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## THE BIG HOUSE CON



### A developers' charter

**S**imon Coveney has launched his new Housing Action Plan with quite a fanfare. Unsurprisingly much of the media has echoed Coveney's own view of his proposals: a 'game changer', '47,000 new social houses', 'the biggest housing programme in the history of the state'.

Tragically – and it is tragic for the homeless on the streets and the 140,000 on the housing waiting list – this is spin and hype, a huge con.

Start with the headline figure, the 47,000 social houses; bearing in mind the 140,000 (and growing) on the waiting list this is not enough. And when you

look deeper into the Plan you find that even this figure is unlikely to be delivered: it actually talks in terms of building 'up to 25,000' by 2021. 'Up to' here is politician speak for less than.

Then there is the fact highlighted by People Before Profit TD Richard Boyd Barrett in the Dáil that there is NO figure in the Plan for the number of actual Council Houses to be built. Boyd Barrett put this question direct to Enda Kenny but got, as usual, no answer.

Another feature of the Plan is that it does not address the crucial question of rent control, despite the fact that more and more people are being priced out of their homes by rapacious landlords.

This reflects the underlying problem with Coveney's Plan and with the government's whole approach: that they insist on relying on market mechanisms and the private developers to deal with the housing crisis.

The whole report is littered with references to 'incentives' and 'the private sector', by which they really mean vulture funds. The government is going to hand over 75% of state land and funds to private developers who will build houses, only 25% of which will be social housing.

This is despite the fact that it has been proven over decades that relying on the profit motive to provide housing doesn't work – it just makes the problem worse.

Simon Coveney has said he is staking his political career on his plan working. He may live to regret that pledge.

What we need now is what People Before Profit and AAA have been arguing for all along; declare a National Housing Emergency; treat housing as a basic human right; take over vacant housing; introduce emergency rent controls; start a massive programme of council house building.

**And defy any instructions from the EU that it can't be done: the housing needs and right of our people come before EU rules!**

## Repeal the 8th Amendment: the time is now!

Stacey Wren, People Before Profit Pro-Choice Campaign.

**T**he Anti-Austerity Alliance and People Before Profit (AAA/PBP) will be putting forward a motion to the Dáil mid October to repeal the 8th Amendment by referendum. PBP believe that it is the ordinary people who should decide, not lawyers, the Church, or the elite.

This bill is calling for a repeal of the 8th amendment, with no restrictions. For decades women have been expected to pay for a ferry to Liverpool as well as the cost of the procedure, and then come back to work the following morning. This at a time when 750,000 people are living under the poverty line in Ireland.

This is what PBP's new Pro-Choice group want to change by setting up a grassroots movement supported by TDs but not controlled by them.

During the week of the group's

second meeting Katherine Zappone TD backtracked on her main selling point in the general election and voted against Independents4Change Mick Wallace's bill allowing abortion in the case of fatal foetal abnormality. This went directly against what her constituency wanted, as well as what the majority of the population wanted.

A Red C poll on behalf of Amnesty International in March found that 72% wanted to decriminalise abortion, with 80% agreeing that abortion should be available in cases of incest, rape, and fatal foetal abnormality. Only 5% said that it should definitely not be decriminalised.

If these polls are not enough for change, the following fact should fill in the gaps. 12 women every day leave Ireland to go to countries like the UK, and in a small country like Ireland there is a high chance that in our lifetimes each of us will know someone who is faced with this decision,

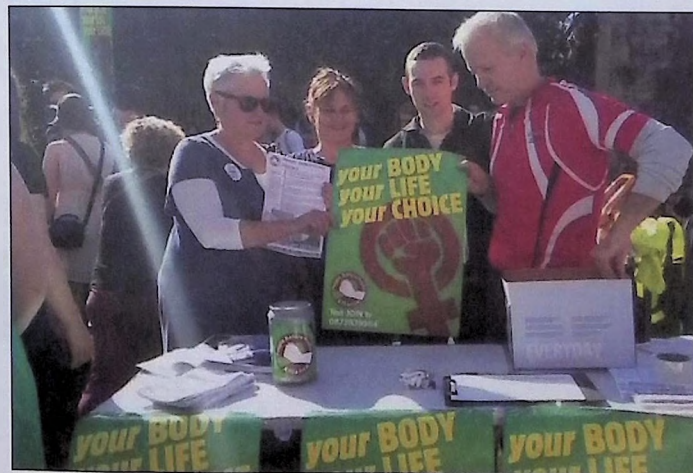
but who may be too scared to ask for help because of the stigma attached.

What are we to take from this? The government continue not to listen to the people, so we must make our voices heard above the noise of a minority on the right. This can only be achieved if we stand together and fight for what we believe in.

PBP Pro-Choice is a group led by women but not exclusive to women. Our approach will be a social media and grassroots one, with stalls and public meetings, engaging and interacting with the people rather than standing behind a podium and lecturing.

Join us in supporting the Annual March for Choice at the Garden of Remembrance at 2pm, 24 September, and let the government know that you support the AAA/PBP bill calling for a referendum.

For many of us a referendum will be our first chance to make our opinions known on this issue in a way that cannot be ignored.



**Right2Water National Protest 17.09.16 Dublin**

# Ringsend organises to fight for housing

Claire Kelly

**T**he Ringsend Irish Glass Bottle (IGB) Site is the last large piece of vacant land left in Dublin City and is under NAMA control, therefore it is effectively publicly owned land.

On May 18th Annette Mooney PBP held a public meeting in Ringsend Community Center to address the chronic housing crisis facing the community.

TD Richard Boyd Barrett spoke of the general housing crisis and Annette highlighted the IGB site to the residents.

The residents formed the IGB Housing Action Group and immediately collected money for a banner, requesting Annette to speak on their behalf.

On May 20th TD Simon Coveney announced the Strategic Development Zone (SDZ) designation for the IGB site with only 10% affordable housing.

This implies that 90% would be un-affordable.

He also spoke about social mix implying council housing residents have to be mixed with the general population, given that 80% of Dublin's housing stock was originally council built, he seems to be insulting a large proportion of the population.

Annette Mooney immediately called the media and the residents to attend a press release which appeared on RTE news that evening



clearly outlining the action groups demands for 100% council and affordable homes.

The Dublin 2, 4, and 6 areas alone have over 4200 on the council housing waiting list and that is only the people who can get on it.

### Trapped

There is a growing number of people that do not fit the criteria for the council list and can not get mortgages.

These people are trapped paying

increasingly high rents or living in overcrowded accommodation.

The residents have set up with Annette Mooney a very active action group and are working with a group of volunteer architects and planners to draw up a viable alternative plan for the site, which can be implemented for the good of the area and the city and not broken down into sites of less than 1/2 an acre which will allow the private developer's to profit while giving them get out clause of giving even

10% to social housing.

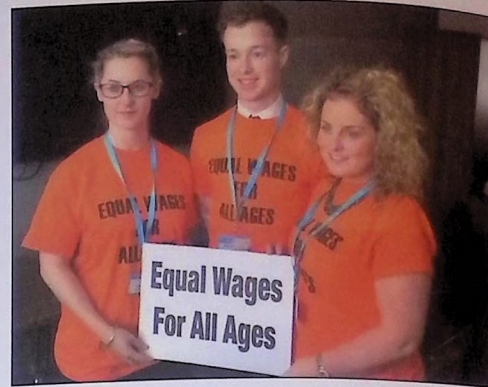
The Action Group has grown and is gaining attention from all media outlets and most of the political parties.

FF and FG have so far tried to ignore the group but are aware of it.

Labour has ignored the group's request to support them but have held public meetings about the site to coincide with the action group's advertised meetings.

Sinn Fein are supporting the action group.

## Lesser paid teachers fight for equal pay



Mark Walshe (ASTI, personal capacity)

**S**ince January 2011, any teacher starting to teach for the first time in the Irish education system is paid based on one of two new inferior salary scales.

