed could not be found for him. The hospital is the main one in the West of Ireland.

by EAMONN McCANN

Sold a PUP

DURING a discussion of "The State of the Unionists" on UTV's *Counterpoint* David Ervine of the Progressive Unionist Party complained that his group hadn't been invited to a meeting of the "Unionist family" to thrash out a joint programme for fighting the "Framework Document" if it contained proposals for all Ireland institutions.

His party were as good as marginal, if not irrelevant, has created space for the new groups to operate in. Some of their activists have a track record in community organisations and "self-help" projects and have earned credibility in that area. But, as their line on the Framework Document shows, they are operating to channel this discontent along the old sectarian lines.

Ervine wanted to clear up any ambiguity. The PUP had criticised mainstream Unionists for a knee-jerk, hysterical reaction to the leak to the *Times*. But that didn't mean the PUP was soft on "cross-border institutions with executive powers". On the contrary, if the document did contain what the *Times* said it would, "All hell will break loose".

Gary McMichael, spokesman for the other "working class loyalist" group, the Ulster Democratic Party, has taken the same line.

Presumably, this will come as something of a disappointment to those who have welcomed the emergence of the PUP and the UDP as a breath of fresh air and, potentially, the beginnings of a breakthrough into less sectarian politics in the North.

Stirred

Over the past six months, people like Ervine, McMichael and Billy Hutchinson have stirred many hopes. They have had no problem appearing on platforms with Sinn Fein, taken the same line as Sinn Fein on the prisoners' issue, spoken with scorn about the failures of the old Unionist leaders and highlighted poverty among Protestant workers. All this has created an impression that they represent a break with the past.

But their attitude to Sinn Fein, for example, has a more obvious explanation. They have a vested interest in portraying themselves as Protestant equivalents of Sinn Fein—and, by implication, portraying the UVF and UDA as Protestant versions of the IRA. This obscures crucial differences—the fact that Sinn Fein has a solid electoral base and the IRA grew organically out of a communal struggle against oppression while the UVF and UDA emerged to assert the dominance of one community over another.

However, it suits a broad range of interests, from the NIO to the Republican Movement itself, to accept the false parallel.

This is not to say there's nothing authentic about the PUP and UDP: they reflect genuine and widespread discontent among Protestant workers facing rising unemployment, deepening poverty and

cuts in social spending. The fact that the OUP and DUP regard these issues as marginal, if not irrelevant, has created space for the new groups to operate in. Some of their activists have a track record in community organisations and "self-help" projects and have earned credibility in that area. But, as their line on the Framework Document shows, they are operating to channel this discontent along the old sectarian lines.

This is inevitable, given that they have set out not to represent the working-class but, in their own definition, the *Loyalist* working-class. The basis for their organisations is that the Shankill has interests which must be articulated separately and distinct from, and in contradiction with, the interests of the Falls. Seeking to speak for deprived areas, they do take up social and economic issues. But, given their perspective, it's in a spirit of measuring the interests of "their" section of the working class against the interests of "the other side". And all the time they have to be careful not to be outbid by Paisley and Molyneux in relation to core *Loyalist* issues.

Distaste

Thus, while speaking in working-class accents and terms and espousing a distaste for sectarianism, when it comes to the crunch, they are old-style not-an-inchers. They will allow for no constitutional expression of the nationalist sense of identity of the Catholic working class. Any move in that direction, even the tentative move envisaged in the *Times* version of the Framework Document, would result in "all hell breaking loose".

We know, as David Ervine must, from Greysteel and Loughinisland, what "all hell" means here.

Protestant workers cannot free themselves other than in association with the other section of the working class.

And that can't be done without a clear acknowledgement of Catholic workers' rights, if they choose, to assert their nationalist identity. If there are in the ranks of the PUP or the UDP men and women who want to break from the sectarian politics of the past, and into a future in which class rather than community holds sway, then they well have to move decisively on this issue. But there is no sign of this happening.

Socialist Worker welcomes

letters

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Single parents blamed

READING *Socialist Worker's* article on how the US government is attacking the living conditions of single parents made me realise how single parents are used as scapegoats.

It's very easy to blame single parents for the poverty, crime and lack of education that many children suffer from. It lets the

government off the hook big time.

But the truth is that single parents live on the poverty line themselves and receive the most meagre support from the state.

Most single mothers have no access to creche facilities if they want to go out to work and are forced into poverty in the home where they are often isolated and lonely.

Instead of attacking the living conditions of single parents governments



Under attack

should be giving them more support to allow them and their children live with some dignity and comfort. ELAINE NOLAN DUBLIN

Media lies about workers

ANY WORKER who has ever been on strike will have of experience of biased media reporting. From the hysterical anti-worker ranting of the *Herald* to the pompous tones of the *Irish Times*, the message is the same; workers are greedy, stupid and don't understand the real

world. Recently, Jackie Gallagher, the industrial correspondent of the *Irish Times* has written much about the need for workers to be "flexible" if that means cuts in pay, extra hours, worse conditions etc. Then so be it. According to Jackie the main

problem was a minority of militants who were giving union leaders a hard time.

Another target for Mr. Gallagher was the semi-states. Over-staffed, overpaid, over-financed and inhabited by more Luddite militants. One strike in Dublin Bus had even been

caused by inter-union rivalry. (It had in fact been caused by a refusal of management to negotiate changes in work practices).

Mr. Gallagher has now given up his job with the *Irish Times*. He has just been appointed to Berti Ahern's inner cabinet.

WRONGS AND HURTS

SPEAKING in Canterbury Cathedral, Cardinal Daly took it upon himself to "ask forgiveness from the people of this land for the wrongs and hurts inflicted by Irish people upon the people of this country on many occasions during that shared history and particularly in the last 25 years."

How dare he speak in the name of an oppressed nation. On 27th January the world remembered the liberation of Auschwitz from Nazi tyranny.

One of the few survivors, Rudi Virba, a Slovakian Jew, escaped from the camp in 1944 as

the Nazis were preparing for the destruction of the Hungarian Jews.

He came from an area of Europe run by a henchman of Hitler's, Father Tiso, a Catholic priest.

Virba took his warnings to the Vatican Papal Nuncio and the information was passed to the Vatican, The Pope, Pius XII did nothing.

Speaking of the Tiso regime, Rudi Virba denounced it as "clerical fascism".

These are the "wrongs and hurts" that really deserve Daly's apologies.

JOSEPH MCCARROLL, ENNISKILLEN

No surprise, your average industrial correspondent is no independent minded journalist seeking fair play. They have political ideas and allegiances and usually to right-wing anti-worker party politics like Fianna Fail.

OWEN MCCORMACK, DUBLIN

MEXICO:

Huge protest against war on rebels



Marcos: a symbol for all who hate the government

"WE are all Marcos". That was the shout of almost 100,000 people who marched through Mexico City earlier this month.

