

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

## 'IT'S A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE'

by **SINEAD O'CONNOR**

UNLESS women have the same control as men over their bodies they cannot be equal in society.

The question of a woman's right to choose is therefore involved in the fight for women's rights generally. It is not a separate issue.

It speaks volumes that one of the first changes Hitler

made when he came to power in Germany was to ban abortion.

Equally, the first thing the Romanian people did when they overthrew Ceausescu was to make abortion legal.

Making it impossible for women to have abortions is therefore a means of denying them any freedom at all. It is a sign of an unfree society.

The outrage of so many people at the ban on the 14 year old girl going to England for an abortion will

expose the hypocrisy of the ban on abortion in Ireland.

Because if you acknowledge that a girl, who has been raped should be allowed to leave the country to have an abortion, then you are rightly acknowledging that abortion is acceptable in certain circumstances.

And if it is acceptable for an Irish woman to leave the country for an abortion, then why can she not have it here?

To send her away is another 'Irish solution to an Irish problem'. Let's have another referendum.

The background to the problem is that women seem to have no possibility of power in Irish society.

But if we understand the possibilities that are open to us now, we could change things very quickly by taking back what is rightfully ours, by taking back our own power and by supporting each other.



Sinead O'Connor

**Why Sinead is right: page 3**

# Now turn on Fianna Fail

## Build on the anger!

FIANNA FAIL are in serious trouble. Haughey has been given the boot. Ten cabinet ministers have lost their jobs. An air of instability lingers around Dail Eireann.

Haughey took over the leadership of FF in 1979. That year had seen a major workers upsurge as Ireland topped the European strike league. In the wake of these struggles the FF vote slumped to 35 per cent.

## Rhetoric

Haughey's promise was to re-build FF's working class base. He tried to do this at first with a green nationalist rhetoric. He denounced the North as a "failed political entity" and condemned the Anglo-Irish Agreement. But the rhetoric was soon turned off when there was a need to reach an agreement with the British government.

Haughey went out of his way to build a close relationship with the union leaders. He condemned the Labour Party in the early 1980s for engaging in "monetarism". He managed to get the union leaders to talk about a ten year long social contract with the FF government.

But in the end the

populist rhetoric failed. Ireland is entering a new period of instability. The Fianna Fail/ Progressive Democrat government is stumbling from crisis to crisis.

The FF party is now riven with factions. Reynolds's "country and western alliance" has taken over and the spoils of office are being divided between his hangers-on.

## Opportunity

This now presents a major opportunity to build a real socialist movement in Ireland. The scandals have shown many that FF are a bosses' party. The hounding of a 14 year old by the FF Attorney General have sickened a new generation who did not experience the defeats of the early 1980s.

But that opportunity will only be seized if we do not rely on the Labour Party. The key figure on Labour's Left, Emmet Stagg, has resigned from the party because he says they are getting ready for a new Coalition with either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael.

There is a new mood of anger in this country. 10,000 people turned up to a march in Dublin organised by an Abortion Information Action group. What is needed is a revolutionary organisation that can match that anger with genuine socialist politics.

## ALBERT THE MEAN GOMBEEN

FIANNA FAIL's new leader is typical of the businessmen who form the backbone of FF. He has crawled up from being a small-time gombeen to making a fortune from property and state grants.

Reynolds made his money by selling a string of ballrooms in the midlands. Some of the ones which were insured mysteriously caught fire.

Reynolds put his money into the C&D Petfood factory in Longford. The firm was given £300,000 in grants from the IDA.

C&D Petfoods has also been found guilty on not paying equal pay rates to women workers.

Reynolds' friends are always well looked after. His financial director of elections was Noel Hanlon. Hanlon owned a notoriously anti-union ambulance factory. When he could not smash the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, he moved to Liverpool. Reynolds appointed him to the board of Aer Lingus.

Larry Goodman was a business associate of Reynolds in the meat industry. It was Reynolds who gave Goodman the £100 million in export credit insurance.

Today Reynolds owns a flashy Jaguar and has a £300,000 pad in Dublin 4. Next time this mean gombeen talks about his "concern" for the unemployed, tell him where to get off.

## F.F.'s big business backers

DESPITE the turmoil in Fianna Fail, the coffers are still full of donations from big business. Fianna Fail's big business backers include:

- **McINERY'S BUILDING COMPANY:** They got the contract to build the £16 million government buildings.
- **GOAL DISTRIBUTORS LIMITED:** CDL held the monopoly of Polish coal for years. A Fianna Fail government vouched for them. Now CDL gets a number of long term contracts to supply oil to companies like Aeroflot.
- **RYANAIR:** Another anti-union firm which was given a special concession by Fianna Fail Minister Seamus Brennan to operate the London route.

■ **MONARCH PROPERTIES:** They got a specially designed tax break to build the Tallaght Shopping Centre.

■ **TOM GILMARTIN:** Property speculator and friend of former Environment Minister Padraig Flynn. He got planning permission to build the Westpark Shopping Centre in Dublin.

■ **PINO HARRIS:** He picked up a few million from the Carystort property scam.

■ **OLIVER BARRY:** He is one of the most loyal backers of the party. His company, Century Radio, won the franchise for an alternative national radio network before it went bust.

■ **TONY O'REILLY:** His newspaper the *Daily Star* gives strong backing to Fianna Fail.



Reynolds tries his hand at another racket!

## BELFAST:

# Brook Centre Campaign succeeds

## By Belfast SWM

IN a close vote at Belfast's City Council on February 14, councillors backed the setting up of a Brook Advisory Centre in Belfast.

The motion in

support of the Centre was passed by eighteen votes to fourteen and was supported by six Sinn Fein councillors, while the only SDLP councillor who attended the debate abstained. After the vote a Family and Youth Concern member was described as "totally shocked"

This is a significant defeat for the bigots who have in the last few months been aggressively lobbying city councillors and flooding the Eastern Health and Social Services Board with anti-Brook letters. The Board invited the Centre to Belfast in response to the high incidence of teenage pregnancies in the area.

This decision by Belfast City Council is seen as a victory for the Campaign for Information and Choice set up by the SWM in defence of the Brook Centre. The campaign confronted SPUC, the Catholic Church and right-wing politicians—orange and green—over the issue of establishing a sex advisory centre for young people in the city, and stopped the bigots taking the initiative in opposing the centre.

## Pickets

The pickets on SPUC conferences etc, petitions in support of the centre in Belfast and Derry, and the march in Belfast in December, all influenced the February 14 vote.

The Brook Centre will open within the next couple of weeks in Belfast. If SPUC carries out its threat to picket the Centre they must be met with strong counter-demonstrations.

## No joy for refugees



NOT many people know that Mountjoy Prison in Dublin is holding two political refugees.

What are they guilty of? Their "crime" was trying to escape oppression in their own countries. The Department of "Justice" responded by slamming them in Mountjoy while their appeals for asylum are under consideration.

One, Marey Gutrani—a Libyan—has now been held for five months. He had been living in Ireland for over nine years when Justice Department officials suddenly decided to deport him without even a hearing.

A second man, Ben Marti Doe from Liberia was also locked up in Mountjoy. Yet another refugee, Adnan Reja, a Bedouin artist escaped persecution in Iraq only to suffer seven months of torture in a Syrian prison. He finally got to Ireland only to have his application for asylum refused at Christmas. He now says he is "waiting for a knock at the door".

## Asylum

Amnesty International reports make clear that authorities in the Republic have one of the worst records for refusing asylum. There is not even any legislation to cover asylum-seekers and refugees have no right to

appeal against Justice Department decisions.

Of the average 60 refugees who get to Ireland every year, many are never even given access to an interpreter or a lawyer, most being dumped on a plane to somewhere else or back where they came from.

The Department of Justice acts as judge, jury and, in some cases, assistant to the executioner. Write a letter to the Minister of Justice, Padraig Flynn to protest at this disgusting treatment. He can be found lurking in his comfortable offices at 72, Stephen's Green, Dublin 2. And show Ben and Marey they are not forgotten by writing to them at Mountjoy Prison, North Circular Road, Dublin, 7.

# We Think Scrap the S.P.U.C. Amendment

The hounding of a 14 year old rape victim last month showed the real barbarism of the Irish state. The actions of the attorney general Harry Whelehan was part of a long line of attacks on women.

Eileen Flynn was driven from her job as a school teacher in Wexford because she was pregnant outside marriage.

Anne Lovett was so terrified that in concealing her pregnancy she died giving birth to her child in a grotto in Granard, Co Longford.

The attorney general had only been in office for a few days when he decided to take action against the 14 year old. Fianna Fail attorney generals were never so quick off the mark when it came to dealing with their rich friends.

Larry Goodman was allowed to fiddle EC grants with the direct connivance of the Irish Department of Agriculture—and no injunctions were taken out.

The action against the 14 year old rape victim brought home to thousands the cruel reality of the Irish anti-abortion ethos. As the protests mounted the politicians and the Catholic Church virtually begged her family to appeal to the Supreme Court.

They wanted her to be eventually allowed to go to Britain so that they could save their horrible amendment.

They wanted another "Irish solution to an Irish problem", turning a blind eye to certain cases so that the smug hypocrites could foist their morality on us.

But if it was right to let the 14 year old go to Britain, why wasn't it right to let her have the abortion performed in Ireland?