As a result, a teacher entering the profession this coming September stands to lose at least €240,000 over a forty-year teaching career!

Originally dubbed 'new entrants' or Newly Qualified Teachers (NQTs), the affected teachers now describe themselves as Lesser Paid Teachers or LPTs to highlight the fact that many of them have now been teaching for five years and can hardly be described as 'newly qualified'.

### Unequal

This unfair and unequal state of affairs derives from the notorious Croke Park and Lansdowne Road Agreements in which compliant union officials, largely members of the Labour Party, negotiated deals with government which nominally protected the pay of existing staff but included get out clauses allowing wage cuts for new entrants.

Those rotten agreements, campaigned for by IMPACT, SIPTU, INTO and PSEU officials, also contained bans on those unions taking industrial action to defend or improve the pay of their new entrants.

And after five years, the anger of the LPTs is reaching boiling point. Under pressure from activists in the INTO, a 'project group' was set up to work on the issue.

Over the past school year, this group has managed to mobilise an impressive number of teachers at regional

meetings around the country, with one meeting in Dublin in May leading to a very militant protest outside the Dail. But again that protest only happened because it was pushed by activists at the meeting.

### Grip

And this brings us back to the central problem: the vice-like grip of the Lansdowne Road Agreement (LRA) And so while the INTO project group has managed to mobilise thousands of teachers around the country, LRA is preventing them from escalating their mobilisation and turning it into a campaign of industrial action and strikes

The position of the INTO is significant because it represents roughly as many teachers as the TUI and ASTI combined.

Luckily, ASTI has stayed out of LRA and is actively highlighting the clauses that prevent the issue of Lesser Paid Teachers from being addressed.

Activists from INTO and TUI have now started working with activists in the ASTI. This came about on a recent visit to the Dail, where People Before Profit TDs invited activists from all three unions to witness questions being put to Pascal Donohue on the retention of the draconian FEMPI legislation.

There is no doubt that if the ASTI votes in September to take industrial action on the equal pay issue, activists within the INTO and the TUI will be poised to join the fight in whatever way they can.

The issue of inferior pay for teachers, as well as other public servants, is not going away and looks set to lead to serious industrial action in the autumn, led by ASTI.

## Which way for higher education?



Linda Keogh

**F**unding for Third Level education is under discussion due to the publication of the the Cassells Report.

This states that the Irish Third Level system is severely underfunded, that investment of €1 billion is required by 2031 and that, unsurprisingly, the standard of our education has dropped during the past eight years of austerity

and funding cuts.

The report outlines three options for the Oireachtas Committee to choose from.

The first is to make Third Level education free, removing cost barriers and encouraging people from all social classes to participate.

### Short-fall

The State contribution would increase from 64% to 80% (the EU Average is 79%).

This model works in Germany and Sweden and is favoured by the student unions and by People Before Profit.

The second is to increase state funding, to make up for the current short-fall, but to maintain the annual fee of €3,000.

This won't change anything for the hard-pressed families who struggle to pay fees, accommodation and living costs.

Fees are a barrier to education and increase the gap between rich and poor.

The final option is the introduction of a state loan scheme with fees paid back to the State once the graduate earns over €26,000.

This is similar to models in USA and Australia.

It will, to quote Senator Lynn Ruane 'place a disproportionate burden on students from low-income households'.

The financial burden will

loom over and pressurise the student, and the fear of debt will deter many more.

While the Oireachtas Committee is debating these three options it's worth remembering that FF, SD and Sinn Fein all promised to freeze/reduce student fees.

People Before Profit will be insisting these parties should be held to their word.

Hopefully the autumn will see a mass student campaign for free education and no fees.

## State lawyers threaten abuse victims

**L**awyers from the Department of Education and the State have written to victims of child abuse in schools warning them to withdraw their legal cases 'within 21 days' or face massive legal costs.

In a statement to Socialist Worker People Before Profit TD Brid Smith condemned these letters as 'outrageous threats'.

'The State', she said, 'would seem to have learned no lessons from our tragic past in these matters.'

Despite all the horrendous details in the Ryan Report and its finding that child abuse was "systemic, pervasive, chronic, excessive, arbitrary, endemic", the Irish State is yet again prepared to

engage in this crude and bullying manoeuvre to wriggle out of paying just compensation'.

The issuing of these letters by the State is a repetition of what was done to Louise O'Keeffe and other abuse victims in 2009.

At that time many claimants dropped their complaints but Ms O'Keeffe continued and was vindicated by the

European Court of Human Rights.

'It is appalling,' said Brid, 'that the State is treating people in this way who suffered at the hands of state institutions.'

People Before Profit calls on Minister Bruton to withdraw the letters, issue an immediate apology and start talks with the victims with a view paying them decent compensation'

### WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STANDS FOR

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.

**REVOLUTION**  
The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.

To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much

greater political and economic democracy.

### AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth.

The "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.

### END RACISM AND OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the

working class.

We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

### FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Cameron government.

Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction'

We want to see an Irish workers republic where all

workers gain.

Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**  
To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.

This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system.

We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.

We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

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# The two faces of Fianna Fáil

Michael Wallace

**T**alk of recovery is everywhere! There are those recent CSO recovery figures, heavily distorted by multinational tax evasion, claiming that the Irish economy grew last year by an astonishing 26%.

There's recovery too for some of those builders and developers who crashed the economy, offloaded their debts to NAMA and are now back in business.

Then there is the modest recovery of the bankers' and developers' favourite political party, Fianna Fáil.

The party of Haughey and Ahern has risen in recent opinion polls, much of it as a result of declining support for the Endependents and Fine Gael as conservative voters transfer allegiance within the establishment pool.

The media also exaggerated a supposed 'Fianna Fail comeback' following February's general election.

Their share of the vote went from 17.5% and total collapse in 2011 to 24.3%, still the second lowest percentage ever and a far cry from the 45-50% it once enjoyed.

## Talking Left, Acting Right

Fianna Fáil once had very deep roots in Irish society, both in working class areas through limited reforms dressed in nationalist language, and through a network of cronies they did favours for.

They were and remain the protectors of Irish capitalism and the rich.

All this unravelled after the economic crash.

Their corrupt links to bankers, builders and property developers were exposed.

In phoney opposition to Fine Gael-led governments, Fianna Fáil are now trying to reinvent themselves by talking Left on water charges, workers' rights and housing.

However, in reality they are act-



ing Right by blocking attempts to abolish water charges in the Dail and allowing anti-worker FEMPI legislation to slip quietly through without notice.

The worst example of Fianna Fáil hypocrisy is over the issue of water charges.

The Party are now opposed to the charge and claimed in their Election Manifesto that they would 'end the failed water charges regime' and 'abolish Irish Water.' Their leader, Michael Martin, even claims they never introduced the charge in the first place and blames them on EU/IMF demands.

According to documents released under Freedom of

Information, the then Fianna Fáil /Green government agreed in July 2010 to introduce a €500 water charge and metering system, five months BEFORE the EU/IMF/ECB Troika even arrived.

These plans, which then Minister for Foreign Affairs Martin agreed to, also included the creation of a state-owned 'water usage agency' in charge of bills- now known as Irish Water.

Martin and Fianna Fáil are habitual liars and will say anything to wins votes and worm their way back to power.

## Fianna Fáil's Poisonous Record

In opposition, Fianna Fáil al-

ways move towards the Left and pretend that their ideological twin, Fine Gael, are 'too right-wing' for their liking.

Their recent election Manifesto, 'An Ireland for All,' is full of talk of 'moving forward together' so that 'we can create an Ireland which serves all of its people.' Their ugly past tells a different story.

They gave a blanket guarantee to cover bank debt leaving the Irish people paying off the €64 billion cost until 2053.

It was they that introduced the USC for even the lowest paid workers, cut the wages of public sector workers and the minimum wage by €1 an hour.