The protest, the biggest for years in the city, was against the Mexican government's new war against the Zapatista rebels in the south of the country.

President Ernesto Zedillo has broken off negotiations with the rebels and launched a military offensive into their stronghold in the southern Chiapas state.

His declared aim is to break the Zapatistas and

their EZLN movement and capture the rebel commander Marcos.

Marcos has become a symbol for everyone in the country who hates the government and on Saturday's protest march people wore balaclavas masking their faces in imitation of the rebel commander.

Negotiate

The Zapatista rebels, many of them dispossessed peasants, began their revolt a year ago in protest against

poverty and the lack of land. The government sought to negotiate until recently and then changed tack.

The roots of the new crisis lay in the collapse of the Mexican currency, the peso, just before Christmas.

It was only bailed out from complete financial collapse by a multi-billion dollar rescue package put together by Bill Clinton.

60% of the shares on the Mexican stock exchange are controlled by US investors.

The collapse of the peso sent shock waves around the boardrooms of big business across the world.

Clinton's rescue package has added a huge debt of nearly 30 billion dollars to the Mexican economy.

The government is determined that workers and the poor will pay through a new round of cutbacks.

Austerity

Zedillo hoped to win opposition parties to back the austerity measures but agreement looks less likely now.

The Mexican ruling party, the Party of Institutionalised Revolution, has the longest hold on office of any party in the world.

It rules by corruption and vote rigging.

One of its more enthusiastic supporters is Albert Reynolds, the former leader of Fianna Fail.

Zedillo is gambling on a quick success against the Zapatistas to boost his authority.

But the attempted repression could blow up in his face.

Mexico was once hailed as a success story of Latin America.

Now it is rocked by instability and more and more people are moving into revolt against its system.

FRANCE:

Demos and strikes force climbdown

FRENCH STUDENTS have shown how to fight and win.

For the second time in a year they humbled the country's conservative government after taking to the streets in protest.

The successful student revolt came amid growing protests by teachers, nursery workers and lecturers in defence of education.

The student protest centred in the IUT technical colleges, which were also at the centre of the huge and successful revolt last year over youth wages.

This time the protests began after the government issued a plan to limit the possibility of IUT students going on to university and other higher education courses.

Across the country, IUT students declared strikes and lecture boycotts. And on February 7 they joined a national day of action in defence of education.

Teachers, nursery workers and lecturers all struck for a day, demanding more funding for education. They and students joined marches in cities across France.

Some 100,000 people marched in all, with over 20,000 demonstrating in Paris and thousands in each of a score of provincial cities.

The IUT students followed up with more protests on February 10th. Over 5,000 demonstrated against prime minister Edouard Balladur when he visited Nantes in the west of the country.

Some 2,000 people marched in Clermont Ferrand, 4,000 in Grenoble and over 1,000 in towns from Toulouse to Aix-en-Provence.



Schoolstudents join teachers in Paris demo

The scale of the protests was not as large as that seen last year, when over half a million joined marches in the biggest student protest since the great revolt of

1968.

But this month's demonstrations were enough to raise the spectre of a rerun of last year's revolt.

Rather than risk that,

Balladur announced that he was dropping the IUT plan and would negotiate with the student leaders.

Balladur is terrified that revolt from below could

scupper his hopes of becoming French president in elections due in April and May.

At the moment he is clear front runner in the fight to take over from the current president, the Socialist Party's Francois Mitterrand.

He hopes a quiet spring will give him an easy run in to victory, but his hopes may be dashed.

Both Balladur's main right-wing rival, Jacques Chirac, and the Socialist Party candidate Lionel Jospin will now hope to exploit Balladur's troubles.

Official politics in France is already being completely dominated by the presidential campaign, which is being conducted around a shallow debate about personalities.

The real issues that matter to ordinary people, of unemployment, cuts and poverty, barely get a look in.

But the student victory

and the education protests could be signs that whoever wins the presidential campaign will soon face bigger revolts from below.

As well as education, this month saw strikes by air cabin crew, some rail workers and Parisian postal workers.

All these groups are now threatening more action.

French bosses are also clearly worried about revolt. Earlier this month the CPMF employers' organisation began talks with the country's main union fed-

erations aimed at bringing about a "new social contract" to "maintain social cohesion".

And some French press commentators now worry about the possibility of a "hot summer" of protest.

Four times in just over a year, mass protests and strikes, by students, airport workers and farmers, have inflicted humiliating defeats on France's conservative government. This shows militant action can achieve more than all the parliamentary manoeuvres.

German workers walkout

OVER HALF a million German engineering workers have staged walkouts over pay in the past month.

Hundreds of thousands more were to join brief "warning strikes", as leaders of the giant IG Metall union threatened all out strikes by the end of February.

They were set to announce the timetable for ballots if the bosses had still made no pay offer.

Germany's engineers form potentially the most powerful union in Europe, with more than three million members at the heart of the European Union's biggest

economy.

Fear of job losses has seen them accept wage rises below inflation in the past few years.

But now the government openly talks of an economic upturn, indeed, this was the basis of Chancellor Kohl's campaign to win re-election last year.

Profits

Company order books are full and the employers are making big profits.

At the same time, Kohl's government has imposed costly new taxes.

There was a 7.5 percent increase in income tax in January, imposed for a year

as a so-called "solidarity tax" to cover government spending in east Germany, plus an additional 0.5 percent deducted from wages to go to pensioners.

IG Metall leaders are claiming a 6 percent rise.

Whatever they settle for will set the rate for other workers.

The bosses had still refused to make an offer as we went to press, insisting the union concede on benefits and drop a planned hour's cut in the working week in October to pay for any rise.

This was to be the final reduction to 35 hour working, won by strikes in the 1980s.

The employers threatened lock-outs if the warn-

ing strikes continued, and will be backed by a law which denies social security benefits to workers laid off during a dispute.

But Germany's engineers can beat these threats if they really use their muscle.

Kohl's conservative government recognises this and is, so far, treading carefully.

It has kept quiet on pay, but hopes to push the idea that strikes will "endanger" the upturn and has launched a hypocritical advertising campaign for "new jobs".

Union leaders say there will be no concessions on hours or benefits but, disgracefully, may be prepared to settle for around 3 percent.

DEFEND KOREAN SOCIALISTS

PROTESTS TOOK place around the world on Wednesday 15th as the trial of socialist Choi Il-bung resumed in South Korea.

Choi is one of 32 socialists charged under South Korea's National Security Law, used to silence leftwing opposition. Seventeen of them are in prison.

The trial of another, socialist publisher Nam Su-Kyong, has also begun.

The evidence against Choi is that he was photographed selling a socialist paper on a demonstration, that he spoke at a socialist meeting and wrote letters to other socialists from prison.

He faces three years or more in jail. Choi has already served time on a previous charge of publishing socialist books.