## Choice

And if abortion is suddenly not murder when it comes to a rape victim, then it cannot be murder when other women also decide to terminate their pregnancies.

The truth is that the foetus is merely a potential human being. It cannot exist outside the woman's body—it is dependent on her. That is why socialists insist that the woman and her right to control her own body, health and well being must come first. To deny a woman's right to choose is to devalue her, her life, her relationships.

SPUC and the bigots are now on the run. A new generation has emerged in Irish society who are not demoralised by the defeats of the early 1980s.

A fight must now be built to overthrow SPUC's 1983 amendment. The way to win now is to mobilise on the streets and in the workplaces.

To prevent these mobilisations, the politicians will do everything to tell us that the mess is being sorted out by the Supreme Court and all-party Dail Committees.

But we should not be lulled back into passivity. The issue of abortion rights in Ireland will not be resolved by quiet lobbying of politicians or respectable electioneering.

We need to bring thousands more onto the streets. Demonstrations on International Women's Day can provide an important start.

The unions must be told to get off the fence. The Dublin Council of Trades Unions has taken a position in favour of free, legal and safe abortion. But these resolutions must now be carried into practice by urging union members to join the demonstrations.

In periods of social peace the prejudices of ages can seem immovable. But when thousands take matters into their own hands they can melt away.

That is why every socialist must be working flat out to spread the arguments about abortion rights in their workplace and to get people out fighting for the scrapping of the 8th amendment.

# Irish ways and Irish laws

## SPUC: the moral police

THE hounding of a 14 year old rape victim last month resulted from the activities of the Society for Protection of the Unborn Child.

SPUC are no ordinary group of people but are a bunch of extreme rightwing bigots. SPUC was first formed in Ireland in 1980. SPUC solicitor Jerry Collins drafted the 1983 amendment to the

constitution which gave a foetus an equal right to life as a grown woman.

### Campaigns

Its members have been to the fore front of anti-divorce and anti-contraception campaigns. Collins was the public spokesperson for Family Solidarity during the anti-divorce campaign.

SPUCists opposed the abolition of the stigma of

illegitimacy. They advocated surveillance of unmarried mothers to check if they were claiming social welfare while "cohabiting". SPUC has also opposed the funding of Rape Crisis Centres.

Leading members of SPUC such as John O'Reilly and Bernadette Bonner rarely crawl out from under their stones but are also members of similar groups such as Family Solidarity, the Responsible Society and the Knights of Columbanus.

## Abortion: the reality

THE case of the 14 year old rape victim has brought home the reality of abortion in Ireland. Despite the claims of the bigots, Irish women have always resorted to abortion.

Between 1926 and 1974, 58 prosecutions were started against Irish women for having backstreet

abortions.

In 1956, a nurse Cadell was sentenced to death for "attempting to induce a miscarriage". The sentence was later commuted to life in prison.

Backstreet abortions only disappeared after Britain legalised abortion in 1967.

Recent figures now show that 41,000 Irish women travelled to Britain for abortions in the 1980s. SPUC'S 1983 amendment did not make the slightest difference.

The abortion trail to Britain is another example of an 'Irish solution' to an Irish problem.

## HOW SHEILA HODGERS DIED

IRELAND'S anti-abortion laws leads to the death of women.

On St Patrick's Day,

1983, in Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital, Drogheda, Sheila Hodggers gave birth to a premature baby. Her baby died immediately and

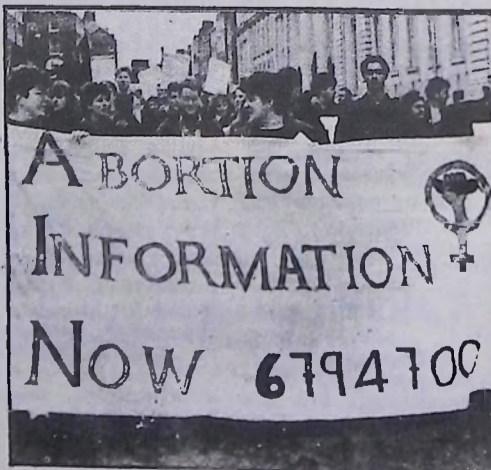
three days later Sheila died riddled with cancer.

Sheila Hodggers contracted cancer in 1981 and was prescribed with anti-cancer drugs. She was informed of the risks of the contraceptive pill but she was not told that any future pregnancy could dramatically increase her chances of dying of cancer.

Within a year she was expecting her third child and was taken off the anti-cancer drug. Three months later a tumor developed on her spine but she was denied treatment because of the risks to the foetus.

The ethical code of Our Lady of Lourdes Hospital guaranteed to protect both the life of the mother and "child".

Sheila Hodggers was forced to continue her pregnancy in great pain. An early abortion might have saved her life.



## Things SPUC say:

"The battle is just beginning. We have all the forces of evil against us. This pernicious new thinking asserts that our bodies are

our own... Our bodies are not our own... they are temples of the Holy Spirit"—Mary Lucey, President of SPUC

## A LONG LINE OF ATTACKS

DES McDONNELL of *Family Solidarity* said he couldn't consider the case of the 14-year-old rape victim as "anything out of the ordinary". He wouldn't. He is used to attacking women's rights.

■ In 1986, the Hamilton ruling closed down the pregnancy advisory services of the Well Woman and Open Line clinics in Dublin. It is now an offence to give someone a simple telephone number.

■ Magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Company* are now censored in Ireland after pressure from SPUC.

■ Last November Dublin Corporation banned two of the most basic women's health books (*Our Bodies Ourselves* and *Everywoman's Life Guide*) from Dublin libraries.

■ In 1990, *Company* magazine was forced to withdraw a supplement on abortion from its 6,000 copies sold in Ireland.

SPUC aim to attack all sexual freedom, not just access to abortion, but even the availability of condoms to prevent the spread of AIDS and sex education in schools.

Mary Lucey, president of SPUC, summed this up when she said that "the battle... was against this pernicious new thinking that asserts that our bodies are our own".

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## ALGERIA

# Repression won't end crisis

THE military coup in Algeria has been met with a wall of silence from the Western press. The coup was designed to stop the Islamic fundamentalist FIS winning the elections.

In the aftermath of the coup, mosques have been closed and a curfew has been imposed. At least forty people were killed and two hundred injured as the army attacked barricades in the poor quarters of Algeria.

The reason for the silence is obvious. Our leaders prefer a sympathetic military dictatorship to a potentially hostile elected

**The real reason for the growth of the FIS is due to the way the FLN presided over a crumbling economy**

government. The ruling FLN effectively supported the Gulf war, while FIS opposed it.

The coup has been justified by the claim that the FIS is a new fascist force.

The FIS is not fascist but it certainly is a reactionary party. They want to force women to wear the veil and give up their jobs to men. They claim that in an Islamic state strikes "would not be necessary".

by **SIMON GILBERT**

But the real reason for the growth of the FIS has nothing to do with "Arab fanaticism". It has everything to do with the way the FLN—National Liberation Front presided over a crumbling economy.

The FLN came to power in 1962, with mass support, after a bloody war for liberation from French rule in which a million Algerians died. Like many other post-colonial regimes they sought to use the state to develop the country.

While the world economy was growing this strategy could meet with some success. But the onset of economic crisis and the fall in oil prices brought foreign debt, food shortages and unemployment.

The regime turned to the world market and western banks to try to solve the problems, but only made them worse. On top of this, the country was run as a single party state by a corrupt and privileged elite.

In 1988 the anger erupted when a wave of strikes and food riots swept Algeria. The FLN response was to send the army on to the streets, killing hundreds of people—although they also felt compelled to introduce democratic reforms, including multi-party elections.

**FIS SUPPORTERS protesting against the crackdown in Algiers**



But it was FIS that gained most. By articulating the grievances of the poorest sections of Algerian society and by their hostility to the slaughter in the Gulf, they achieved stunning success in the first round of voting.

But the fundamentalists have no solutions to the crisis either. They claim they will "make the poor rich without making the rich poor", but their free market policies can only widen the gap between rich and poor. FIS control of many local councils for

the last two years has done nothing to alleviate the suffering of Algerian workers and unemployed.

Socialists in Algeria have to start by completely opposing the military take-over. They should not fall into the trap of thinking that the

FLN is the only alternative to FIS.

That means fighting alongside supporters of the fundamentalists against the attacks of the regime and arguing for the trade unions to break with the FLN. But it also means defending the freedoms

that FIS wants to take away—the rights of women and the right to strike, for instance.

Above all it means building a socialist alternative to both sets of reactionaries—the FLN and FIS.

## El Salvador

# Bush's "order" moves South

BUSH'S "New World Order" is spreading to embrace Central America. A peace pact has been signed between the Salvadorean government and the FMLN guerrillas.

In the 1980s, President Reagan promised to "draw the line" against "communism" at El Salvador. El Salvador and Guatemala were seen as bulwarks against the impact of the revolution in Nicaragua. Between January 1980 and April 1981, an estimated twenty thousand civilians were murdered by death squads which were closely tied to the security forces of

El Salvador. Yet although these killings were widely publicised, the Reagan administration increased its \$25 million in military aid to \$523 in one year.