Martin's 'Party of Fairness' also launched vindictive attacks on the poor, cutting 32,000 home help hours in 2010, cutting the medical card for the over 70s and starting a policy of discriminating against young people by halving social welfare for those under 20.

They even slashed child benefit by €16 per month per child.

## Let's We Forget

The current leader of the Party, Michael Martin, served under the likes of Charles Haughey, Bertie Ahern and Brian Cowen.

While Cowen merely presided over the destruction of the country, both Haughey and Ahern kept vast

amounts of unexplained money in personal accounts, much of it from property developers eager to solicit political favours and lucrative state contracts.

After the crash, Fianna Fáil set up NAMA to help builders and property developers with massive debt relief worth billions.

Many of the top debtors in NAMA were awarded salaries of €100,000 a year.

They included the likes Sean Mulryan, Bernard McNamara, Johnny Ronan, Gerry Gannon, and Seamus Ross, all acknowledged Fianna Fail supporters.

Sean Dunne was once the single biggest donor to Fianna Fáil, giving them £80,000 following their election victory in 1997, while Seanie Fitzpatrick was appointed to a number of powerful positions by Fianna Fáil Ministers.

And when workers saw their living standards collapse and hundreds of thousands were forced to emigrate, Bertie Ahern was upset for the fate of his developer friends, saying "most of these guys lost their shirt."

I feel sorry for them." Ahern and Cowen are now on a combined annual pension of €150,163 with Martin himself shamed under public pressure to give up his ministerial severance payment of €88,000 days after saying he would accept it in 2011.

Aware of the political shift leftwards in Ireland, Fianna Fáil are cynically swinging in that direction.

The most effective way to expose them is through grassroots campaigns, by fighting on issues like Repeal the 8<sup>th</sup> that they are uncomfortable with, and through mass street protests over water charges.

The Right2Water demonstration on September 17th is not only vital in smashing water charges once and for all; it can also expose the hypocrisy of two-faced Fianna Fáil.

# Corbyn and the battle for British Labour

James Grannell

**I**n September 2015, Jeremy Corbyn won the Labour leadership election with a landslide 59.5% of the vote.

A surge of new members and supporters joining the party during the leadership campaign resulted in about 550,000 people being eligible to vote in the contest.

At the time former leader, Ed Miliband, said "Jeremy has won a very clear victory in all sections."

I believe we should respect that mandate.

But Tony Blair took to the pages of the Guardian to warn that the Labour Party was "walking eyes shut, arms outstretched, over the cliff's edge to the jagged rocks below." Ever since the Blairites and much of the Parliamentary Labour Party have been working to undermine their own leader.

In June 2016, Labour MPs voted 172-40 in favour of a motion of no confidence in Corbyn.

The ballot itself had no constitutional legitimacy however MPs attempted to use it to force Corbyn to step down.

The vote was followed by a plethora of resignations from the Shadow Cabinet.

On 11 July Angela Eagle launched an official leadership challenge.

Just two days later Welsh MP Owen Smith threw his hat into



Left: Corbyn welcomes refugees, (right) a huge rally in Salford to launch Corbyn's re-election campaign



the race too, dividing the anti-Corbyn vote.

Six days later Eagle withdrew leaving Smith as the only challenger.

## Blairites

The Labour right tried to prevent Corbyn even getting on the ballot paper.

When that failed they used the National Executive Committee to deny the vote to people who had joined Labour in the last 6 months and to impose a registration fee of £25 – a real hardship for those on low incomes.

But this has not stopped over 180,000 people registering to vote and the Labour Party becoming a real mass party.

These are the plain facts

of what has happened in the British Labour Party over the last ten months.

But what are we to make of all this? First it is important to note that British Labour and the Irish Labour are very different beasts.

British Labour has maintained a level of working class support and left-wing politics that died in the Irish party many decades ago.

Next, we have to understand the current crisis in British Labour within the context of the historical struggle between the power of the people and the power of parliament.

It is a battle between those who support war and austerity and those who support peace and equality

In September of last year 251,417 people voted for Corbyn as leader.

In June 2016, 172 people attempted to force him out of that role.

These MPs have time and again shown utter contempt for the will of the people.

They have run to the media claiming their motivation for such a blatant disregard for democracy is the unelectability of this overwhelmingly elected leader of their party.

They feel intimidated, they say, by the mass movement of ordinary people that has formed around Corbyn.

At every turn these self-serving MPs have sought to present Corbyn as a utopian fantasist, or an extremist of the

loony-left.

Perhaps Corbyn is some sort of extremist.

Voting to get rid of nuclear weapons is extreme.

Voting against the Iraq war and the bombing of Syria is extreme.

Indeed, standing with the working class against the interests of international capitalism, fighting against austerity and for workers' rights is extreme.

But these extreme actions could only be construed as negative by MPs who are so out of touch with the lives of ordinary people and so trapped in the legacy of Blairism that they cannot drag themselves from the swamp of Tory-lite politics: politics that hammer

the working class at home with austerity while hammering the working class abroad with bombs and the threat of nuclear annihilation.

## Socialist

While they claim that Corbyn's personality is the problem, the truth is that the Blairites find socialist policies repugnant.

They recoil at them like vampires from a string of garlic.

They been indoctrinated in the belief that a party standing on socialist principles will never be elected, and high office, and power are the ultimate goals for these people.

They will never accept the anti-war, anti-austerity message of Corbyn, because they are true devotees of capitalism and the status quo.

There is another important lesson in this Labour crisis.

That is, parliamentary democracy under capitalism will never yield power to the left.

It is easy to get caught up in the apparent potential that lies in a left-wing victory in the polls, but we must remember that this is the capitalists' system, not ours.

While we welcome manifestations of left-wing power within parliamentary democracy and stand in solidarity with Jeremy Corbyn we also know that ultimately we will need a revolution to overthrow the system.

# #socialism 1.01

John Moynaux

## Their Weakness, Our Strength

Everybody knows that in Ireland today we have a weak government. Everybody knows that this is a 'bad thing'. A weak government is a bad thing because we need 'stability'. Everybody knows these things because every newspaper, every politician (almost), every commentator etc. tells us so and, after all, isn't it obvious, isn't it just common sense?

And doesn't everyone also know that 'weak government is bad because it can't take unpopular decisions'. For example, fining parents if their children miss school - that's an unpopular decision. The government wanted to do it, but they are weak so they kicked it in to touch.

Viewed this way the art of politics and good government consists essentially of winning

and the whole process starts all over again. This is politics as it should according to the school of Enda Kenny and Michael Martin, Leo Varadkar, Joan Burton and Pat ('Sure, that's what you do at elections') Rabbitte.

Anyone who has any other ideas is obviously at the very least an irresponsible populist and most probably a loony left Trotskyite and extremist.

The underlying assumption of all this is that the so-called political establishment, like a wise parent, is only really concerned with the welfare of the nation and its people ('the national interest') and what is more knows better than they do what is really good for them.

But drop this assumption for a moment. Imagine, just imagine, that possibly,

would be a cynical and sordid exercise in trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the mass of the people.

Actually there is a considerable section of the Irish population, especially among the working classes, who, from long and bitter experience, have come to precisely this conclusion and for socialists the problem is to convince them that something better is possible and that not everyone who asks for their vote is a crook. But that is a different story.

Right now something else follows from all this. It is that having, as we do, a weak and unstable government, far from being a calamity for the nation, can be rather a good thing for ordinary people. This is because its weakness makes it difficult for the government to impose on us 'unpopular'



elections by telling people what they want to hear and promising people what they would like, then ruling for four years wriggling out of the promises made and providing 'real leadership' by telling people what they don't want to hear and doing things to them they didn't want to happen - we all parted too much, we have to tighten our belts and pay for water!

Then in the fifth year the good politician changes course and goes back to telling people what they want to hear and promising them things they would like to have in time for the next election.