Three hundred police raided the office of a South Korean defence campaign "the society for Supporting Imprisoned Workers" at the end of January.

Abroad, the Committee to Defend South Korean socialists has raised sponsorship for a page of advertisement "a defence statement" in the New York Review of Books to coincide with the trial.

It will appear in South Korea with more than 200 signatures of MPs, trade union leaders, writers and academics from a dozen countries.

The Fire Brigades Union, CPSA civil servants' general secretary Barry Reamsbottom and bakers' union leader Joe Marino in Britain have sponsored it.

In France, the union federation, the CGT and the main teaching union, FEN, have signed.

Contact the Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists, PO BOX 1648 Dublin 8.

The fight for work in the North

What plans do the British and Irish governments have for a settlement in Northern Ireland?

There have already been a number of leaks which give the general outline of their plans.

The most significant was in *The Times* where a right wing, pro-Unionist journalist revealed a lot of details.

A major element of the plan will be a new recognition of the Catholic, nationalist "identity" within Northern Ireland.

The British government will openly recognise the right of nationalists to carry an Irish passport; they will probably allow the tricolour to fly in certain areas of the North or provide more resources for the Irish language; they may even start moves to establish localised police forces who carry the harp as their emblems.

But the talk about "parity of esteem" is all about re-structuring sectarianism rather than abolishing it.

The changes will not fundamentally alter people's lives.

Both governments would like to see Catholic and Protestant workers trapped within different communities dreaming about King Billy or the forth green field—while they fight each other for every morsel.

To underpin the new shift, the two governments want to allow the Catholic middle class

to represent "their" community and advance their own interest in the meantime.

The Catholic middle class need the Southern state to protect and bolster their position.

Whatever they call it, some form of joint authority is on the cards.

The Southern government will also have to more fully recognise the Northern state and possibly change Articles Two and Three. So why are Unionist Parties up in arms?

Many writers on The North have this idea that sectarianism seeps into society from the poorest of the working class. They think there's little bigotry in the leafy suburbs of the Unionist middle class.

It's a wrong way of looking at it. Protestant workers have been pulled by sectarian traditions because of the competition for jobs and housing.

But the experience has always been contradictory.

You might attend an Orange march—and then fight alongside a Catholic worker against your Orange boss.

There's been a tradition of electing left wing Catholic shop stewards to represent loyalist workers.

With the Unionist middle

class it's different. They have a much more direct interest in perpetuating sectarian ideas.

These ideas allow their parties to campaign on issues that belong to the right of the British Tories.

Take the North's school system. There is still an 11+ exam which grades children at the age of eleven.

It allows the middle classes to get into select schools where they do well in exams—while the North also has the highest rate of working class failure in the UK.

The Unionist middle class are going to find increased competition from their Catholic counterparts if plans for joint authority go through.

There is going to be less well paid jobs in the police. Bastions of privilege such as Queen's are already making more room for the Catholic middle class.

Because Protestant workers do actively participate in trade unions, the middle class have little choice but to whip up sectarianism.

Over the next year we will see politicians like Taylor and Trimble compete with Paisley for the best lines in bigotry.

But won't they pull the Protestant working class with them in these campaigns?

It depends. Protestant workers have faced major changes over the last twenty five years. In the

THE BRITISH and Irish government are about to publish their framework document for the future of Northern Ireland. It's supposed to lay the basis for a final settlement of the Irish conflict. Here KIERAN ALLEN looks at the issues involved.



past the typical Protestant worker was male, skilled and fairly well paid.

Today there are more women working; engineering is in decline and the jobs are in the public sector.

A Protestant worker today is more likely to work alongside a Catholic.

But the jobs are less secure and much worse paid.

Bigots try to pick up on this by blaming the Catholics for 'reversing discrimination' and so causing the new poverty.

Any moves towards joint authority could be presented by the Unionist Parties as a new situation where Protestants once again lose out.

Yet the Unionist parties also face difficulty. They are more divided than ever.

In the past, they represented Orange capital which had a direct tie to the workforce—but this is now gone.

Their credibility and power came from the backing of the British state. The shift in Britain's strategy undermines them here.

The question they now face is: what are they fighting for. Many groups mobilised to get out of the British empire—but very few succeed in gate-crashing when the host objects to their table manners.

The recent bye-election in Rathcoole shows the sort of possibilities—and dangers that

are on offer. Rathcoole is one of the largest housing estates in Europe.

The briefest visit to the estate would convince anyone that there is nothing privileged about the people here.

It is also an area where the UDA and UVF have been strong.

The election was a massive vote of no confidence in the established Unionist parties. Although the Official Unionists won the vote, only 22% of the electorate turned out.

The media has really given a platform to the two parties connected with loyalist paramilitaries—the PUP and the UDP. They pretend to stand for working class interests.

But the interesting thing is that they were beaten by a Labour Party grouping.

If Protestant workers start looking for change—there is no reason to believe they will turn to the dusted-off sectarians of the UDA/UVF.

The key thing is what alternative is offered. If they are faced with an alliance of Adams, the Southern establishment and Clinton, then it looks like every gain for nationalists is a loss for them.

But if there is a revival of class conflict in Britain and Ireland and a growth of left ideas, thousands of Protestant workers can shift quickly from a sense of betrayal to a fight for their class

Is it not better to follow the pragmatic road adopted by Adams. The peace process could be a stepping stone to a united Ireland and once that has been achieved we could move on to normal left-right politics?

When the ceasefire happened there were a lot of illusions that Adams had something up his sleeve. People felt there had to be something more going on to get the IRA to stop.

In reality, the IRA gained very little. The deployment of the paras in West Belfast and the cutting back on prisoner releases this Xmas was a deliberate insult to republicans.

What has confused people, however, is what the British ruling class are up to. The fact is the British interest in the North has changed.

In the 1920s, they needed partition to protect substantial industrial investments and to

cut down the finalist revolt again

Afterwards, the North was military and sons—particular second world v

But ever since they have ways of establishing land arrangements not against a principle.

Neither do they the only way to ability. Their pr ship with the Ne have a lot of ro ity.

The ruling class in Ireland have ably adopted a moving toward arrangement of decades—and their terms.

But it would postpone class this type of settle

A united Ireland ever establish agreement of the ish and Irish ruling maintain the div Catholics and p

Where are republicans going too

The shift in politics is b



On the one road, maybe the wrong road

Workers' unity



to free the Birmingham Six. Thousands could have been mobilised throughout Ireland to protest.

But Sinn Fein did not mobilise. It now sees change coming from inside the corridors of power.

It wants an electoral alliance with the SDLP to share out the Catholic vote. It makes sense—there is now very little difference between them.

When the Southern state was rocked by the Smyth affair, it was the republicans who appealed for Reynolds to be kept in office to preserve stability.