After twelve years the civil war and the atrocities of the death squads have left 75,000 people dead. The brutal military regime which came close to being swept away by popular revolt in the early 1980s is still in place. El Salvador remains a desperately poor country and one where most of the land belongs to a handful of landed aristocrats.

After the 1990 elec-

tion defeat of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the enthusiasm of the Bush government for propping up the Salvadorean junta has declined. Meanwhile, the FMLN guerrillas have come under pressure to negotiate.

### Rhetoric

The FMLN has renounced its "marxist" rhetoric in favour of social democracy. The peace agreement involves a form of "guided democracy" where the army keeps its power but retreats to the wings. But there are no plans to

dismantle the National Guard and its death squads.

The trial of nine soldiers for the murder of six priests and two women in 1989 shows the problem. Two soldiers were made scapegoats for higher up officers who ordered the killings and the rest were released. After the trial, the judge announced that he was leaving the country.

### Omen

In December 1991 a plane carrying FMLN negotiators and UN officials to New York was bombed, prob-

ably by elements of the El Salvadorean army. This may be an omen of things to come. In Colombia, where the guerilla group M19 also concluded a ceasefire, its leaders became targets for an assassination campaign.

### Crisis

Even if the former guerillas of El Salvador do attain office, they will have to administer a crisis-ridden economy. Far from being leaders of a popular revolt they

would end up attacking the demands of workers, students and peasants.

There is still a labour movement in El Salvador. Despite the intimidation and violence of the National Guard, fifteen thousand trade unionists marched in San Salvador on May Day. In the summer of 1991 a wave of peasant land seizures frightened the regime, forcing the army to step in. The possibility of mass uprisings give hope for the future.

■ TOM FARRELL



President Bush

# Ballymun's long history of neglect

BALLYMUN, the massive housing estate on Dublin's Northside, is suffering from a long history of neglect.

A tour through the estate reveals a shocking picture of deprivation.

Broken lifts are unrepaired for weeks. There are dirty, filthy stairwells with gaping empty windows that a child could crawl through and fall to its death.

There are no fire and smoke doors in many of the eight storey blocks.

Tom Ryan, from the Ballymun Tenants Association, said: "In many cases Dublin Corporation has used vandalism as a stick to beat us with. But the

people of Ballymun are refusing to accept this attitude. They know very well that the Corporation try to evade their responsibilities, yet they come down like a ton of bricks on anyone who falls into arrears."

## Fire Risk

It does not seem to matter to the Corporation that the fire brigade's highest extension ladder reaches only to the eighth floor of the fourteen storey tower blocks.

Although Ballymun is situated beside the airport, there is no back-up lighting on top of the towers. This

means that in the event of a power cut, low-flying aircraft can't see the tower blocks at night.

The safety of Ballymun's population is of little concern to Dublin Corporation.

A refurbishment scheme has begun in the area. But only a small fraction of the estate is covered by Phase 1 of the programme. According to Tom, "the work is proceeding at a snail's pace. Most Ballymunners believe that they will never get around to finishing the estate. It is all a con job."

On top of all these problems, a new "feeder route" carrying an extra

twenty thousand vehicles is going down the Ballymun Road. A recent environmental impact assessment report predicts that it "will mean it will be generally dangerous to cross the dual carriageway".

## Neglect

The neglect of Ballymun stands in sharp contrast to the money spent on other projects by the Fianna Fail government.

Seventeen million pounds were spent on government buildings by the former Taoiseach, Charles Haughey. That money could have made the lives of many Ballymunners a lot easier.



# NORTH: WHICH WAY TO WORKERS' UNITY?

ON Tuesday February 4 about eight thousand trade unionists marched through Belfast demanding an end to the recent spate of killings.

The ICTU called the demo in the wake of the Teebane bomb to defend "the right to life" and "the right to work". Thousands of workers turned out. More than two thousand marched from Shorts, and three hundred marched from the Royal Victoria Hospital in West Belfast.

The march was an ideal opportunity for the trade union movement to start a campaign uniting the working class in the North against sectarianism—a step which *Socialist Worker* has advocated for over a decade now.

Unfortunately, it was a wasted opportunity. Unity on the day was not so much between workers as between trade union leaders and businessmen, politicians and church leaders. Letters were read out from the management

by GORETTI HORGAN

of a number of workplaces congratulating the ICTU on the march and condemning the IRA bombing campaign. The British government also offered its support.

The five hundred striking workers from Harland & Wolff who did deserve congratulations didn't get a mention.

Speakers made it clear that the march was principally against the violence of the IRA. Time and again, the IRA was condemned as the root of all violence in the North. While there was an occasional mention of the UDA, the violence of the state forces was never referred to.

The march took place just five days after the twentieth anniversary of Bloody Sunday when fourteen people were murdered by British paratroopers. It was held the day after British army agent Brian Nelson re-

ceived a ten-year sentence for his part in setting up Catholics to be killed by loyalist murder gangs. Yet not a word of condemnation of any of this state violence came from the platform.

The response of the British government to the situation which it has created has been to send still more troops. Over two thousand extra troops have been sent to the North since November, bring the number of British troops on the streets to 12,500—the highest number since the 70s.

## Problem

But the British army are part of the problem. After the Ormeau Road killings, the local community group rejected additional security forces as a response to the murders. Their statement said: "Because of our experience over so many years, local people do not see an increased

RUC/UDR presence as a solution."

There is an urgent need for a working class fight against sectarianism. It is working class Catholics and Protestants who are being killed. Only working class unity can bring an end to the killings.

But the fight against sectarianism will not be built by the trade union leadership as long as it refuses to confront the very cause of sectarianism—the discrimination against Catholics, the repression of nationalists, the violence of the state and the continuing British presence which props up the whole rotten structure of the Northern state.

What's needed is a strong socialist presence at rank and file level in the trade unions to unite Catholic and Protestant against sectarianism, low pay and unemployment. Only in this way can the basis of the violence be undercut and a new politics emerge that has something to offer all working class people.



RUC checkpoint, Falls Road, Belfast

Only fools on horses

YOU wouldn't think it to look a him but Deputy Garda Commissioner Tommy O'Reilly is Ireland's greatest advocate of mounted Police. Galloping Gardai would, he assures anyone who'll listen be very useful for "tense situations" like riots and pickets. (Though Gardai cantering around with a quarter of a ton of horseflesh between their legs would make any situation "tense"). As he warms to the

subject, Tommy's head swims with images of the British Miners' Strike when mounted police ploughed into mass pickets, charging at unarmed miners like the 7th Cavalry swooping down on an Indian Reservation.

To further his cause, O'Reilly is even taking private riding-lessons in Co. Kildare. However he recently gobsmailed an Irish Press reporter by telling him just why mounted

Gardai would be such a great idea. Tommy gushed; "While not everybody is prepared to talk to a policeman, there's nobody who wouldn't talk to a horse".

Confucius used to go about declaring that "the outside of a horse is good for the inside of a man". Having patiently listened to Deputy O'Reilly's case, we can only conclude that the inside of this man is full of what is usually found outside of a horse: horse-shit



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# Crisis on the

The main Irish left parties are in crisis. Emmet Stagg has walked out of the parliamentary Labour Party and thrown left-wingers in the party into confusion. The Workers Party has split when most of its TDs walked out. Here **KIERAN ALLEN** and **BRIAN HANLEY** looks at what is behind the crisis on the Irish Left.

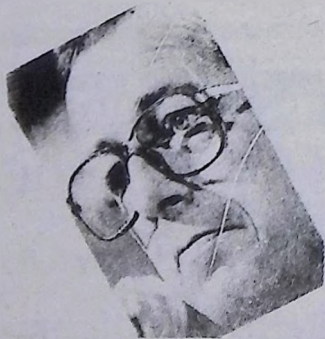
## Labour aims to return to Coalition

"LABOUR is hell bent on Coalition with Fianna Fail or Fine Gael" Emmet Stagg told *Socialist Worker* recently.

He claimed that recent statements by both Ruairi Quinn and Dick Spring indicate that they are thinking about entering Coalition after the next election.

Quinn, the party's deputy leader, has said that the goal of the Labour Party is to win between 25 and 30 seats before considering Coalition. He said that "adopting real power as an objective does not preclude the ultimate possibility of coalition".

When the matter was raised at the Labour Party's ruling Administrative Council a majority voted to "keep their options open."



Emmet Stagg

Emmet Stagg told *Socialist Worker* that he had "fought for 17 years against Coalition and hoped to get a realignment in Irish politics along left/right lines".

Stagg is absolutely correct to warn of the disasters of Coalition. Labour's last stint in Coalition between 1982 and 1987 brought a complete betrayal of their own voters.

Unemployment doubled during the period of the Labour/Fine Gael Coalition. They closed down the state run Irish Shipping with the loss of 400 jobs.

Dick Spring denounced striking ESB workers in Cork and sent in the garda against the pickets.

Labour's Health Minister, Bary Desmond started off the health cuts in 1986 by stating that "we have reached the point where it is now necessary and appropriate to commence the programme of rationalising hospital facilities".

### Appalled

Stagg is appalled now that this can happen all over again. He told *Socialist Worker* that he now believes that it "was futile to continue fighting in the party as a new coalition would throw a lifeline to the right".

Stagg's realisation that the Labour Party cannot be changed is to be welcomed. Labour has never turned down an option for Coalition with the right wing parties.