Hopefully this works and the governing party is re-elected or at least becomes the official opposition,

maybe, Messrs Kenny, Martin and co. are not really wise parents with the interests of the people at heart but actually represent the interests of the rich, the 1%, the capitalists, bankers and bosses, and that those interests are quite different from the interests of the mass of the Irish people - indeed more or less directly opposed to them.

Imagine that the wealth of the 1%, whose interests Kenny, Martin and co represent and serve, actually derives from exploiting, i.e. systematically fleecing, the majority of ordinary people.

If that, God forbid, were the case the whole of conventional 'mainstream' 'responsible' politics

measures like water charges and new bin charges i.e. things in the interests of the rich and against our interests.

And it also means that in terms of our interests, the interests of the mass of working class people, the worst thing we could do would be to go for a 'strong government,' by voting Fianna Fáil for example.

And the best thing we can do is seize the moment to put them, the government and the 1%, under pressure by mobilising on the streets - against the water charges on the 17 September, for Repeal of the 8th Amendment on the 24 September - and in our workplaces with our trade unions for decent pay increases.

# After Brexit: the

Marnie Holborow.

The vote for Brexit represented a revolt against the ruling elites. Many people, including in Ireland, rightly worried about the racism of the campaign.

But the fact remains that 52% voted for Brexit against a barrage of dire warnings from the US president, the IMF, the banks, the corporations, the City, the EU elites. It was another serious set-back for our rulers.

It was predominantly a roar of anger from the people of Britain whose communities - in the North East, the old mill towns of Lancashire and Greater Manchester, the pottery towns of Stoke-on-Trent, the mining and steel areas of Wales - have been left to rot by the Tories and by previous Labour Governments.

Was the Leave vote a racist outburst from the working class?

Certainly UKIP's racist message got a huge airing. But how many people have actually switched to UKIP?

17 million people voted to leave in this referendum and UKIP's vote last year was only 3.8 million.

Also Labour has been doing well in post-referendum by-elections, UKIP has not.

And it was not only the Leave side who pandered to racism. Cameron's Remain campaign was based on barring Eastern European workers from the British benefit system for a period of four years.

Also many in the Remain camp - including some from the Labour Party - pushed the anti-immigrant message.

Amongst working class leave voters anti-immigration was not the decisive issue.

According to the findings of the Ashcroft poll, 49% of leave voters said the biggest single reason for wanting to leave the EU was 'the principle that decisions about the UK should be taken in the UK'. This compared to 33% who said leaving 'offered the best chance for the UK to regain control over immigration and its own borders'.

### White working class?

Some commentators have labelled the vote as mainly an expression of anger from the white working class. This is wrong. Cities with large non-white populations, like Birmingham and Bradford, voted to leave.

Some areas in multicultural London also voted to leave.

Barking and Dagenham, with lots of second and third generation migrants and large African, Bangladeshi and Lithuanian communities, voted 62.8% to leave. Significantly, both boroughs are Labour voting, having returned Labour MPs at every election since World War 2. Clearly, the Leave vote here was a rejection of the establishment and austerity.

The anti-immigrant message dominated because in Labour voting areas, the right wing of the Labour Party sounded indistinguishable from the Tories. This was made worse because Corbyn had been pressed into the Remain camp by the Blairites, leaving no voice on the left - with the exception of a small but principled Left Exit group - to put an anti-racist position within the Leave side.

### Northern Ireland and Scotland

The Remain vote in Northern Ireland and Scotland - 56% and 62% respectively - had a different political dynamic.

The strongest Remain votes in Northern Ireland were in Foyle, where 78% backed EU membership, followed by West Belfast at 74%, while the strongest Leave votes were in DUP dominated areas, North Antrim, where 62% backed 'Leave', followed by Strangford at 56%.

Crucially, Sinn Fein along with the SDLP, OUP and the Alliance Party rowed in behind the Remain campaign, which explains the overall remain vote in the North.

The result raised the same question as in Scotland: the problem of the union. The fall-out of the vote showed up again the anomaly of the six counties in Ireland being shackled to the UK.

Socialists stand for freedom from rule from Britain and this is why the call for a border poll has been supported by People before Profit North and South.

But removing the border by simply extending the existing Southern state northwards within the neoliberal framework of the EU, offers little to the vast majority of people on this island north or south.

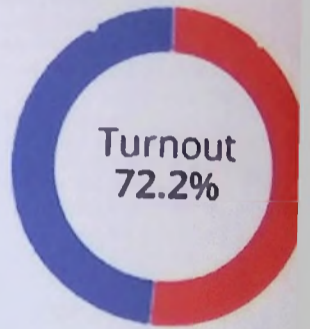
Aligning corporation tax north and south to the lowest levels in the world - a priority for Sinn Fein - would lead to an Ireland fit only for big business not for the people of all communities. Furthermore, getting rid of the border must surely mean getting rid of the reactionary conservatism on women's rights that has been the hallmark of partition.

### EU Conversion

Sinn Fein's conversion to supporting the EU is recent.

## UK choose EU referendum

48.1% 51.9%



England 53.4%

\* Includes Gibraltar Source: The Electoral Co

THE WEEK Intelligent Balanced Content

# The Chilcot Indictment

Dave O'Farrell

July 6 finally saw the publication of the Chilcot Report into the British Government's decision to invade Iraq in 2003. First announced in 2009 the report has been seven years in the making. It is a damning indictment of that decision and fixes then Prime Minister Tony Blair's place in history as a warmonger with the blood of a million Iraqis on his hands.

The report in essence confirms what everyone already knew - Blair lied. While couched in an official and very careful style of language the truth still emerges. It vindicates all those who, in the run up to the war, questioned the ludicrous claims such as Saddam Hussein having

the ability to launch weapons of mass destruction (WMD) that would strike Britain in 45 minutes or warned of the terrible consequences for the Iraqi people and the stability of the entire Middle East.

Chilcot finds that "The assessed intelligence had not established beyond doubt either that Saddam Hussein had continued to produce chemical and biological weapons or that efforts to develop nuclear weapons continued". It states that the legal basis for war was "far from satisfactory".

### Inadequate

In addition planning and preparation for the invasion where "wholly inadequate" even when "The risks of internal strife in Iraq, active Iranian

pursuit of its interests, regional instability and Al Qaeda activity in Iraq were each explicitly identified before the invasion".

In fact, in letters to George Bush, Blair himself even explicitly outlined many of these concerns, speculating on what would happen if "the Iraqis feel ambivalent (sic) about being invaded and real Iraqis, not Saddam's special guard, decide to offer resistance".

The Chilcot Report has damned Blair but in some areas it is weak.