The history of Irish republicanism has been one of co-optation into the system—and splits. It can happen again.

Groups like Republican Sinn Fein are making a bid for support from those who want to return to the armed struggle.

RSF stands for a 1950s style Ireland based on "self reliance" with national service for its youth and an Ulster parliament which tries to fob off loyalism with a promise that it can maintain a parliamentary majority.

It has a long record of seeking the same sort of accommodation Adams is seeking now.

A revival of groups like this would only be a tragic re-playing of old tunes.

Is there a socialist alternative to the Northern conflict—and what are the real chances of building a proper socialist party?

Take the Lee Clegg case. People were furious that the British Home Secretary, Michael Howard, could express sympathy for Clegg just one week after the campaign got going.

They know it took 17 years

We live in a world that is extremely volatile today. Masses of people across Europe can swing from left to right very quickly. A revival of class anger and resistance competes with racist and nationalist ideas.

The North is obviously a special case. But some of the same

dynamics are at work. Since the ceasefire, there has been a real mood for working class unity.

There is a common hatred of what the Tories have done. There is a feeling when you look at Rathcoole or West Belfast, working people have far more in common than what divides them.

There is also a political opening. Far more Protestant workers and students will listen to arguments against the monarchy, the role of the RUC, the "fur coat brigade" of Unionism.

Similarly more and more Catholics are realising that while republicanism may have expressed their anger—it has no real hope of changing Ireland.

The key in the end is politics and political argument.

Any organisation that stands for working class unity will get a hearing in the North today. But that is not enough.

To carry that sentiment through it should not give an inch to any idea which justifies the Northern state or discrimination against Catholics. It is for carrying on the anger that led to the revolt around civil rights two decades ago.

Where politics is supposed to be about "the constitutional issue" a socialist organisation has to show that it is not tied to any state.

It has to be about connecting the spirit of the X cases marches in Dublin with that of the Harland and Wolff workers who struck against the murder of a Catholic workmate Maurice O'Kane.

That can be achieved if a socialist organisation starts to do two things: It has to break from a small group mentality and start organising activity which brings the anti-Tory mood forward.

It also has to argue and argue to pull together a generation of Protestants and Catholics who trust each other's politics against any scheme this sectarian state can still throw up.



Orangeism offers nothing to Protestant workers

what do socialists say?

International Women's Day

by GER TUOHY

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day was first celebrated in 1910. The idea came from Clara Zetkin, a leading German socialist at the time.

Zetkin believed the day should be used to win working class women to socialist ideas.

Since then, March 8th each year has been celebrated all over the world with demonstrations and meetings.

The date marked the second anniversary of a militant demonstration of garment workers in New York City.

These, mainly women, workers had staged a long and bitter strike.

They fought for equal pay, childcare facilities and the right to vote.

The strike inspired socialists all over the world. The very first International Women's Day in Germany was a huge success with demonstrations of 30,000 women in some cities.

In 1917, women textile workers in Petrograd organised the first mass celebration of the working woman's holiday in Russia.

One eyewitness described how "driven to desperation by starvation and war" they organised under the theme "Opposition to the war, high prices and the situation of the woman worker".

The demonstration resulted in a massive strike movement which overthrew the Tsar.

The day was, in effect, the first day of the Russian Revolution.

The new workers' government enacted legislation which attempted to make women's liberation a reality for the first time ever

Equality

It established full social and political equality: the right to vote and hold public office, access to free and legal abortion, equal pay for equal work and free childcare.

In the first short years of its existence it set up socialised restaurants, nurseries and laundries to allow women workers the time and energy to participate as full citizens and take on new roles in running their workplaces.

The eventual defeat of the revolution through the rise of Stalinism saw these gains crushed.

Eighty-five years after the first International Women's Day the very issues which fired working class women to action still remain to be won in

Child Benefit.

■ **EQUAL PAY:** Despite legislation on equal pay, Irish women still earn, on average, only two thirds of men's wages.

Women are concentrated in low-paid part-time jobs where their employers treat them as a cheap pool of labour.

■ **DIVORCE:** The absence of divorce means that many women are still trapped in miserable and sometimes violent marriages.

Last year 4,000 women applied for barring orders in the courts against violent husbands.

Separation

Government statistics show that one in eight marriages ends in separation or desertion with at least five marriages breaking down each day.

Until civil divorce is available, women can not experience the dignity of free and equal relationships.

The demands made on that first Women's Day still have to be fought for today.

In recent years International Women's Day has, at best, been marked by workshops on topics like creative dancing and natural healing, hardly the burning issues for working class women!

It is time for socialists to reclaim the real tradition which inspired International Women's Day.

International Women's Day March



- **Abortion legislation now!**
- **Action on childcare!**
- **Equal pay for women!**
- **The right to civil divorce!**

March City Centre, Wednesday 8th March, Assemble 7.30pm Parnell Square

Called by Women's Day Committee

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NOW

Malcolm X

THIRTY YEARS ago one of the greatest black revolutionaries in America was murdered. The American establishment breathed a sigh of relief. They hated and feared Malcolm X because he called on black people to fight them "by any means necessary".

Today the FBI are trying to frame his daughter on a charge of trying to organise a paid assassin to kill her father's rival, Louis Farakan.

The rulers of America never forget those who defy them. They even want their offspring to suffer.

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19th 1925 in Omaha Nebraska.

Born into a world of hate, he saw four of his uncles die at the hands of racists.

His father was attacked one night, his skull crushed and his body laid across street car tracks where it was cut almost in half.

The death of his father triggered the mental deterioration of his mother and eventually lead to the break up of the family.

They were fostered out to different homes.

Malcolm found himself in a reform school where he was a top student but when he confided in a teacher that he would like to become a lawyer he was told: "That's no realistic goal for a nigger".

He left after ninth grade and went to live in Boston.

Dazzled by the night life he was attracted to the streets and as much as he could he shunned the straight menial jobs or 'slaves' open to black people.

He had his hair straightened in a 'conk'. He later said about it,

"This was my first really big step towards degradation. When I endured all that pain, literally burning my flesh to have it look like a white man's hair I had joined that multitude of Negro men and women in America who are so brain-washed into believing that black people are inferior and white people superior that they will even violate and mutilate their God-created bodies to try to look pretty by white standards".

With his white mistress, her sister and an old friend he put a gang together and they began robbing rich white neighbourhoods.

Crime

The gang was caught and in 1946 Malcolm and his friend were sentenced to ten years in prison.

The average stretch for burglary at that time was two years.

Their real crime was that they had slept with white women. It was in prison that his transformation happened. His family encouraged him to write to the Nation of Islam.

This was an organisation that had started to grow quickly among blacks in the Northern cities of the USA.

The American left had been destroyed by the

by **MICK DOYLE**

McCarthyite witch-hunts and its own attempts to influence the Democratic party.