This makes it all the more tragic to see an expelled members of the Labour Party, Councillor Joe Higgins from Militant, urging Stagg to stay loyal to the Labour Party.

In reality, the sooner a genuine left alternative to the Labour party is built, the better.



De Rossa waves goodbye to class politics

## Why the Workers Party split

Most media attention has focussed on the Official IRA as the main reason for the split in the Workers Party. As one Workers Party member put it "we have to get this monkey off our backs".

But it would be wrong to see the split as being between those who want a respectable parliamentary party and those who want to retain links with the Official IRA.

For one thing Workers Party leader, Proinsias De Rossa was denying the existence of an Official IRA up to recently. It was only after the emergence of political divisions in the party that he discovered the existence of an Official IRA and "secret cells".

In reality, the split in the Workers Party is a result of the crisis of the Left internationally, brought on by the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

All sections of the Workers Party were firm supporters of the Eastern European bloc before 1990. De Rossa for example defended the East German regime when thousands of demonstrators were converging on the hated Stasi secret police.

In a series of articles on Eastern Europe, the party described East Germany as "a socialist country

where the working people as a whole own and control all the wealth and exercise state power".

The revolt in Hungary in 1956 was described as "the last ditch stand by fascist and right wing elements who tried to turn back the clock of history".

When the USSR and Eastern Europe collapsed the party was thrown into turmoil. Those who had previously identified socialism with state ownership did a complete about turn and started to back the market.

De Rossa signalled the switch in direction at the 1989 Workers Party Conference. He claimed that socialism was "not anti-market, anti-enterprise". In his new enthusiasm for the market he went on to attack "the dole-spongers" and "short day-shirkers".

De Rossa's section of the party was for a complete switch from Stalinism to social democracy. This meant dropping all reference to class struggle and to any form of nationalisation. The Workers Party TDs in the Dail joined an all party Dail statement to call on the ESB strikers to return to work.

Opposition to de Rossa developed among the old guard who had first pioneered the drift to embrace Stalinism. Des O'Hagan and Sean Garland clung on rhetorically to notions of "class struggle". But their defence of

"socialist democracy" is laughable when people like Garland have been among the most enthusiastic backers of the North Korean regime.

Moreover, their particular notion of "democratic centralism" has been used to stifle discussion and to impose rule from the top.

Never have they come clean on the existence of the Official IRA. The Workers Party grafted on the traditions of Stalinism to the earlier conspiratorial traditions of republicanism. Discussing the activities of an armed wing or the remnants of an armed wing has never been a mark of any republican tradition.

The Workers Party was always a peculiar party. A thin layer of the party embraced Stalinist ideas openly, many of the rank and file concentrated on building on working class community politics and ignoring "ideological" issues.

For years many supporters of the party never went along with the party's pro-imperialist stance in the North. For example, 70 per cent of Workers party voters opposed extradition when the party actually favoured it.

But eventually the crisis of ideas caught up with the party. You can hide the hard Stalinist politics beneath an electoral front in stable times. But when workers revolt throughout the world the Stalinist lies catch up with you.

# The Left

## What sort of new party will De Rossa build?

DE ROSSA's new party will aim to attract many who are becoming radicalised by recent events in Ireland. His hope is that Emmet Stagg will join and bring many Labour left-wingers with him. De Rossa's new party will pose as an alternative Labour's to miserable record.

In reality, de Rossa's politics represent an adaptation to a right-wing drift. De Rossa's own rhetoric is moving to the right. Even on the bottom line of Coalition, there will be no outright opposition from De Rossa.

The starting point of the new political grouping is that the working class is no longer at the centre of socialist struggle.

In a debate with the Socialist Workers Movement at Marxism '91, the former WP intellectual and member of its policy making electoral commission, Proinsias Breatnach argued that Ireland was moving towards a two thirds affluent and one third underclass

society.

Writing in the party paper *Making Sense* Breatnach claimed that the left had concentrated on "blue collar" workers for too long and that it had to switch to looking to "white collar" workers who are "unlikely to be responsive to narrow economic concerns". He went on to claim that the party could not build in "socially deprived areas, where the poor were 'notoriously fickle' in their politics.

### Poverty

In a situation where one in four of the Irish population are living below the poverty line these ideas are complete rubbish. White collar workers are no less concerned with building up their trade union organisations than blue collar workers. The thousands of civil servants who were mobilising to fight FF's attacks on the PESP show this clearly.

But these are the ideas that now dominate the social democratic group around de Rossa.

But those who turn their back on the

working class struggle always end up moving dramatically to the right. They offer little either to the organised working class or other oppressed groupings.

Immediately after the split, De Rossa ruled out any demands for nationalisation as "completely unrealistic" at the present.

In a new search for respectability, de Rossa has even come out in favour of internment.

While de Rossa's new party may take up women's issues more, it will do so on the basis of arguing that these can only be resolved in the debating chamber of Dail Eireann. De Rossa and his supporters played virtually no role in mobilising the thousands who took to the streets to demand the scrapping of the 1983 SPUC amendment to the constitution.

Because the new party sees no way forward in terms of struggle, and will build itself mainly as an electoral machine, it will also become open to Coalition with the Right at some future stage. Pat Rabbitt has already said he is not opposed to Coalition in principle.

All of this means that De Rossa's party will not offer any real alternative to Labour. It will be another version of old social democratic ideas. De Rossa's new party can only lead to further disillusionment.

## Needed: a genuine alternative

THE crisis of the Irish left has emerged under the impact of two major events. The collapse of Stalinism has thrown many into confusion. But the new radicalism in Irish society after the scandals shows up how right wing and pathetic the Labour Party is.

What is desperately needed in this situation is not another version of social democracy—but a fighting socialist party.

This organisation has to start from the fact the capitalism has not gained from the events in Eastern Europe but is entering a new period of instability.

It has to recover the central message of socialism—that socialism can only come from the self activity of the working class. It has to fight for socialism from below.

Both Stalinism and Social Democracy see the state as the instrument of change. Reforms are to be handed down to workers.

Revolutionary socialists look to workers struggles rather than electoral politics. They build by their

activities on the picket lines and on mass demonstrations rather than the clinic system of the TDs.

Today revolutionary socialists are to the fore in resisting "new realism" in the unions. They stand for militant action to defend wages, working conditions and an end to unemployment.

But revolutionaries also oppose all divisions in the working class. That is why they never hide their opposition to sexism and racism.

### Tradition

What is needed now in Ireland today is a genuine workers party that stands by our class as much as Reynolds and Haughey stood up for theirs.

This party cannot just concentrate on economic issues. It has to say openly that it wants the British army out of Ireland—and seeks to build an alternative to the dead-end politics of republicanism.

Conditions have never been so

**MOST** people were justifiably horrified when the state prevented a 14-year-old rape victim travelling to England for an abortion.

Why should the state act as a "moral guardian" in such cases? The first thing to realise is that the state is not a neutral agent.

Its main agents, the police, can interfere in the lives of ordinary people by preventing a 14 year old travelling. But it backs off when it comes to even investigating the financial activities of the rich.

Secondly, "morality" is not neutral either. The so-called moral law that the state enforces is not something that was suddenly discovered, like the law of gravity. It is something that was created by the ruling class to serve its own interests. The Irish state professes a concern for 'life' but happily allowed the US airforce to re-fuel at Shannon for its bombing missions over Iraq.

So what is the connection between "morality" and capitalism? Socialists argue that the answer lies in the role of the family.

It is no coincidence that whenever "moral" questions are raised, there is a chorus of right-wing ghouls warning of the "threat to the family". This is because they know that pressuring people to live in a family is important for them.

### Family

In the early stages of the industrial revolution, it looked like the traditional family would disappear. Men, women and children all worked brutally long hours in the new factories, mills and mines. But as conditions were so appalling, and as there was nowhere else for the old and sick but the workhouse, it made sense for workers to fight for protective legislation and a "family wage" that would allow women to stay home to look after those who worked and those who couldn't.

More importantly, it was in capitalists' interests to support the creation of the "new family". It was supposed to provide healthy workers and it saved

## The State as moral guardian

them the cost of providing child care, meals and so on. Also, the responsibility of providing for a family might subdue workers' militancy.

The main function of the family under capitalism is to privatise the reproduction of labour power. For individuals it can sometimes offer the promise of a 'haven from a heartless world'. But the family as an institution is still strongly promoted because it gives capitalism for free what it needs most: workers, now and in the future.

An extreme example of this is Rumania under Ceaucescu. He was so desperate to guarantee the future availability of workers that abortion was banned. The terrible orphanages discovered after his overthrow were the legacy of that policy of compulsory childbirth.

When the right-wing resist the wider availability of contraception in this country, they are trying to uphold the central role of the family in reproduction. This is what lies behind the ludicrous notion that sex is only for procreation—not just a kill-joy attitude, but a recognition that if people were free to express their sexuality when, how and with whom they chose, that the future availability of workers might be threatened.

This also explains their hostility to gay rights. Homosexuality doesn't fit in with, and therefore challenges, their view that sex is for reproduction, which is for providing workers.

### Church

In Ireland, this repression is given an added twist. All the right wing parties have looked to the Catholic Church to provide the ideas which justify the status quo. It is the Catholic Church which tells people to accept their lot in a society that sees the emigrant boat as the solution to the jobs crisis.