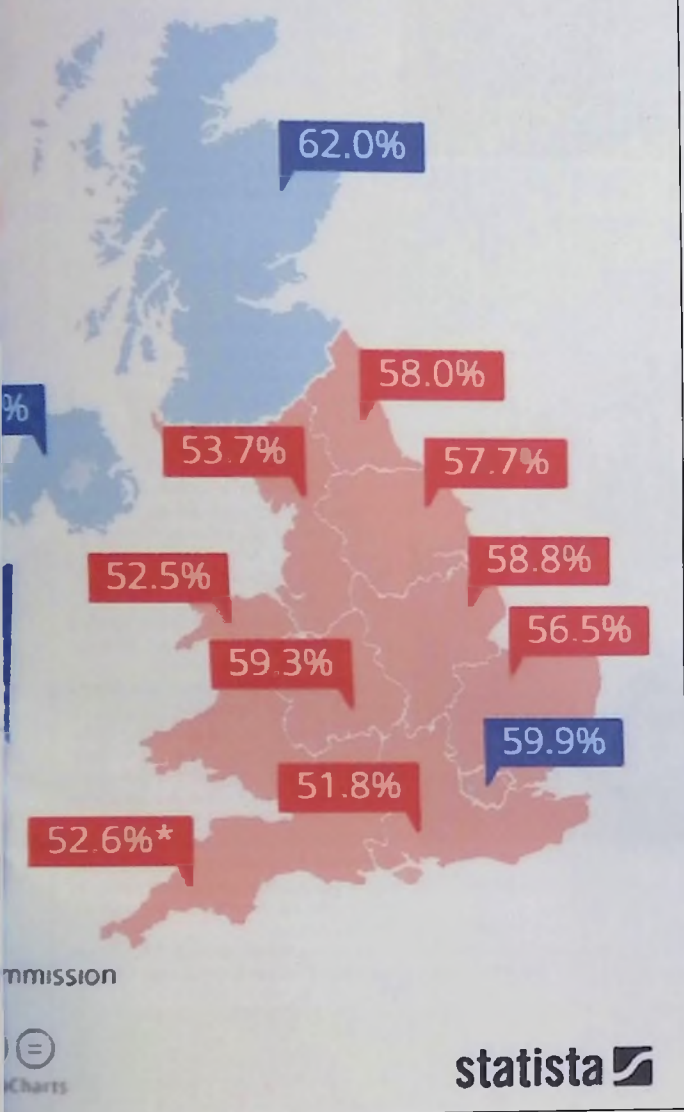
When it comes to the effect of the invasion on the people of Iraq Chilcot has little to say but we know the Iraq War has claimed the lives of around one million Iraqis - the majority civilians.

There is also no mention of other war crimes such as torture carried out by

# political fall-out

## Brexit results by region

Remain ■ Leave



statista

with the EU. Martin McGuinness now highlights the economic benefits of EU membership. Sinn Fein's position is now 'where EU measures are in the interests of the Irish people, we support them and where they are not we campaign for change'.

It calls for EU citizens and national parliaments to have a greater say in formulating 'positive policy positions'. Leaving aside that Ireland makes up less than 1% of the EU Council vote, Sinn Fein's new position is blind to recent EU history.

Only last month EU directives were used to pressurise the Irish government to re-impose water charges.

Sinn Fein has chosen to follow the Syriza position of 'remain and reform' just when Syriza itself has been totally crushed by the EU.

Enlisting the EU for the project of a united Ireland is flawed.

The post-Brexit situation may mean that the EU won't accept new applications for entry.

Also it ignores what the EU stands for. Its basic principles are 'free and undistorted competition,' the free movement of capital, the deregulation of labour markets, and the privatization of public services.

The EU is now one of the most racist institutions in the world.

It brutally excludes refugees and is responsible for encampments at its borders that are a disgrace to humanity.

These aspects of the EU they shape everyday policy for every member state.

This is why People before Profit called for a left exit from the EU.

### Post-Brexit austerity

The southern establishment is already trying to use Brexit for its own ends.

Fine Gael and Fianna Fail hope to use the border issue to restore their tarnished images.

Both have issued statements about a border poll needing to be part of the negotiations between the EU and UK, though they've also said it would be in the distant future.

Also Fine Gael are using it to drive through continued reductions in public spending.

Noonan was quick to say that the economic effects of a British exit might well wipe out the 'fiscal space'.

Only a few days after the Brexit vote, the FEMPI legislation, which allows the government to cut public service pay, was renewed.

Paschal Donohoe drove the point home that 'pay cuts, increment freezes, the loss of allowances and longer working hours' are 'prudent' in the new situation and must be maintained.

The Brexit vote in the UK contained something of what we saw in the last election here: that the political establishment is distrusted and discredited.

Over the next few months, People before Profit needs to direct that same anger into securing victories – on water charges, housing, wage increases and repealing the 8th – that will beat back the governments north and south.



**Gerry Carroll  
MLA  
says**

## No Place for Trident

Last week MPs in the House of Commons voted 472 to 127 in favour of renewing the Trident nuclear weapons system at an initial cost of £30 billion with an extra £10 billion in "contingency" set aside. The truth is the total cost of Trident will amount to £205 billion.

This is staggering at any time but especially in the current context when we are told we must tighten our belts and make sacrifices.

In a period of brutal austerity when hospitals are at breaking point, with waiting lists through the roof, public sector workers facing cuts and job losses and benefits being placed on the chopping board it's obscene that billions of taxpayers' money can be spent on these dangerous weapons.

There is no doubt that this venture is

hark back to the old days of empire the reality is they were dismantled by anti-colonial movements across the Asia, the Middle East and Africa. British imperialism still exists but it has been dealt major blows in the last 70 years, most recently with its disastrous policy in Iraq.

Disgracefully, Theresa May showed her utter contempt for people in other parts of the world (presumably she had the Middle East mind) when she replied with no hesitation to say she would be prepared to use nuclear weapons, even if the result was to kill 100,000 people.

### Paisley

Ian Paisley Jr, ever the opportunist, in replying to SNP opposition to Trident renewal, appealed for the weapons to be relocated from Faslane



a colossal waste of money: even senior heads of the military agree - preferring instead to spend money on war planes and other mechanisms of destruction.

### Hiroshima

The current warheads in Britain are eight times more powerful than the bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those bombs, "Little Boy" and "Fatman", dropped on the cities, killed outright about 160,000 out of a population of 350,000 in Hiroshima and 50-80,000 people in Nagasaki.

In Hiroshima, within a radius of half a mile, the only remains of most of the people caught in the open were their shadows burnt into stone.

According to the International Red Cross if these more powerful nuclear weapons were to be used today then the scale of destruction would be "difficult to address".

So why spend billions on such devastating weapons that most likely will never be used?

The push for Trident renewal from new Prime Minister Theresa May and others is about chest beating as they aim to show that Britain is still a big player in world imperialism.

Tony Blair admitted as much in his biography when he stated it was about giving Britain "status" on the world stage.

Just imagine how embarrassing it would be for the Prime Minister when asked over dinner at the next G8 summit by the President of United States how many nukes they had and to reply "none".

This latest deal further cements the special relationship that Blair and Bush boasted about between Britain and the US. These weapons couldn't be used without Washington giving the go ahead.

However much the establishment

to somewhere in Northern Ireland. A man who continually proclaims his abhorrence of "terrorism" didn't see the irony of clamouring for weapons of unimaginable terror to be erected in Belfast Harbour. You couldn't make it up!

Shamefully, sections of the Labour movement leadership supported the renewal of Trident on the grounds that it would secure jobs for some of its members. Such short sightedness is shameful from trade union leaders that should be standing up for workers but also standing up for a world without weapons of mass destruction. Would they defend a torture centre or a concentration camp – they also provided 'jobs'.

A report commissioned by Green MEP Molly Scott Cato found "decommissioning Trident is both possible and desirable" and current jobs linked with Trident can be used to create jobs that we can use to protect the planet and invest in renewable forms of energy rather than spending billions on weapons that will destroy parts of the planet if they are used.

We need nuclear weapons like we need a hole in the head. The threat from climate change and irreversible climate chaos – which will put huge swathes of the earth under water and damage the life of hundreds of millions of people – is far greater than the nuclear threat from North Korea or anywhere else.

The vote of nearly all Scottish MPs shows how popular scrapping Trident can be. We must oppose Trident.

Every time the Tories or anybody else tell us there is no money for hospitals, to pay decent benefits or to put decent pay in workers' pockets, we should point to this waste of money and argue that we want a world that stands for peace, equality and justice. Weapons of mass destruction have no place there.



British forces. While critical of a lack of planning for after the invasion there is little in the Report about the subsequent purposefully stoked sectarianism which was encouraged in post invasion Iraq.

Trial For any decent human being looking back at the legacy of the 2003 invasion this Report should serve as yet another call to demand that Blair, and Bush for that matter, stand trial for war crimes. In addition to the destruction of Iraq their war has created the conditions for the emergence of ISIS and played a pivotal role in creating the disastrous situation we see in the Middle East today.