The Nation of Islam stood out as the most determined organisation to fight white racism. It's easy to see how the Nation's portrayal of whites as "Blue-eyed devils" struck a cord with the angry young black man.

When he was released from prison in 1952 he joined the Nation's Temple no. 1 in Detroit.

He worked as a store salesman during the day but every evening he trawled the streets of the ghettos for recruits.

His talks on slavery stirred those who had come to hear him speak.

"I wish it was possible for me to show you the sea bottom in those days, the black bodies, the blood, the bones broken by boots and clubs, the pregnant black women who were thrown overboard if they got too sick, thrown overboard to the sharks who had learned that following these slave-ships was the way to get fat".

By 1954 there were temples in Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Atlanta.

His first confrontation with the authorities happened in his old stomping ground of Harlem.

When two Muslims refused to be moved on one of them, Brother Johnson Hinton had his skull cracked open with a policeman's night-stick.

Malcolm X assembled ranks of Muslims outside the police station the injured man was being held in.

The police were forced to back down, Hinton was brought to hospital, the ranks of Muslims dispersed.

By 1959 the Nation of Islam was receiving nationwide attention. Malcolm X was vilified by the media and accused of being a reverse racist.

Malcolm insisted: *"If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that is not black racism."*

"If you come to me and put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism."

"Yours is the racism, but my reaction has nothing to do with racism"

The following year the movement for black civil rights took off. 50,000 students, black and white, were involved in sit-ins across the South in protest against segregation. A Baptist minister, Martin Luther King was at the head of the movement.

He argued for a strategy

of non-violence stating that "we will soon wear you down with our capacity to suffer".

The US President John F Kennedy tried to co-opt the movement by promising a bill for civil rights.

His brother, Bobby, warned the movement to "cut out all that shit, freedom riding and sit-in shit, and concentrate on voter registration".

Malcolm X opposed any alliance with the Kennedy's and argued against the strategy of non-violence. He pointed to Kennedy's escalation of the Vietnam war and his attempt to invade Cuba.

He wrote: *"They are violent when their interests are at stake ... but when it comes time for you and me to protect ourselves against lynching they tell us to be non-violent"*.

After Kennedy was assassinated, Malcolm X refused to shed tears. Instead he merely said "the chickens are coming home to roost".

His new militancy and growing involvement in politics led to his expulsion from the Nation of Islam.

Divorced from the Nation he turned back to the streets and those final months of his life are the most enlightened and inspiring.

He moved sharply to the left and began to see the link between capitalism and racism.

He wrote: *"It is impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism"*.

He talked more openly about socialism. He was heavily influenced by the new African states such as Egypt and Kenya.

The leaders of these states called themselves socialist but they were only interested in nationalising some old colonial property—they were opposed to any form of workers control.

Death

On Sunday the 21st of February 1965 his own conviction that he would die a violent death was borne out.

As he started to speak at a meeting in the Audubon hotel in New York a scuffle broke out near the front of the crowd.

In the confusion that followed he was blasted with a shotgun and several revolvers and he died moments later. Precisely who was responsible for his death is still a matter of speculation but one thing is certain.

The assassination of Malcolm X robbed the world, and not just the black world, of one of its greatest fighters for human dignity and equality.



**"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker"—
Malcolm X**

Race, sex and O J Simpson

THE TRIAL of O J Simpson for the murder of his ex-wife Nicole Brown Simpson and her friend Ronald Goldman has become an incredible media frenzy.



Simpson: centre of a storm

Any notion of justice, either for Nicole Brown or Simpson, is secondary to the press and television circus feeding off the trial.

When O J Simpson fled Los Angeles last June in his car, 95 million Americans watched the leisurely chase on television.

At the pre-trial hearings last September Universal Pictures parked an 18 wheel truck with a massive billboard advertising its latest film outside the courtroom to catch the TV cameras.

You can get O J T shirts, O J bubble gum, O J dolls, O J masks, and O J plastic knives—and an O J sweat-shirt with fake blood all over it.

"This is a soap opera and a celebrity murder mystery all wrapped together," says one of the thousands of commentators gleefully. Newspaper circulation has jumped to levels not seen since Elvis Presley died.

Divided

It is the perfect tabloid story—centred on money, sex, and above all, race.

The media focus on a black man accused of killing a white woman and their coverage reflects the racism that runs through American society.

America is a much more sharply divided and racist society than Britain. There is less mixing of black and white, more openly expressed racism.

Behind the O J Simpson trial are facts such as that in the Southern United States black men could be lynched by the racist Ku Klux Klan for simply looking at a white woman.

This is why Simpson has the backing of the majority of US blacks almost regardless of whether they think he is guilty or innocent. They see him being tried by a racist media in a racist society.

Sympathised

Immediately after his arrest nearly 75 percent of Los Angeles blacks polled sympathised with Simpson, while 60 percent of blacks across the States thought he had been set up.

Remember that the Los Angeles Police Department which arrested Simpson is the same force which was caught on film beating black man Rodney King to a pulp.

It was the policemen's acquittals—by a nearly all white jury—that sparked the 1992 Los Angeles uprising.

O J Simpson has joined the ranks of other black "role models" who have been brought down:

Michael Jackson accused of child molesting; Mike Tyson, world champion boxer, in jail for rape; rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg on trial for murder.

The racist subtext behind the unrelenting coverage of the Simpson trial is that black people even when "accepted" by the white establishment and showered with fame and fortune will ultimately revert to their "primitive instincts".

Much has been made of the fact that Simpson's public image of a clean cut successful individual masked a jealous, violent wife beater.

It is undoubtedly true that Simpson did beat Nicole Brown.

She frequently called out the police for protection. But they mainly looked the other way, domestic disputes not being thought serious enough to warrant attention.

Objects

But it is clear from Simpson's climb to fame that he learnt to regard women as objects to be owned.

When he married Nicole Brown he had to fix her father up with a Hertz franchise as part of the "deal". Simpson advertised Hertz car hire for 17 years after his football career ended.

Simpson found one of the few routes out of the black ghetto because he was a talented sports man. He was feted and pampered by the white establishment because his face could sell products and make big money.

Now his face is being used in a different way. Time magazine put Simpson on its cover and deliberately darkened his face to make him look blacker.

Simpson may yet go free. After all he is a rich man, with a £4 million fortune. He has assembled a "dream team" of the best lawyers to fight his case.

But whatever the outcome, the anger felt by poor black people at the racism that blights their lives will continue.

Not only that but any debate on domestic violence will be clouded by the racism that surrounds the Simpson case.

by HASSAN MAHAMADALLIE

reviews

MUSIC

Luke Kelly's workers' songs

by RITCHIE BROWN

A NEW double cassette has appeared of the music of Ireland's greatest ballad singer, Luke Kelly who died on 30th January 1984.