The clergy are also the main force which

argues against resistance to the British army in the North.

Of course they differ in terms of how much power and influence that church should have in Irish society. Garret Fitzgerald and the liberals in FG are more wary of their influence. But they still have to kowtow to the bishops. That is why Fitzgerald went along with the SPUC amendment in 1983 with his usual liberal 'reservations'.

Individuals in the ruling class have no intention of abiding by the norms of Catholic morality. Michael Smurfit has no problem getting a divorce, for example. But their system demands that this morality is imposed on the rest of us.

This why they give the bigots a free hand even if sometimes they are appalled by their 'fanaticism'. The results for working class people can be horrific.

Kids can't get contraception, so teenage girls become pregnant. If they seek an abortion from now on they'll get an injunction.

Gays and lesbians are subject to discrimination. The state turns a blind eye and the courts exonerate "queer-bashing", as in the Fairview murder case.

Divorce is still not available. Single parent families are ghettoised by local government officials.

The overwhelming message from the state, on behalf of the ruling class, is: You will breed. Like it or not. And you will do it within the family. Because we need workers on the cheap.

And if that family doesn't turn out to be the "haven in a cruel world" that we said it would be but instead it adds to your pressures and you can't get away from it because there's no divorce and it all gets too much and your husband beats the crap out of you, don't bother calling the guards.

Because the state doesn't interfere in family matters.

Does it?  
■ KIERAN GLENNON

## Why we're joining the SWM

TOM Ryan, former chairperson and PRO of Ballymun branch of the Workers Party, last month left the WP and joined the Socialist Workers Movement.

Tom talked to *Socialist Worker* about his decision. He said: "It was evident to me, over a number of years, that the Workers Party was moving to the right. The splintering of the Party was brewing for a long time. Members who felt dissatisfied felt silenced by the party loyalty. But there is a good deal of

unease at the direction De Rossa is taking the Party.

"In Ballymun in particular—a very run-down and poor Corporation estate—I felt those in control of the Workers Party let down the poor and oppressed...the unemployed and single mothers.

"Although I don't believe the Sean Garland/ Des O'Hagan people have the answers, I think some of their supporters feel the same...

"When the people came out against

Ceausescu, I was with them...

"Where in the Workers Party everything was stacked on winning votes and there was no room for initiatives from below, in the Socialist Workers Movement I find a real socialist alternative for me and maybe some of the many disillusioned members of the Workers Party."

Maureen Kelly, a lifelong supporter of the Workers Party, also from Ballymun, joined

the SWM last month as well.

She told *Socialist Worker*: "I joined the Socialist Workers Movement because it stood for real socialism. The Workers Party has abandoned the people who looked to it for change. When I asked at a Workers Party discussion meeting whether the Party would nationalise the banks if it came to office, nobody could answer my question. From the SWM I get straight answers to straight questions."



**T**HE managing director of the giant car company, Chrysler, said recently that the US economy is going through the worst recession since the 1930s.

Today in America, the largest economy on earth, 32 million people live in poverty. Last year output fell by \$50 billion and with a budget debt of \$350 billion there seems little chance of recovery.

In Britain manufacturing output last year fell by 20 percent, the worst fall on record. House repossessions in 1991 were 74,000, that's a 35 percent increase on the 1990 figure. One hundred and sixty thousand families are now registered homeless. Weekly, up to ten thousand workers are laid off.

In one year eight hundred thousand workers lost their jobs and the government must now borrow £20,000 million just to balance the books. Total joblessness is set to hit three million.

The two hopes for recovery, Japan and Germany, are now being hit. Japan's economy has fallen by two percent, with an overall drop in growth of fifty percent in one year. Its deficit is expected to hit twenty-six thousand million. Germany is reeling under the costs of reunification and inflation is on the increase.

Ireland has been an exception until recently. Employers' profits have grown by a massive thirteen percent, yet levels of unemployment are still nearly 300,000 and the trend is upward.

The state capitalisms of the east, the former USSR and Eastern Bloc, lie in economic ruin.

**E**VERY major economy in the world is now gripped by crisis or feeling the effects of it. The enormous waste caused by the crisis evident everywhere. But how is this caused?

The apologists for capitalism are mystified. The two main economic theories for stopping the boom-slump cycle have proved a failure.

In the 1930s the economist John Maynard Keynes claimed that government could intervene in the

economy to "smooth out" the trade cycle. This meant a policy of more government spending when recession threatened.

In the 1970s the economist Milton Friedman argued the opposite. He claimed that if governments kept a tight grip on the money supply, the system could continue to expand.

At various times both Keynesianism and Friedman's monetarism have been tried. Both have failed.

**Y**ET there was one nineteenth century writer on economics who would not be at all surprised by the present crisis—Karl Marx.

We are told that Marxism is out of date but Marx's ideas help to explain the present crisis like no other theories can.

He recognised that what drove capitalism was an endless need for profit which could only be achieved by competing with your

rivals. Thus instead of seeing capitalism as harmonious, he described capitalism as a system that combined despotism and anarchy—despotism in the workplace, where workers have to do what they are told, and anarchy in the market, which ties the different workplaces into a single unplanned system of buying and selling.

Capitalists engage in production in order to accumulate, to stockpile wealth. During periods of boom every capitalist believes profits can be made by expanding output as rapidly as possible and so takes on new workers and machinery. This provides employment for workers and markets for other capitalists.

But because the system as a whole is not planned, there is no balance to it even in boom. What is rational for each individual competitor is irrational for the capitalist class as a whole. Competition becomes fiercer and it is harder for manufacturers to raise prices or find sales.

But at the same time, the demand for equipment, raw materials, loans from the banks,

rises so fast that the price of these items goes through the roof. Coupled with the rising output finding increased difficulty in getting sales, this means that some capitalists find their profits have been wiped out.

They are forced to cut production or be driven out of business. This in turn destroys the markets of other capitalists and throws growing numbers on the dole. The boom becomes a crisis. It suddenly dawns on the capitalists that bankruptcy awaits unless they sack workers wholesale.

**M**ODERN capitalism faces two major additional problems. First, there has been a general tendency for the rate of profit to fall. Marx argued that the source of profit was labour.

But increasingly, modern capitalism tends to invest in machinery and the proportion

of money spent on hiring labour declines. This leads to a drying up in the source of profit.

This tendency for the rate of profit to decline has been offset historically by investment in the colonies or by siphoning off surplus capital onto arms production.

But now there are signs that the rate of profit is again falling. The McCracken report for the EC noted that the return on the rate of capital invested in manufacturing had declined from fourteen percent in 1960 to four percent in 1984.

To offset this decline individual capitalists are more likely to indulge in speculation, property development, manipulation of share prices—all of which adds to the chaos of the system.

## Factories

The second major problem is that modern capitalism is less able to reap one of the benefits the slump actually provided for the system. The slump of the 1930s led to a huge wave of bankruptcies in major firms. This created new business opportunities for the capitalists who remained. Machinery and factories could be picked up for dirt cheap prices.

But today the concentration of ownership into huge companies means that individual national states are terrified of a bankruptcy bringing down too much of their national system.

When the Allied Irish Banks were almost made bankrupt in the early 1980s after speculating in the insurance business, the Irish state stepped in to bail them out.

When the mortgage industry in the US and the savings and loans institutions were threatened with bankruptcy the US federal government bailed them out to the tune of \$300 billion.

State intervention to prevent these bankruptcies lessens the impact of the recession. But it also makes the recession more prolonged and increases the long term problems of the system.

Over one hundred years ago Marx saw the crises of capitalism as an expression of the growing contradiction between productive development of society and the way this production is organised. His analysis rings even more true today, as capitalism enters a period of stagnation and even more frequent and longer recessions.

# Marxism explains the crisis

by ALAN KELLY



# Taking on the bigots

Thousands of people have taken to the streets to demand that the SPUC bigots get off our backs. Arrangements are now in place to build a big campaign to reverse the 1983 Amendment.

**DUBLIN:** 10,000 people took to the streets of Dublin in February in a march organised by the Dublin Abortion Information Groups. Speaking as one of the organisers, Mary Ryder, a member of the SWM, called on people to stay on the streets and not to trust the judges. 'They are conservative elderly hangers on of FF and FG. Some of them represented SPUC in the past'.

600 copies of a special SWM broadsheet were sold after the march and one person joined the SWM.

In UCD SWM members helped to convene a broad based meeting of 300 students. Against the advice of the students union President, Denis Murphy, a member of the anti-abortion LIFE organisation, the meetings voted to take up signatures to call a new referendum to reverse a previous decision not to give out information on abortion.

Scrap the Amendment action groups are being established in Rathmines, Dun Laoghaire, Tallaght, Ballymun, Rialto, Phibsboro, Ballyfermot. For details on meetings activities phone 722682.

**CORK:** 200 people took to the streets in February. A meeting to set up a scrap the Amendment campaign was held.



**NAVAN:** SWM members took to the streets with petitions calling for a reversal of the 1983 amendment.

A successful public meeting was later held on 'Defend Women's Rights'

**WATERFORD:** 150 people demonstrated in Waterford in February to call for the lifting of the injunction against rape victims.

They took a petition to the mayor in City Hall but he refused to come out to meet them.

Demonstrators sat down in Red Square and blocked the traffic.