They must be held to account. Of course closer to home Irish governments continue their complicity in the actions of warmongers like Blair, Bush and their successors through Shannon airport. US warplanes still use the airport

in murderous war efforts and despite the overwhelming evidence of CIA rendition flights through Shannon the government still will not even inspect the planes.

This is a situation that cannot be allowed to continue.

# Turkey: the people defeat the coup

Memet Uludag

It was early evening on Friday 15 July that the Turkish military coup began. Planes flew low over Istanbul and Ankara. Soldiers and tanks took to the streets. Key bridges and buildings were taken over.

State TV was taken over and it was announced that the military were in control of the country. News started to emerge of snipers on rooftops and the bombing of Parliament by the airforce.

By the early hours of Saturday morning it was clear that the coup had been defeated. Why? How? It soon became clear that the coup was the work of only some sections of the military not all. But what stopped those sections in their tracks and prevented them carrying the rest of the army with them was the mass mobilization of the people on the streets.

## Tanks

Ordinary Turkish working class people, women and men, poured onto the streets of the main cities in the tens or hundreds of thousands and they did so instantly. They confronted the army, they climbed on tanks, they argued with the young conscript soldiers and the soldiers started to surrender.

Why did the people come out? Because they were called out by President Erdogan and his AKP government and because most of them support that government – yes. Erdogan won 50%, mainly workers and peasants, at the last election and clearly has mass support. But also because they knew from bitter experience what a military coup would mean.

The history of Turkey is a history of military coups. There were two brutal coups, in 1960 and again in 1980, where the military forcibly took control of the entire country. In 1971 the military forced the elected government to resign. In 1997 they rolled out the tanks on the streets and toppled the coalition government. In 2003 the military had made detailed plans for a coup to topple the AKP government but they were unable to put it into action. In 2009 another coup plan to topple the government was developed by a faction of the Turkish military.

## Consequences

These coups and attempted coups had horrific consequences for the ordinary people of Turkey. Parliamentary democracy was terminated. All progressive political movements, trade unions and workers' movements, student and civil society



Above: Crowds celebrating on the Bosphorus Bridge and, below, with a captured tank.

organisations were crushed.

In 1960 the ousted prime minister and two government ministers were hanged by a military trial. After each coup, widespread and long lasting martial law regimes

were put in place eliminating even the most basic human and workers rights. Elections were cancelled. Thousands of political activists were arrested, tortured or killed. All the press was subject to military

control. In all cases it was the working class that suffered most.

If the latest coup were to succeed it would have been the same again and the people knew this. And that is why with

great courage and in such great numbers they came out into the streets. Things could easily have gone the other way but this mobilization of people power made all the difference.

The defeat of the coup was a victory for the people and for democracy but in the first instance it also strengthens the hand of President Erdogan and his AKP (Justice and Development Party) government. Who are the AKP?

In some ways they are like Fianna Fáil, only Islamic not Catholic – nationalist, socially conservative and authoritarian and with a huge level of working class support won by giving people certain limited but real reforms, but completely committed to developing Turkish capitalism into a strong independent regional power. In some ways Erdogan resembles De Valera.

The idea put out by some that Erdogan is a fascist is mistaken as is the idea that he is an extreme Islamist jihadist like ISIS or Al Qaeda. The military hate Erdogan and the AKP because they see themselves as partners with the Western imperialists and see reject Erdogan's Islamism as traditionalist and backward.

## Socialists

Socialists want to see the overthrow of Erdogan like every other capitalist ruler but this must be by the working people Turkish themselves not by, or in alliance with, the reactionary military.

In this situation the Turkish left, which in reality is very weak, must stand firm on its principles. It must defend basic democratic and workers rights, first and foremost against the military and this or any future military coup, but also against attacks from the Erdogan government. And if the Turkish economy – which has been booming for a decade or more – slows down these attacks from Erdogan will intensify.

Also vitally important is the Kurdish question. The Kurds have long been the victims of extreme nationalist oppression by the Turkish state which has denied them, by brutal repression the right to self-determination. The Kurdish people, by and large, understood that the military are their bitter enemies and opposed the coup. People came onto the streets in Diyarbakir, the biggest city of Turkish Kurdistan. Now the left must stand by the Kurds and demand an end to the war on the Kurds, a return to the peace process and respect for the national rights of the Turkish people.

In short: No to the coup! Defend democracy! Peace with the Kurds!

## Why Black Lives still Matter

Becca Barnes

Thousands of outraged protesters have returned to the streets following viral videos of the recent police murders of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Philando Castile in Minnesota.

Protests erupted in over 70 cities and towns across the United States.

Thousands also joined solidarity protests from Cape Town to London, Dublin, Berlin, Amsterdam, Galway and Cork.

In the midst of the protests, there were two separate attacks on the police.

In Dallas Texas, a lone gunman killed 5 police officers.

A week later, a gunman in Baton Rouge killed 3 police officers.

In response, an incredible right wing backlash was launched against the Black Lives Matter movement.

President Obama used his emergency press conference to call killing police officers a "hate crime".

Cries of "Blue Lives Matter" have filled the media, both from the right and mainstream pundits.

## Trump

The New York Post declared there is a Civil War on its front page and Black Lives Matter protesters are relentlessly presented as racist.

Speaker after speaker at the Republican National Convention fulminated against Black Lives Matter in both cloaked and



Black Lives Matter solidarity protest in Dublin

overtly racist language.

Fuelling the right-wing backlash, Donald Trump has promised to restore "law and order" if he's elected President in the November.

The Democrats continue to use the slogan "All Lives Matter" and have called for police departments and African American communities to do more to the "bridge the divide".

The Democratic Party, starting with Obama's White House, tried to take the

heat out of the movement by bringing leaders of Black Lives Matter to the table, without actually delivering any results.

The Black Lives Matter movement has not been demobilised or derailed.

The eruption of mass protests and the work of BLM activists has put a spotlight on police killings and systematic racism following the police murder of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri two years ago.

However, police killings and harassment

of African Americans continues.

According to the Washington Post, 537 people have been murdered by the police in 2016, an increase from last year.

## Acquitted

Officer after officer has either not been charged, or has been acquitted of any wrongdoing for their use of lethal force.

Just this month the highest ranking officer charged in the death of Freddie Gray, a 25 year old Black man from

Baltimore, whose spinal cord was severed while in the back of a police van, was found not guilty of all charges.

After Gray's murder, riots broke out in Baltimore and the National Guard was brought in to quell the protests.

Despite tremendous frustration and setbacks, organising will continue and protests will continue to erupt in response to police violence and racism.

Wider numbers of people are feeling confident to speak out about police violence, mass incarceration and endemic poverty facing Blacks across the US.

The lack of justice for victims of police terror, despite clear evidence, is exposing the depth of institutional racism in US society.

Increasing numbers of Black athletes are speaking out and joining protests.

Palestinian and BLM activists have made strides in building solidarity between Muslim Americans and African Americans.

A massive protest and sit-in organised by teachers at the American Federation of Teachers national conference demanded justice for Philando Castile, a worker and union member in a Minnesota school.

The solidarity protests in Dublin, Cork and Galway, drew inspiration from the Black Lives Struggle and connections between the fight against state racism in the US and in Ireland and the need to end the inhuman Direct Provision system.

Continued organising and protest will remain the key to drawing wider layers of society into the fight against racism in the US and globally.

# Direct Provision – end it now!

John Molyneux

**A**t a packed public meeting in the Teachers Club, Dublin, attended by more than sixty five people, United Against Racism launched its campaign to end Direct Provision.

Direct Provision is the system used by the Irish state to house, in effect detain, asylum seekers in conditions that are clearly inhuman, while their claims for refugee status are assessed.