Born in 1940 in Sheriff Street beside the rough and tumble of Dublin's Dockside, Luke grew up in a city full of dilapidated tenement housing.



The Dubliners in the sixties—Luke Kelly centre

Welfare

The Catholic Church substituted charitable works and clerical control for a proper state welfare system.

Luke went to Britain at age 17 to look for work.

He was to return to Dublin a few years later with his banjo in hand and gain notoriety as the bawdy ballad singer with the raucous voice who sang workers' songs.

But it was while in Britain he became interested in folk music and left-wing politics, joining both CND and the Young Communist League.

When he returned to Dublin in 1962 he joined Ronnie Drew folk group whom he subsequently re-

named the Dubliners

By 1963 they had signed a recording contract and released their first album.

But even as commercial success seemed imminent, Luke left the group to return to Britain for two years to study under Ewan Mac Coll who wrote such classics as *Dirty Old Town*, *The Travelling People* and *First Time I Ever Saw Your Face*.

Workers' songs

Luke wanted to come back to Ireland but only when he had a repertoire of

workers' songs.

According to his wife, Deirdre O'Connell,

"Luke wanted to sing about his own class, the society he grew up in and the one he wanted for his own people."

Rejoined

After his return in 1965, he rejoined the Dubliners who quickly became the most famous ballad group of their time.

They regularly showed up at Anti-Vietnam War concerts, Anti-Apartheid

concerts, CND rallies and the annual Connolly May Day concert in Liberty Hall.

Success did not change Luke Kelly's views.

One journalist at the time wrote:

"The steady rise to entertainment fame and the monetary awards accruing from it seem to have left Kelly's private vision unaffected."

"He is vehemently opposed to the private enterprise system and in the sense that he would sacrifice everything at his com-

mand to see it done away with, he is a revolutionary".

He died of a brain tumour in 1984, not helped by his drinking or the scant attention he paid to his health.

This latest double cassette features 36 of his most famous songs including *Joe Hill*, *Scorn Not his Simplicity*, *Free the People*, *The Button Pusher* and the *Springhill Mining Disaster*.

That is the true legacy Luke has left us and we owe it to him to keep it alive.

PLAY

The heroes who resisted the Nazis

Catherine Curran reviews *Men Without Shadows* by Jean Paul Sartre, Focus Theatre, Pembroke Place Dublin 8.00 pm Mon-Sat Feb-Mar.

MEN WITHOUT Shadows is a play based on the experience of the French Resistance in the Second World War.

In January 1944, the pro-fascist Vichy regime was near collapse.

But the Free French movement, led by de Gaulle were waiting for D-Day and the Allied invasion to bring "liberation".

Thousands began to turn to the communist-led Resistance, the Maquis, in order to take up arms themselves and fight back.

The Gaullists were far



The courage of those who fought fascism last time round

more concerned about the threat of a mass mobilisation under communist leadership than about fighting the Nazis and their supporters.

They insisted the people be regimented into a regular army and massed together in very isolated areas.

Here they were left with

nothing but promises of Allied assistance, which rarely materialized.

They were easy targets for the Nazi troops that outnumbered them.

Massacred

In one case, several thousand volunteers were assembled in the Vercors pla-

teau, in the French Alps.

On July 21st 1944, the Germans surrounded and massacred them.

The events at Vercors are the background to Sartre's play. It looks at the fate of one group of resistance fighters who are captured and imprisoned.

They are faced with feelings of guilt, at having been

responsible for the deaths of over 300 villagers.

They worry that they have died for nothing.

They are cut off from the outside world, and can only hope their comrades have made it to safety.

Sartre shows how, even in the face of death, human beings are forced to choose between resistance and submission.

For the communist leader, Canaris, resistance to torture is possible because of his commitment to the struggle against the Nazis.

The choices become stark when they realise the youngest, Francois, cannot resist the torture.

They must decide whether to kill him or risk betrayal.

The resoluteness of the prisoners contrasts with the bickering and petty rivalries among their Vichy captors.

The fascists can only grind their teeth in rage as the prisoners find ways to resist right until the end.

This is a powerful and moving play, a timely reminder of the courage of those who fought the fascists last time round.

PHOTO: TOMMY CLANCY

where we stand

Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system. The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion. To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWM welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry. We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states. We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWM aims to build such a party in Ireland.

news & reports—politics; the unions

KNIGHTINGALES:

Shop workers strike back

THE KNIGHTINGALES strikers have been out on the picket line for over three weeks now and the strike is holding firm.

They see no reason why they can't win.

The eight women working in the store went on strike when Management fired one of their colleagues at the end of her probationary period.

They claimed her work was not up to scratch but she hadn't been given so much as a single verbal warning.

A pay increase for all the workers due since 17th December has not been paid by

the company.

Management also refused to recognise or to negotiate with MANDATE, the union representing the women.

The morale of the eight workers is as solid as ever.

They say they've had strong support from their union, support from other workers in the ILAC centre and crucial support from most of the public.

One striker told *Socialist*

Worker: "People, ordinary shoppers, keep coming up to us and saying things like "keep it up". It's a great boost."

With the mounting of the picket on the premises the average number of shoppers going into Knightingales fell from around three hundred a day to about twenty.

Another big boost to morale was the fact that staff from other shops and department stores in the centre were constantly dropping by to give a word of encourage-

ment and bring gifts of solidarity.

The SWM have put their backs into the fight too.

A social was organised to raise money for the strike, leaflets are being distributed, petitions expressing solidarity with the strikers collected and pub, shop and workplace collections are taking place throughout Dublin.

Management tried strike-breaking tactics by issuing all the workers, except the woman who was sacked, with a new contract of employment.

The contract includes the pay rises and procedures for grievances.

The company's intention was to by-pass the union. But already, Management

have been forced to back down on one of their hardest points.

They were forced to reject MANDATE on Monday 13th February.

If the strikers hold out and the campaign in support of them is maintained Management will eventually cave in.

The strikers can win every demand.

PACKARD ELECTRIC:

THE FORGOTTEN 48

PACKARD's parent company, General Motors has reported record profits for last year. Profits at \$4.9 BILLION were double that of the previous year. This filthy rich company made \$17 MILLION every day from October to December.

They have no intention of using these profits to treat their workers decently.

48 workers who are on lay-off since last May from the Packard plant in Tallaght have been left to rot on the dole for the last 10 months. In October of 1993 they were given a written guarantee that they would be back on the payroll in April of 1995.

This agreement has now been broken by Packard bosses.

An overtime ban which

was in place since the lay-offs in May 1994 has just been lifted by the unions. The 48 were never consulted.

Plenty of overtime is now available and the company plan to introduce "Homeworking" by the end of February.

This is a disgraceful way to treat those who are left outside, dependent on social welfare.

Solidarity

The unions at Packard should immediately re-introduce the ban on overtime until the 48 workers are treated properly.