12 SWM pamphlets 'Abortion: Why Irish women must have the right to choose' were sold. Arrangements were also made to hold a broad based

Scrap The Amendment public meeting.

**BRAY:** SWM members took up petitions on the streets. A public meeting was later held to launch a Scrap the Amendment group with Councillor Liz McManus invited to speak.

## Socialist Worker Meetings

**DERRY SWM meets upstairs, Badgers Pub Orchard St at 8pm on Tuesdays**

Tuesday 3rd: Cuba: the last bastion of socialism?  
Tuesday 10th: Who is to blame for violence against women?  
Tuesday 17th: What is happening in Russia?  
Tuesday 24th: Why half the world goes hungry.

**CORK SWM meets upstairs Anchor Inn, George's Quay at 8pm Tuesdays**

Tuesday 3rd: US imperialism: one year after the Gulf  
Tuesday 10th: Women's liberation and Socialism  
Monday 16th: The Mastericht Agreement: What do we say?  
Tuesday 24th: Where is South Africa going?

**WATERFORD SWM meets ATGWU Hall, Keyser St at 8pm on Thursdays**

Thursday 27th February: Scrap the Amendment Meeting. Broad based meeting with local speakers including SWM.  
Thursday 5th March: The Politics of Abortion  
Thursday 12th March: The Workers Party split: is de Rossa a socialist?

**DUBLIN SWM upstairs Bachelor Inn at 8pm every Wednesday.**

Wednesday 4th: Islamic fundamentalism: Why is it on the rise?  
Wednesday 11th: What happened the feminist movement?

**BELFAST SWM meets every Monday at the Castle Mews, Bank St at 8pm**

For details of meetings in March see local circulars or write to SWM address.

**BRAY SWM meets every Tuesday in the Hibernian Inn at 8pm**

For details of meetings see local circular or write to SWM address.

## SOCIALIST WORKER STUDENT SOCIETY

**UCD meets every Friday at 1pm in Room G107**

**TCD meets every Friday at 1pm in Room 2041A**

**DCU meets every Wednesday in G124**

See posters for details of meetings.  
SWSS meetings also held in UCC, Magee, Queen's

To contact the SWM in DUNDALK, GALWAY, NAVAN, KILKENNY write to SWM, P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

## Remembering Bloody Sunday

SWM organised a series of meetings around the country to publicise a recent book co-authored by SWM member, Eamonn McCann.

The meetings were well-attended. 170 turned up to the meeting in Dublin. Over 100 people heard Eamonn speak in UCC.

The meetings called on people to raise a resolution in their trade union or students union branches to clear the names of the victims.

### Condemns

The following is a model resolution:  
**'This branch condemns**

**the Widgery Report which justified the Bloody Sunday murders.**

**We call for the clearing of the names of the victims. We demand that the Widgery Report be repudiated.**

**We demand that those guilty of the massacre be brought to justice'**

## Join the S.W.M.!

AT the end of the 1980s, Ireland was a model of capitalist stability. Haughey was one of the most popular Taoiseachs ever. The unions were talking about a ten year social contract with FF.

Now the country is in crisis. The scandals have shown thousands that FF is a bosses party.

A huge movement has developed to fight for women's rights. The FF/PD government slips from banana skin to banana skin.

Meanwhile in the North, there has been both a rise in sectarianism and a feeling that workers unity is more vital than ever.

There has never been a more important time to build a real socialist organisation.

SWM has become the main socialist organisation in Ireland. Socialist Worker spoke to some of those who joined recently:

**TOMMY HOGAN** is a shop steward in Waterford Crystal. He told *Socialist Worker* "The emphasis of socialism from below is very important to me. The SWM's analysis of Eastern Europe, when they said that they were state capitalist and not socialist regimes, has been borne out to be correct. Their ideas have stood the test of time."

"They said that republicanism offered no way out of the cul de sac of Northern politics and that a 32 county working class movement is what is needed. "These are the things that attracted me and that is why I decided to join the SWM."

**LIAM MAILEY**, joined the Derry branch. He said, "In the North, there is a growing realisation that only the working class can end the cycle of killings that we have become accustomed to recently."

"I have joined the SWM because I believe that in order to get rid of sectarianism we have to smash the state which was founded on that principle."

"More and more people are fed up seeing the best of our young people being killed with no changes in sight."

"By joining the SWM I hope to build an organisation which can show the only way forward and which can organise the working class, North and South to fight the common enemy: the Northern and Southern states."

In response to the growing vacuum on the left, the SWM is launching a major recruitment campaign. We ask all those who agree with our paper and the fights we are involved in to come in and join us. For details fill out the coupon on this page.

## What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a marxist organisation fighting for a workers' republic in Ireland and for socialism internationally.

### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class.

The machinery of the capitalist state -- parliament, courts, army, police etc -- is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

### NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too. We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

### FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

Catholic workers in the North are systematically discriminated against by the state, but Protestant workers derive no benefit from this. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

We support all forces struggling against imperialism and the Northern state, regardless of differences we may have with them.

The interests of the Southern ruling class are no longer in fundamental conflict with those of imperialism. Southern capitalism is a junior player in the world capitalist system. The Southern state too, props up partition, despite occasional nationalist rhetoric. The "national question" can be solved only by mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the immediate struggle to the achievement of "national unity", and by appealing for all-class alliances in pursuit of this goal, can never lead the working class towards the defeat of imperialism.

### 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 fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

### FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

Trade unions exist to protect workers' interests under capitalism. The role of trade union leaders is to negotiate with bosses over workers' position within capitalism. To destroy capitalism, we need a rank and file movement in the unions separate from the leaderships and fighting for workers' interests regardless of the needs of capitalism.

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To destroy capitalism and achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class must be organised in a revolutionary party. The SWM aims to build such a party through spreading its ideas and through its activity in the working class movement.

## Join us!

If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to:  
**SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8**

Please send me more details of SWM  
 I want to join the SWM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

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# ORDER OUT OF CHAOS

CHAOS theory is the latest fad. It is also a major scientific development. Science matters to marxism because the fight to change the world must be based on a scientific grasp of that world.

Marx and Engels saw themselves as extending to the study of society the scientific method developed by people like Newton to explain the natural world.

The scientific revolution started in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the rising capitalist class needed greater knowledge of the world to improve trade and production methods.

Newton in particular showed how complicated natural events could be explained by some very simple universal physical laws. With his law of gravity this explanation extended from the motion of a cannon ball to the motion of the stars.

Such explanations undermined the utopian view of the world fostered in feudal times. The French physicist Laplace replied to Napoleon's question about where God was in the new science by saying, "I have no need of that hypothesis".

The idea that people could understand and change the world took hold. Marxism of "scientific socialism" was the logical extension of this Enlightenment idea.

But science didn't stop with Newton.

## ★ Einstein ★

This century has seen major advances over his ideas with the theories of quantum mechanics and Einstein's general theory of relativity. These enriched our understanding of the world and undermined the overly mechanical and deterministic approach. Newton had seen the universe as basically a very big but simple clockwork mechanism in which everything was in principle predictable.

Marx and Engels also attacked this view. Engels in particular argued that through its interaction matter itself produced new phenomena, which obeyed laws not strictly reducible to those governing the motion of billiard balls.

However, each crisis in long-held scientific views has been used by pundits and over-certain scientists to argue against the possibility of rationally explaining the world. Chaos theory is the latest victim of the kind of misuse.

## ★ Complex ★

What it actually shows is that some complex systems, which are governed by laws which predict exactly what something will do, can nevertheless behave unpredictably. The weather is often used as an example, the idea being that the flapping of a butterfly's wings can cause a storm on the other side of the world.

This has been seized on to argue that the behaviour of complex systems like the economy are unpredictable and hence uncontrollable. Hence economic planning won't work and we must rely on the market.

But this misses the point of chaos theory, which is that it sees order in the chaos. It provides insights into "chaotic" phenomena which were previously not understood at all.

## ★ Understanding ★

Chaos theory deepens, not diminishes, our scientific understanding. It has shed light on fluid turbulence, vital to ships, planes and a host of other things (including heart attacks). It says that while the details of how a process will develop may be unknown we can still detect general trends, precisely what marxists have always said about society.

Most importantly, chaos theory points towards an understanding of how matter itself at certain levels of complexity develops qualitatively new types of behaviour. This is central to the marxist, non-mechanical, "dialectical" view of the material world. We have always pointed to the qualitative leap represented by living over inanimate matter and most fundamentally, conscious human behaviour over "natural" behaviour.

Chaos theory raises the hope of making this dialectical materialist view scientifically exact.

■ JOSH CLARKE

# JIVING WITH FIANNA FAIL

"JIVING at the Crossroads" has become an Irish bestseller. It has been hailed as "a radical new departure" in Irish writing.

But its author, John Waters, a former editor of *Magill* and *In Dublin*, restates some of the most conservative myths about Irish society.

Waters sees the main divide in Irish society as being between Dublin and the country. Ireland is dominated by the "Dublin 4" set—middle class liberals who dominate the media and academic life of the whole country.

Waters is taking over the mantle of the late John Healy, the former *Irish Times* columnist. Healy wrote a good book about the destruction wreaked on the West of Ireland by emigration and poverty. But Healy had no way of explaining why Irish capitalism was responsible. Instead he became a Haughey supporter and blamed the "Donnybrook Set" led by Garret Fitzgerald for denigrating the "real people" of the West.