The meeting was addressed by four powerful speakers; Lucky Khambule of MASI (Movement of Asylum Seekers in Ireland); asylum seeker activist Ellie Kisyonbe, Gary McFarlane from Stand Up to Racism in the UK and Memer Uludag, convenor of United Against Racism.

Lucky Khambule and Ellie Kisyonbe explained the background to Direct Provision – the way it



is used to isolate and separate asylum seekers from the wider society and family members from each other – and the dreadful conditions it involves with people not allowed to cook for themselves and expected to live on €19.10 a week.

Gary MacFarlane brought in the international context of DP linking it to Fortress

Europe, refugees in the Mediterranean and Calais and the rise of racism in Europe.

## Racist

Memer Uludag emphasised the racist character and purpose of Direct Provision and outlined the way forward for the campaign in the autumn.

This was followed with a vibrant discussion from

the floor in which numerous people came forward with positive suggestions as to how the campaign could be developed.

These included ideas for social media, for highlighting the conditions of children, for exposing the businesses who profit from the system, for staging protests and spreading the campaign across the country.

Particular outrage was expressed at Minister Frances Fitzgerald's disgraceful comment that improving conditions in DP would be a 'pull factor' for refugees.

At the end of the meeting 25 new people signed up to join United Against Racism and there was unanimous determination to fight to end this awful racist set up.

# The challenge of the Atlantic

Davo O'Farrell reviews *Atlantic* a new documentary by Ristead Ó Domhnaill.

*Atlantic* is the second feature length documentary from Ristead Ó Domhnaill and deals with similar territory to his first, *The Pipe*, which told the story of the people of Rosport's struggle against Shell's plans to exploit the Corrib gas field.

The film is beautifully shot with stunning visuals and powerfully narrated by Brendan Gleeson but its real power lies in the subject matter itself.

In a far from modest undertaking Ó Domhnaill launches an investigation of natural resource management centred on traditional fishing communities dotted around the north Atlantic in Ireland, Newfoundland and Norway.

The film deals with issues surrounding the different approaches to fisheries and oil and gas resources in the three areas over time.

Stories from one area feed into those of the others and the effects on coastal communities are kept to the forefront in a series of interviews with those directly affected by the decisions taken.

This interweaving of the longer term policy approaches with local stories of their impact gives a human face to

discussions that could otherwise seem academic.

## Fishing

The dangers of over fishing are starkly illustrated with the story of the collapse of cod stocks off the Newfoundland coast in the early nineties.

Years of intensive industrialised fishing methods led to the government introducing a moratorium on fishing which although initially intended as temporary is only now being lifted.

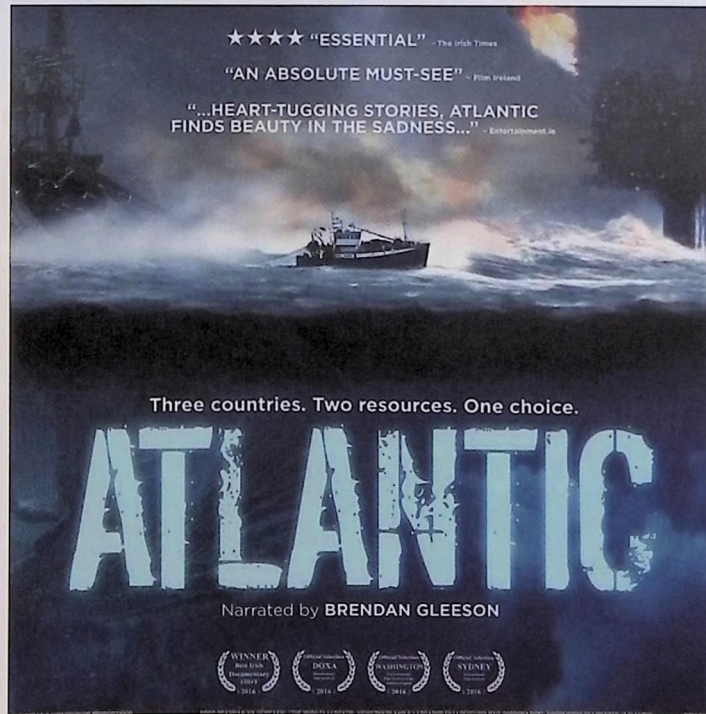
The Newfoundland economy has only recovered thanks to oil and gas finds off the coast and here the government's approach and that of Norway are compared to the Irish State's give away of our own oil and gas resources.

While most people in Ireland will have at least some knowledge of the vast difference between the Norwegian approach versus the Irish, *Atlantic*, to its great credit, also questions the sustainability of these oil and gas based economies.

Aside from obvious environmental concerns the drive to extract ever more reserves has led to clashes with the fishing industry as exploration and drilling rapidly encroach on fishing grounds.

## Volatile

Added to the increasingly volatile price



of oil in a more and more unstable global political situation a large question mark must hang over any strategy that relies on the fossil fuel industry to revitalise coastal communities.

If there is a common theme here it is the policies made in the interests of big business and their relentless pursuit of profit.

From the EU fishing quotas given predominantly to the biggest companies

through the increasingly dangerous practices of fossil fuel companies right down to the story of a small fisherman hounded by fisheries officers for not discarding an accidental catch of salmon while systematically failing to inspect the gigantic factory ships operating in Irish waters.

If there is a flaw in this film it lies in not articulating a strategy to change the overall

approach to natural resources – not just in Ireland but globally.

While this is a significant omission it is perhaps an unfair criticism.

The issues discussed are mind bogglingly huge and complex and if the film succeeds in getting people thinking and questioning the status quo then it must be judged a success.

It is up to the left to take up these discussions and watching *Atlantic* is an excellent place to start.

## The State of the Nation

In the latest of his reviews of classic socialist texts James Grannell looks at Lenin's most famous book *The State and Revolution*.

**L**enin's *The State and Revolution*, written in 1917, is widely accepted as one of the classics of Marxist theory, but what's it all about?

In this relatively short text Lenin outlined his theory of the state and the process through which the state, as we know it, will disappear in the post-revolutionary period.

Throughout the text Lenin described some key concepts: the nature of the capitalist state, the role of the state in the post-revolutionary period, and the withering away of the state.

Lenin asserted that, 'the state arises when, where, and to the extent that class antagonisms cannot be objectively reconciled,' and that its existence is proof that these class antagonisms are irreconcilable.

It should be noted from the outset that when Lenin talks about the state he is not referring to the social aspects of the state (hospitals, schools, public buildings).

These are societal institutions rather than state institutions and are necessary regardless of the existence of the state.

Lenin is instead referring to the organs of state power (police, judiciary, state bureaucracy etc.) and how they operate to maintain a hierarchical society comprising of the few who govern and the many who are governed.

Lenin referred to 'special bodies of armed men' whose role is to protect the status quo.

These are the army and police.

In Ireland the police are called An Garda Síochána (the guardian of the peace).

But Lenin asks us to consider what exactly the police are guarding?

The answer to this question becomes clear during times of public revolt and protest.

Their role is to maintain state dominance over the mass of people.

They face the protesters armed with their batons, dogs, and riot gear, and prevent them from wrenching power from the ruling class.

They stand with the parliamentarians against the proletariat.

And what of this parliamentarianism? Lenin argued that, 'to decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament' was its real essence.

Parliament provides a veneer of democracy.

Indeed, as he pointed out, most of the decisions of parliament are made behind the scenes by the cabinet, and the vast bureaucracy that maintains various ministries – who are in turn lobbied ad nauseam by those shadowy figures who represent the interests of big business.

Lenin's theory of the state can perhaps be summarised as follows: in a class-based society the state is a tool for the oppression of one class by another.

As already mentioned, under capitalism the few subjugate the many via the mechanisms of the state machinery.

But what happens to the state during and after the revolutionary period?