Their main demand is to get their jobs back.

Some workers at the plant have recently issued a leaflet arguing for solidarity with those laid off.

They also attended an angry union meeting called by the "48".

They know that the plight of the laid off workers today could be facing others later in the year. Schrumm has already promised more lay-offs for 1995.

There is massive anger among workers in Packard.

It is still not clear how the system of "banking" two extra hours a week is to work.

A planned two hour sit-in at the plant over the extra hours was called off by the unions.

This action should have gone ahead to build on the anger and resistance among workers and to force the company to treat their workers decently.

Workers action at Packard could still hit the company hard and force them to concede to demands on lay-offs and the two extra hours that workers give for free.

SWM branch meetings—all welcome

BELFAST CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm—contact national address for details of venue
Wednesday 22nd February
Can the Labour Party Bring Change?
Wednesday 1st March
The Fight for Womens' Rights Today

BELFAST SOUTH

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm—contact national address for details of venue
Thursday 23rd February
Thursday 2nd. March
The Fight for Womens' Rights Today

CORK

Meets every Wednesday at

8.00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay
Wednesday 22nd February
The Revolutionary Ideas of Engels
Wednesday 1st March
The Fight For Womens' Liberation

DERRY

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Bar
Tuesday 21st February
The Revolutionary Ideas of Engels
Tuesday 28th February
Can we save Altanglvin Hospital

DUBLIN BALLINTEER

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Ballinteer House
Wednesday 22nd February
Auschwitz—50 Years On—Why Did it Happen?
Wednesday 1st March
PUBLIC MEETING
The Fight For Womens' Rights in Ireland

DUBLIN BLANCHARDSTOWN

Meets Tuesdays in the Blakestown Community Centre
Tuesday 21st February
Can Socialism Come

Through Parliament?
Tuesday 28th February
How do we save the Environment?

DUBLIN CLONDALKIN

Meets every second Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Laurels Pub
Tuesday 28th February
Can workers run society?

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Half Way House
Tuesday 21st February
Northern Ireland—Should the prisoners be released?
Tuesday 28th February
The Revolutionary Ideas of Engels

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in the Parnell Mooney, Parnell Street
Wednesday 22nd February
James Connolly
Wednesday 1st March
Islamic Fundamentalism—Where is it going?

DUBLIN PHIBSBORO

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm—contact national address for details of venue
Thursday 23rd February
The Role of Religion in Irish Society
Thursday 2nd March
The Left in Government—Does it make a difference?

DUBLIN RATHMINES

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in the Junction Pub, Kevin Street/Wexford Street
Wednesday 22nd February
The 1905 Russian Revolution
Wednesday 1st March
The Roots of Womens Oppression

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
Thursday 23rd February
Why do we Publish a Socialist Paper?
Thursday 2nd March
The fight for Womens' Rights in Ireland

DUBLIN TALLAGHT

Tuesday 21st February
8.00pm The Tallaght Welfare Society (beside Foxes Covert)
PUBLIC MEETING
Why You Should Be a Socialist

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Purty Kitchen
Tuesday 21st February
What Causes Discrimination Against Women?
Tuesday 28th February
Palestine—Can there be peace?

MAYNOOTH

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Maynooth University, Class Hall B

NEWRY

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm—contact national address for details of venue

WATERFORD

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keyser St
Thursday 23rd February
The Russian Revolution of 1905
Thursday 2nd March
The Fight for Womens' Rights in Ireland

Students Resistance and Revolution

Weekend Conference

Trinity College Dublin, Friday 24th & Saturday 25th February

Fri: 6.00pm	Marx versus Weber: Who are the working class—Kieran Allen	The Politic of sex—Mary Smith
Fri: 7.30pm	Debate: HOW DO WE GET SOCIALISM Democratic Left & Eamonn McCann (Socialist Worker)	
Sat: 11am-12.15	Literature, art and revolution—Conor Kostick	Where is Republicanism going?—Niall Morton (Belfast SWM)
Sat: 1.30pm-2.45	WHY IS AFRICA IN CRISIS?—Manny Tanoy (African socialist)	
Sat: 3.00-4.15	Student radicalism: Does it belong to the 60s?—Al Goode	Is socialism utopian?—Richard Boyd Barrett
Sat: 5.30-7.00	CAN THERE BE A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION?—Joan Gallagher & Manny Tanoy	
Sat: 8pm till late	INDIE & RAVE DISCO (Bring own beer) Connolly Hall, Essex St	

Organised by Socialist Worker Student Society: Tickets £2 Phone (01) 972 2682 for details

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS
If you want to join *Socialist Worker*, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name

Address.....

.....

Phone.....

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682

'BIG BROTHER' AT TRINITY

TRINITY COLLEGE is attempting to install security cameras without consultation with students or staff.

The cameras will allow the college authorities to monitor behaviour and victimise people involved in student protests.

There is no clear policy as to who will have access to the tapes—what they will be used for and how long they will be kept.

Security staff fear that the cameras could be used for monitoring staff performance and for cutting back on the numbers of the security staff.

Their numbers are set to dwindle from 31 to 21 next year. But remaining staff will still have to cover a forty acre site, 24 hours a day.

The unions believe that there is a connection between the numbers of cameras installed—reputed to be between 8 and 16—and the number of men retiring.

The authorities are claiming that they are concerned with robberies and attacks on students. But as one student pointed out, "camera only record what happens—they cannot stop attacks".

Big Brother could now be arriving in TCD, but as one worker put it, "The union will certainly be 'monitoring' the situation—a case of us watching them watching us."

Derry dockers occupy

AT THE start of this month, eighteen dockers occupied two ships in the Derry port of Lisahally in protest at plans to lay them off.

The proposed layoffs show what the business community means by "economic development".

The new multi-million pound port at Lisahally is being used to cut jobs and to reduce workers to near-slavery.

The bosses want to run the port on the type of "subbie" system to be found in building sites—with gangs of men hired to unload ships on a fixed price basis, and subbies trying to undercut one another to get the work and no trade union in sight.

Hurrying

The employers were stopped in their tracks by the dockers' occupation. That's what set the

phones ringing between union offices in Belfast and Derry and brought SDLP politicians hurrying to Lisahally to "mediate".

But there is still a long way to go.

It could turn out that the dockers' best chance was lost when they were coaxed out of the ships on Tuesday.

The port bosses and their backers in the local political establishment certainly believe that the momentum for the action is now gone.

This isn't necessarily so. Just as one side in the town was unnerved by the dockers' occupation, the other side was excited and encouraged by it.

Nearly one hundred people turned up for a lunchtime protest organ-



Dockers' supporters demonstrate in Derry

ised by the Trades Council, including representatives of DHSS workers, shop workers and others.

If the dockers aren't

given guarantees of job security at the negotiations on 17th February, they should remember the effect their occupation

had on the bosses.