Healy and Waters direct their anger at the snobbery of the Irish middle class liberals. They have a point. While the Fine Gael yuppies are adept at scoffing at the "simple-minded country folk", the same liberals dare not confront the power of the Catholic Church. Garret Fitzgerald was one of the main "reluctant backers" of the anti-abortion referendum which has now led to a vicious attack on a fourteen-year-old girl.

But Waters also makes a fundamental mistake. He thinks that the Dublin 4 liberals are the Irish ruling class. This image allows



The plain people of Ireland

him to combine some radical rhetoric with the old-fashioned theories of rural populism.

## Goodman

In reality, the Irish ruling class are as much drawn from the Christian Brothers schools in rural Ireland as they are from Dublin 4. Goodman and the Fianna Fail elite know how to pretend to be part of "the plain people from the snipe grass" to cover their tracks. The legacy of colonialism in Ireland allows them to pretend

that the ruling class are still West Brit stockbrokers rather than gombeen businessmen who own meat plants and petfood plants.

The one class missing from Waters' book is the urban working class. He briefly mentions the "Northside Dubliners" who are strangers in their own city. They wage war on Dublin 4 in the form of crime.

## Struggles

This nonsense completely ignores the workers' struggles which have happened. After Waters'

book appeared the very nerve centre of Dublin 4 liberalism—RTE—was the scene of mass pickets as mainly Southside workers confronted their bosses.

## Tribal

Another myth restated by Waters is that the right-wing parties dominate because "civil war politics" continued along "tribal lines". This ignores the fact that Fianna Fail dominance was based in the past on their ability to deliver minor reforms to a weakly organised and mainly rural workforce. Today,

the "country and western alliance which now runs Fianna Fail has real difficulty in reviving this old style populism.

Waters is still, however, trapped inside the tradition of that populism. He accepts the myth that Fianna Fail represents the "plain people of Ireland". When Sean Doherty, the ex-Special Branch man, is attacked over the phone tapping scandal, Waters retreats into his "tribe" in Roscommon and votes for Doherty.

This simple act tells us why Waters' politics, for all his radical rhetoric, offer nothing to the urban working class.

■ DAVE McDONAGH

INTERVIEWED on US television after seeing Oliver Stone's *JFK*, an anonymous young man said, "It makes you think what our government is really like."

This explains the hysterical reaction which greeted the film from the US media and politicians.

Stone was accused of fantasy, fabrication and paranoia, in rubbishing the official view of President Kennedy's death in 1963.

*JFK* centres on the unsuccessful 1967 attempt by New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison to pin the blame for Kennedy's murder on a conspiracy between the CIA, top politicians and right wing Cuban exiles.

The official view, from the Warren Commission, is that Kennedy was killed by a "lone gunman", mentally ill Lee Harvey Oswald.

Stone says Kennedy was killed because he had decided to pull troops out of Vietnam and wind down the Cold War.

The ruling class, he argues, decided Lyndon Johnson would be a more

# Shooting the Kennedy myth

by DES FREEDMAN

decisive lieutenant for US imperialism.

*JFK* also lays the blame for the assassination at the door of named US establishment figures.

In the most powerful section of the film, an ex-Pentagon bigwig, brilliantly played by Donald Sutherland, makes a 15 minute speech outlining America's foreign policy.

Democratic governments were overthrown by the CIA, dictators loyal to the US installed.

Yet, despite Stone's hatred for the US estab-

lishment, he creates as many myths as he wipes out.

The idea that Kennedy was a peace loving family man, whose death marked the end of "the age of innocence", is laughable.

Kennedy increased US troops in Vietnam from 900 to 16,000 by 1963.

The "golden boy" authorised the disastrous 1961 Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion and ordered the use of napalm in Vietnam.

Kennedy opposed the massive 1963 black civil rights march on Washington and admitted civil rights legislation was passed purely because "the demonstrations on the streets

had brought results."

*JFK* is at its best when it gives a broad political picture—the wonderful opening montage of the Cuban missile crisis, Sutherland's speech about the CIA, White House plots.

Stone, however, takes the view that these are a travesty of the real American values of justice and democracy.

Stone makes brave films, not necessarily exciting ones. "Members of the media establishment get upset when art gets 'political'," he wrote recently, "especially when they disagree with the politics."

At a time when the US is suffering a serious depression, *JFK* has struck a chord with people who blame the bosses and the government.

Conspiracies can happen. No one elects police chiefs, generals, judges and top bosses—and they will use any means they can to protect their interests.

By exposing these crooks, Stone's explanation of the assassination makes more sense than the official story.

There are some shadowy figures out there (Kennedy was one of them) and *JFK* shines the light on them.

# BODY SHOP: Animals: One, Workers: Nil



THE Body Shop has a chain of six hundred stores throughout the world. The founder of the Body Shop, Anita Roddick, one of the richest women in the world, is vehemently anti-union and believes that workers and their bosses can sort out their problems by talking to each other. A good reason to sack two shop stewards in the Grafton Street store in Dublin who recently organised six workers into their union, SIPTU.

Apparently the work ethic in the Body Shop is to assert yourself and climb the management ladder. If your face and your accent doesn't fit this ethic, then as a worker you're not wanted. This was the experience of the women who joined the union to improve their working conditions and fight for fair play for their fellow workers.

So far the small pickets on the Grafton Street store have been successful in keeping most of the customers out, but to win this battle the strike must be spread.

Plans to picket the Henry Street store are going ahead since the ICTU granted an all-out picket. However, the Industrial Relations Act of 1990 is seriously hampering what support to the picket line is being offered

by other workers and by socialists. This Act allows only the striking workers and their union officials to picket the shop. When members of the SWM joined in the picket the Body Shop manager telephoned SIPTU and threatened an injunction.

There are a lot of injunctions flying around these days, but we say—

the only way to win this strike is to spread it, and the only way to spread it is to defy the Industrial Relations Act and its anti-union threats.

A victory for the women in the Body Shop would be a victory for part-time women workers everywhere, who are increasingly being further hammered and exploited by the employers.

## ETHIC

The six workers have been out of strike since February 1 to fight for their shop stewards' jobs and to win the right to belong to a trade union. From day one of the strike blackleg workers have been running the store, most of them from the Body Shop in Belfast.

## BANK WORKERS' DISPUTE:

# Escalate the action

BANK workers voted in December to take industrial action over a three year old pay dispute. Since January 20 an overtime ban has been in practice plus a ban on selling insurance. The action was to be escalated from February 13 but the bank workers' union, the IBOA, postponed it and instead requested talks with the banks.

Since the beginning of the dispute the banks have been in-

involved in widespread intimidation of workers, resulting in the Bank of Ireland being brought to the Labour Court by the union. Every concession made by the IBOA has been greeted with smug and growing confidence by the banks. They have gone from posturing to an all-out offensive, bringing the contentious issue of opening hours with no compensatory pay or ongoing payment in as a condition for

settlement.

At the time of going to press the overtime ban is still in place and being operated successfully, but all notion of escalation has been put on hold while management and unions take the case to the Labour Court.

## Bitterness

Bank workers are bitter about how they've been treated by

management for the last few years and the union's reluctance to escalate has already given the banks the confidence to hint at a lock-out. What is needed is not to spend every opportunity assuring one and all that there is no intention of calling an all-out strike, as the IBOA have done, but to work on the directive given to the union by the majority of bank workers last December and escalate the strike.

## LETTER:

# Fighting service charges

Dear Socialist Worker,  
In the February issue of your paper you carried an article entitled "Service Charges: Fight Goes On", which referred to the ongoing anti-service charges campaigns in Waterford and Limerick.  
As regards the situation in Limerick you talked about the new

Council there abolishing service charges and doubling the commercial rate on business premises—"something socialists would support". You then said that the Left in Limerick also voted for a small number of cutbacks.  
What you neglected to mention was the fact

that the Labour Party, the biggest group on the Council, led the campaign to abolish the service charges. You also failed to mention the fact that the Labour Lord Mayor of Limerick, Jim Kemmy TD, donated his full mayoral salary to the Council in order to ease its budgetary problems.

While I recognise that you have differences with the Labour Party, some of which are legitimate, this should not stop you reporting facts in an objective manner, and dealing with all the issues involved.  
Yours fraternally,

JOE FFRENCH, Dun Laoghaire, Co Dublin.

# T.C.D.: ACTION ON OVERCROWDING

TWO hundred students occupied Trinity College, Dublin in February to protest at overcrowding. The college were forced to make some concessions.

Members of the Socialist Worker Student Society proposed every five students at the student assembly.

After two hours occupation, the college conceded longer opening hours in the library as well as extra books.

The protests will have to be intensified at the later date. There is now only one library seat for every five students at TCS.

In UCD students are

also forced to sit on the steps for lectures.

SWSS candidates for the student union presidency in both colleges ran as open socialist candidates. Both took up the issue of overcrowding and called for militant action. They also pledged to give out information on abortion.

# RTE strike ends

THE RTE strike ended in February when a mass meeting voted to accept management's offer. The strike started over an attempt to cut three person camera crews to two.

The strike brought an unprecedented show of solidarity between members of SIPTU, ETU and NUJ. But it ended in confused circumstances with one third of the strikers voting to continue.