At the time there were two main views on the left. The Social Democrats

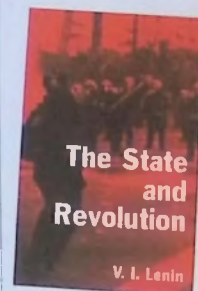
believed that reform of the system could be achieved through the state apparatus, while the Anarchists believed that the state must be dismantled immediately.

Lenin rejected both views. Firstly, the state as it exists could never be used by the mass of people; its entire function is to oppress them.

Therefore, the capitalist state must be dismantled.

However, it would be naive to believe that the ruling class would simply give up power, embrace the revolution, and start lecturing on Marxism.

Therefore, a state mechanism will be necessary for the use of the vast majority against their former rulers – this is the dictatorship of the



proletariat or workers' power.

Without this it is inevitable that the counter-revolution would seek to re-impose its power over the mass of people.

Lenin was closer to the Anarchists in his view than to the Social Democrats.

He believed in a stateless society, but argued that during the period of revolutionary struggle a state would be a necessary tool for the mass movement of the people to wield against their former masters.

However, there would be a new, truer, form of democracy based on collective decision making.

In the Paris Commune this took the form of citizen assemblies and in revolutionary Russia it took the form of the Soviets or Workers' Councils.

As the entire population participated in decision making through workers' councils etc., class based society would be ended.

Because the state functions for the oppression of one class by another, it would inevitably wither away with this erosion of its material basis.

As Lenin stated, 'only Communism renders the state absolutely unnecessary' because there will be no need for oppression on the basis of class.

At this point the maxim 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs' will be a reality.

This then is the crux of Lenin's argument.

That we must fight and that our fight is a fight for freedom.

As he wrote in 1918 – 'While the state exists there is no freedom.

When there is freedom, there will be no state.'

# Socialist Worker

## Mobuoy superdump is a toxic time bomb - time to clean it up!

Shaun Harkin

**D**emands are growing for a public inquiry into the Mobuoy superdump on the outskirts of Derry City. It's estimated 1.5 million tonnes of illegally dumped waste have been deposited there.

The Mobuoy dump has been described as one of the biggest criminal enterprises ever undertaken in the North and as one of the largest illegal waste sites ever uncovered in Europe.

A majority of the waste has been shredded to hide its source and buried in sand and gravel pits excavated by the Campsie Sand and Gravel company.

The polluters evaded paying up to £100 million in landfill tax; revenue desperately needed to fund education, public health and public transportation.

And now, Stormont's new Environment Minister Michelle McIlveen of the DUP says a full clean-up could cost as much as £140 million.

Shockingly, a top NI Water boss wasn't aware the Carmony treatment plant, just a couple of hundred metres downstream from the superdump, extracts 60% of Derry's drinking water from the River Faughan.

Additionally, the western edge of this superdump abuts the River Faughan Special Area of Conservation where there are important populations of Atlantic salmon and river otter.

Complaints about the running of the site had been made as early as 2008 but the full extent of the illegal dumping only came to light following a 2012 investigation.

This led to arrests and the revoking of the operator's license in June 2013 but no action has since been taken to clean up the dump.

A recently issued statement by Enagh Youth Forum, Maydown Community Association, The River Faughan Anglers, Zero Waste North West and Friends of



The Mobuoy illegal landfill site outside Derry

the Earth NI argued "our ministers in the Northern Ireland Executive have failed in their public duty to confront the biggest environmental disaster ever to face our community."

### Ignored

The Stormont Executive has sat on its hands while putrefying waste poses a serious health risk to local residents and to everyone

in Derry dependent on the Faughan for their drinking water.

For years politicians and authorities ignored or assisted the illegal dumping operation from which businesses, land-owners and all others involved profited handsomely despite the potentially disastrous consequences for residents and the environment.

People Before Profit MLA for Foyle,

Eamonn McCann, has pledged to make the demand for a public inquiry and full clean-up impossible to ignore.

### Inquiry

A recent meeting in Derry launched a campaign to mobilise as broadly as possible to ensure the public enquiry happens.

In launching the campaign, activists took inspiration from the Woodburn Stop

the Drill struggle and pledged to link the Mobuoy campaign with the growing wave of environmental struggles across Ireland, including Save Our Sperrin's push to stop the use of cyanide for gold mining there.

We need a mass movement to win a full clean-up of Mobuoy and to put an end to profiteering endangering our public health, resources and degrading our environment.

## From Saville to Chilcot

Eamonn McCann, MLA argues that in the end both reports have protected those at the top.

**T**he Chilcot Report into the Iraq war and the Saville Report into Bloody Sunday have a lot in common. Chilcot was published on July 6th.

Many were taken aback by the sharp tone of its criticisms of Blair.

The families of British servicemen who blamed Blair for their bereavement were delighted.

Their reaction helped shape how the report was received.

But Chilcot dodged key questions – had Blair, Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, media manipulator Alistair Campbell etc. broken the law in conspiring to procure the invasion?

If that had been among the conclusions, the case for bringing Blair etc. to trial would have been hugely boosted.

A precedent would have been set to make any future leader pondering a dodgy declaration of war to think twice.

The British ruling class couldn't have that. Chilcot resolved the dilemma by asserting that the legality of the enterprise was outside his competence and remit.

Second: if Blair etc. had known there was no evidence for the proposition they'd advanced to justify the invasion – that the Saddam regime possessed weapons of



mass destruction - why had they been so determined to take Britain to war?

### Explanation

Blair wanting to keep in with George W. Bush was hardly an adequate explanation.

What then? The word missing from Chilcot's findings is "oil."

So while the report was brilliant in some respects, particularly in the perspective of the families, it wasn't a bad result either for those ultimately

responsible for the blood-letting.

Similarly with Saville. There was an uprush of joy among the families of the Bloody Sunday victims at the publication in June 2010 of Saville's conclusion that none of the dead or injured had been armed or posing a threat to anyone.

But a closer reading of Saville's text revealed that, while rank-and-file paratroopers were denounced for their rampage of murder, the top brass, the intelligence agencies and government

ministers were let entirely off the hook.

Notoriously, General Sir Michael Jackson, second in command of the killers in the Bogside on the day and author of the cover-up which lasted almost 40 years, was cleared of any wrong-doing – a conclusion which flew in face of a plethora of facts which had emerged in the course of the inquiry.

### Evidence

After Bloody Sunday, Jackson rose to be Chief of the General Staff, Britain's top soldier.

If Saville had followed the evidence and damned Jackson for his role in the massacre, David Cameron wouldn't have been able to condemn the killings as "unjustified and unjustifiable" and at the same time insist that the British Army's reputation was in no way besmirched.

Again, Saville's report was great for the families – and even better for those ultimately responsible for the killings. In June 2010, as the Saville Report was being published to mass acclaim in Derry, Chilcot put out a call for submissions on the question of the Iraq war's legality.

Fifty-seven experts, including academics, lawyers and historians, and six organisations responded.

Just one individual dissented from

the opinion that the war had been illegal. The responses formed part of the evidence before Chilcot.

Along with the wealth of evidence about Blair's manoeuvring and manipulation in the months before ground troops and warplanes were sent in, they leave no room for doubt that the war was illegal and that Blair had been well aware of this.

But Chilcot, following Saville, makes an irrational finding that leaves the establishment unscathed.

And the mainstream media shows no stomach for pointing this out.

As for oil: five months before the invasion, Blair's Trade Minister Baroness Symons assured BP that Blair would push Bush to allow British companies to share in the expected oil bonanza in exchange for Britain backing the war.

The Foreign Office's Middle East director, Edward Chaplin, noted: "Shell and BP could not afford not to have a stake in [Iraq] for the sake of their long-term future... We were determined to get a fair slice of the action for UK companies in a post-Saddam Iraq."

You won't find that aspect of the matter in Chilcot's conclusions.

The conclusion the rest of us can draw is that inquiries by establishment figures rarely, if ever, reach conclusions which threaten the establishments' vital interests.