They should know that there are many, many people in Derry who will back their struggle to the hilt.

PREMIER DAIRIES:

MAINTENANCE workers in the Premier Dairy in Rathfarnham are holding out against attempts by the company to close the garage.

Premier plans to build a "state of the art" dairy in Rathfarnham and at the same time close its Finglas plant.

The company is using every trick in the book to try to intimidate and

threaten the 6 workers in the Rathfarnham garage.

But there has already been resistance to these plans by workers in Finglas.

Any attempt to cut jobs in either plant should be fought.

Workers in Finglas and Rathfarnham are building links to fight off the company attacks and save their jobs.

CIVIL AVIATION AUTHORITY:

A ONE-DAY strike by 60 workers in the Civil Aviation Authority took place on February 6th.

The strike has been followed by a work-to-

rule which is set to continue indefinitely.

Workers are angry at management's broken promises on a new promotional/salary structure.

The Irish Civil Aviation Authority was established as a semi-state body at the beginning of 1994 with staff transferring from the Department of Transport, Energy and Communications.

has never been implemented.

According to a CPSU spokesperson

"Management have failed to produce any real concrete offer".

It is clear that at the top of the Civil Service, the Department of Finance are keen that no deals are done which will improve wages for any of the very low paid public sector workers.

Promised

The low paid clerical workers were promised a new salary structure as far back as 1993 and it

PFIZERS:

WORKERS AT Pfizers chemical plant in Cork walked off the job on Friday 3rd February.

The unofficial strike lasted until Monday afternoon and all 200 workers at the plant refused to pass the pickets.

After a heated three-hour meeting in Connolly Hall in Cork workers voted by a narrow majority to return

to work.

Local SIPTU official Joe Flynn warned the meeting against continuing strike action because of the 1990 Industrial Relations Act.

Grades

Angry workers made it clear that they didn't give a damn about the anti-union law.

Their anger is over their pay and pay structures.

Pfizers pays up to £10,000 per year more to supervisory grades than to general operatives.

Some progress has been made in talks on pensions and sick pay but the main issue of basic pay has yet to be resolved.

The workers bitterness and anger has not abated.

BEAUMONT HOSPITAL:

SIPTU MEMBERS in Beaumont Hospital have won a partial victory over management on the issue of bringing contract staff into the services section of the hospital.

The majority of staff involved were against privatisation.

In mid-January, the Labour court recommended acceptance of the changes.

But the workers rejected this by an overwhelming 97 votes to 1. Management completely disregarded the vote and brought in contract staff anyway.

The workers immediately organised a sit-in in the canteen, with the result that the whole issue was brought back to the Labour Court.

Action

The Labour Court then recommended that contract staff should only be used on weekdays.

This concession showed that direct action by workers could succeed where negotiations had failed.

Instead of recommending acceptance of the new deal, the shop stewards involved could have built on the anger to gain a complete victory.

NEWRY:

Glen Electric protest



Workers at Glen Electric in Newry protest after they were forced onto a three-day week. The workers stand to lose up to 40 per cent of their earnings. Glen Electric is owned by the Irish millionaires Martin Naughton and Lochlinn Quinn, brother of Ruairi.

needs on a daily basis".

This would have meant that management could decide whether to replace nurses on sick leave.

Replace

The strike won on this issue and management have now agreed to replace staff when needed.

The nurses also objected to the Board's annually re-interviewing nurses who work on temporary contracts.

Cora O'Rourke of the Irish Nurses Organisation said:

"In most cases this procedure is a spectacle.

"Some of our members have to take off their uniform, put on a suit, sit down in front of three people to prove that they are

capable of doing their job and put back on their uniform again."

The Board is now prepared to enter into "meaningful talks" with the nurses' union who want the interview system scrapped and the nurses put on a job-panel.

The Sligo nurses strike proved that action speaks louder than words.

Sligo nurses strike

ONE HUNDRED nurses recently placed pickets on St. John's Hospital in Sligo and won a number of concessions from the North Western Health Board.

The Board had introduced a number of changes in work practices, affecting staffing levels and cover for sick leave.

They hoped to make cut backs by "re-assessing staffing

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside

The fight for workers' unity in the North

—centre pages

Malcolm X —page 12

Mexico: Protests at clampdown

—page 5

£150,000 for top civil servants but only 1% for nurses

BREAK THE TORY PAY LIMITS!

ONE PER cent— that's the insulting pay rise the Tories are offering the nurses.

This at a time when they admit themselves the cost of living has gone up three percent and every worker knows the real figure is far higher.

Teachers are being offered 2.7 percent, and civil servants getting between 2 and 3 per-

cent.

For those who can't find work, the Tories are planning a return to the Poor Law.

Hikes

The Jobseeker's Allowance will mean that if you can't prove you are "properly or effectively searching for work", your benefit can be stopped altogether.

Social Security Min-

ister Peter Lilley boasts this will steel £8 billion from the poor.

Meanwhile the fat-cats at the top are giving themselves huge wage hikes.

Direct Line Insurance has run an advertising campaign in the North, claiming they're cheaper than other insurance companies.

Well, company boss Peter Wood doesn't come cheap: he's just

given himself an £18 billion bonus.

And while thousands of ordinary jobs are being cut in the North's civil service, the top grades have just been awarded £30,000 a year more.

Limit

But although there is no limit to their own greed, the top bosses never stop coming back

to workers for more cut-backs.

■ The Post Office bosses have imposed fundamental changes without the agreement of the Union of Communication Workers (UCW).

■ In British Telecom engineers will have to working long shifts and Saturdays without extra pay from March onwards.

Workers are seriously

concerned about safety implications as they will have to climb high telegraph poles IN THE DARK.

Most workers are well aware of the huge, growing gap between their wages and their managers'.

There is a real mood for a fightback.

A nurse from Belfast's Shaftesbury Square hospital said "For the first time in years, nurses are talking about taking action".

Tragedy

When Derry dockers occupied their ships (see page 11), they got tremendous support from other workers in the town.

The tragedy is that those workers do want to fight are not getting

the backing of their union leaders.

Terry Carlin and the ICTU seems more interested in having lunches and seminars with government officials than in organising a fight.

We need a real alternative to this passivity. Britain today is one of the most unequal societies in Europe with one third of people below the average industrial wage.

In Northern Ireland the poverty for both Catholic and Protestant workers is even worse. But it is a different story for others.

The *Independent on Sunday* recently described Northern Ireland as a 'haven for the yuppies'.

When it comes to opposing Tory rule, there is far more that unites Protestant and Catholic workers than divides them.

A united fightback against the Tories would do more to help remove sectarianism than all the preaching of politicians and clerics.

Class struggle and socialist politics is the key to cutting across bigots like Paisley who won't accept any of the democratic rights being offered to nationalists.