A camera operator told *Socialist Worker*. "We settled too quickly. A lot of people didn't realise exactly what they were voting on. They were told that we in the camera section were happy with the deal when we had hardly discussed it. If we had more time to explain the vote could have swung the other way."

The deal reached was

for payment of £1,750 for those affected by the changes over four years. As one worker put it, "it will pay for the cups of coffee in the canteen, but that is it".

But the experience if the strike has strengthened the unions. As one journalist put it, "we've proved that we are strong enough to face up to the bully-boy tactics of RTE in the future".

## DUBLIN BUS:

# RESIST NEW ATTACKS

DUBLIN Bus management are on the verge of launching a massive attack on the pay and conditions of the city's bus workers.

Earlier this month advertisements were placed in national newspapers for the job of minibus drivers. Initially unions were not informed, but were eventually told that the drivers would be considered a new grade and would be paid a flat wage with no overtime, shift or Sunday rates. It was also likely that the

new drivers would have greatly reduced medical and travel facilities.

It has since emerged that Dublin Bus boss, John Montgomery, wants to convert various doubledecker routes (such as the 83) to minibus routes. In effect this would mean a 23 percent cut in wages for bus workers.

At the same time Montgomery has announced that he intends to break at least two previous agreements by getting rid of the city's remaining bus conductors and their

drivers, some three hundred staff in all.

Meetings called by SIPTU have shown that there is real anger among the city's conductors and drivers over these plans. Votes taken at these meetings were 99 percent against any renegotiation of their conditions on jobs.

If Montgomery is to be stopped this anger must be geared to preparing for all-out strikes and winning the support of all workers in Dublin Bus and the other CIE companies.

## DERRY:

# No more low wages!

SOCIALIST Workers Movement members in Derry are involved in a new Campaign for Decent Wages.

Derry workers suffer from some of the lowest wages and worst conditions in Ireland, and this is linked to the virtual destruction of trade unionism in many industries. The idea of a unionised building site, for example, is almost unheard of now in the city.

Shop and catering workers are commonly paid wages below the legal rate. Youth training schemes are widely abused, with YTP trainees working in shops, bars, hairdressing salons and cafes for

less than £30 a week.

The campaign was launched after six Unionist and Democratic Unionist MPs voted with the Tories at Westminster to extend anti-union legislation to the North.

The three SDLP MPs who could have prevented the Tories winning a majority, abstained.

The SDLP's abstention shows why the Campaign should not rely on the support of the City Council to achieve its aims.

A delegation to the Council from the Campaign received the

support of all parties, including the Unionists and SDLP.

The support of most of the Councillors was nothing but hypocrisy. The only way that workers can ensure union rates and conditions is if jobs are fully unionised.

The people whose parties voted against the closed shop in parliament are unlikely to support the kind of struggle needed to ensure that sites, like the proposed McConnell Bros one on Foyle Street, are not allowed to commence building until all the workers are unionised.

■ DERRY SWM

# Socialist Worker

## Nelson cover-up shows role of the British Army

THE British and Irish governments try to present the role of the British army in the Six Counties as peacekeepers keeping two warring factions apart and dispensing

justice even-handedly. The drastic increase in deaths and violence since the arrival of the army shows this to be a farce. The recent Brian Nelson trial in Belfast, even more, throws a

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

Fear and murder  
in the North

# FIGHT

# SECTARIANISM

AS THE killings continue in the North, a 35 year old mentally ill man was shot in the back by loyalist thugs as he stood waiting to be picked up by a special care bus at North Belfast's nationalist Bawnmore estate.

After the attack, a neighbour stood at his doorstep and pointed out four houses where people had been murdered by loyalists. His own 18 year old daughter and a young man had been shot on their way to work 18 years ago.

In the same street he pointed to the house where Peter McTansey was shot dead and his three year old niece injured in an attack last year.

A few doors down is the house of Martin Quinn who was murdered as he lay in bed in the early hours of 31st January, 1986.

"Another house, another death and I can go on", the man said. "You fear for your children going out and coming in".

Bawnmore is just one housing estate in Belfast. All over the city the streets are empty after dark and everyone is frightened.

The tension caused by the loyalist murder gangs has been greatly increased by the IPLO's sectarian murder of 17 year old Protestant Andrew Johnson in the video shop where he worked.

The IRA has reiterated its call to members not to be drawn into sectarian killings and Gerry Adams has said that he wished to "reassure Protestants in our community" that republicans had no desire "that the Pro-

testant people should be made to suffer for the actions of British sponsored murderers".

Adams said that while the IRA statement "has been treated with scepticism by some commentators, it is welcomed by those I represent. I repeat my firm conviction that attacks on Protestants are wrong for exactly the same reason that attacks on Catholics are wrong".

These statements have to be welcomed. While the IRA does not generally engage in sectarian attacks; bombings like Teebane and the many "mistakes" where innocent Protestants are killed because they are thought to be in the UDR/RUC are regarded as sectarian by many workers.

### Blame

Socialists have to be clear that the blame for sectarianism can be laid on one doorstep only—that of British imperialism and the sectarian state which it created. But we also have to recognise that the IRA campaign, and especially its targeting of workers building UDR/RUC bases has contributed to the increase in sectarian tensions.

What is desperately needed in Northern Ireland is an organisation which works towards ending the sectarian killings by building unity among Catholic and Protestant workers.

But that can only be done by openly challenging the roots of sectarian division and by pointing to the sectarian nature of the state in Northern Ireland.

The controversy which has emerged recently over the Fair Employment Commission's refusal to



issue its findings about the significant under-representation of Catholics in Colleges of Further and Higher Education illustrates again the continuing discrimination against Catholics.

### Revealed

The RUC, UDR and British army continue to operate in a blatantly sectarian manner. There is now one member of the security forces for every 48 civilians in the North and nationalists fear them almost as much as they fear the UDA.

It was revealed during February that the RUC man who shot Kevin McGovern dead in Cookstown last

September is still on duty in the area, even though the RUC have admitted that the student was an innocent victim.

RUC Chief Constable Hugh Annesley refused to suspend him until, he said, "evidence of a criminal or serious disciplinary offence was found".

Also during February, the committee of a Gaelic Football club in Clocher, Co. Tyrone had to go public about the harassment and treatment of its players by the British army. The lane leading from Clocher Eire Og's grounds to the main road is blocked by British Army checkpoints on training nights and match days. Players are subjected to verbal and often physical abuse.

The club decided to go

public after soldiers pulled a player from his car on Valentine's night and kicked and punched him without provocation. Details are kept of each incident and have been sent to the GAA County Board.

### Victim

Meantime, it's emerged that a junior officer with the Paras on Bloody Sunday is now the British army's overall commander in Greater Belfast. Brigadier Michael Jackson MBE is now one of the three top British officers in Northern Ireland, as one relative of a Bloody Sunday victim said on hearing this news: "this man has clearly been promoted for his role in Bloody Sunday—he should have

been locked up.

The British government also draw a clear difference between the IRA and the UDA — and see the UDA as being on their side. After the Ormeau Road murders, Brooks continued to rule out banning the UDA.

Brian Mawhinney told Radio Ulster that loyalist attacks are different to the IRA because they are 'reactive rather than proactive'.

The fight against sectarianism has to be taken into the working class movement. For that we need the class politics which can argue that no worker, Protestant or Catholic has any interest in defending the sectarian state of Northern Ireland. The SWM exists to do just that.

glaring light on the role of the British army and their paymasters in Ireland.

Brian Nelson, ex-British soldier, member of the UDA and paid military agent for the British army, was sentenced for ten years last month in a Belfast court. Although admitting to setting up the murders of at least two Catholics, the murder charges against Nelson were dropped in return for his silence over the links between the security forces and UDA death squads.

Nelson joined the UDA in 1972 and was convicted of kidnapping a Catholic. He claims he was recruited by British military intelligence during the mid-1970s. He quit Ireland in 1985 for Germany and was asked to return to work for UDA intelligence in 1987.

### Movements

Nelson's job was to gather addresses and record the movements of republicans in nationalist areas. The army helped him buy a taxi to move in and out of Catholic areas without arousing suspicion. He was also supplied by the security forces with photographs, names and addresses of known republicans to help the UDA identify and assassinate nationalists.

The level of collusion between the security forces and the loyalist paramilitaries reaches all the way up to the British Cabinet. This was illustrated by two revelations that Nelson made, but which were not heard in his Belfast court case.

Firstly, Nelson claimed that he travelled to South Africa to buy weapons for the UDA, with permission from British Cabinet members. The fact that three loyalist paramilitaries are at the moment facing charges of gun running in France (they are believed to have been trying to smuggle guns from South Africa to Northern Ireland) shows this is far from fiction.

### Handlers

Nelson also, under orders from his British army handlers, tried to encourage the UDA to embark on a bombing campaign in the 26 Counties. They hoped that in return for the extradition of the loyalist bombers the British would receive co-operation from the Irish government in extraditing republican suspects living in the Republic.

The British state is no peacemaker. It will use any methods to pacify the nationalist population, including using the UDA to commit murder. The Northern Ireland state is built on discrimination, bigotry and repression.

Socialists have to be in the forefront of the fight against the state, arguing that only socialism—North and South—can offer an alternative to the cycle of violence.