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Socialist Worker

Capitalist crisis: We won't pay for their mess

BOYCOTT THE HOUSEHOLD TAX!

No Water Meters: No Water Taxes

Tax the Rich to Fund Public Services



THE GLOBAL economy is now in serious danger of a 'double dip recession'.

But the Irish ruling class continues its offensive undeterred.

Just as chaos returns to the Eurozone, Fine Gael and Labour are announcing a household tax to help to pay for the crisis.

Under the whip of the 'EU-IMF Deal' they have cravenly agreed to do the bankers' bidding, by introducing new taxes on water and property.

Instead of taking wealth off the rich, the government is imposing a blanket 'Household Tax' that will affect everyone the same.

From January 2012 you will be asked

to pay €100 a year just to live in your own home.

This is an unjust tax because a millionaire and a low-paid worker both pay the same charge.

€100 may mean nothing to Tony O'Reilly – but it will cause real hardship to people who can barely pay their mortgages.

Increases

And, of course it will quickly be increased to hundreds of euro like the bin tax was.

In fact the EU-IMF Deal 'insists' it be increased in 2012.

In the UK, property tax is now between €1,000 and €3,000 a year!

On top of this the EU-IMF insists on a water tax, which is likely to cost €300-€400 a year.

The government is spending €1.5 billion on meters that could be spent on repairing the burst pipes and investing in the use of untreated rainwater.

But their real intention is preparing yet another public service for takeover by private capital.

Making profit out of water will make things worse.

The government will also argue that we need local taxes to pay for local services, but we already pay for this through our income taxes.

Increases in gas, mortgages and other bills along with pay cuts and job

losses already means people are being squeezed beyond endurance.

If extra taxes are needed why not tax the €125 billion in wealth held by the rich in Ireland?

All of this means that, within a year, extra taxes of around €1,000 are likely.

As ordinary people pay for the crisis, the ruling class continues to get richer.

We will only change the government's mind by building resistance.

Build Resistance

These charges can be defeated by mass popular resistance.

In 1990, huge numbers protested against the 'poll tax' in Britain and Maggie Thatcher was driven out of office.

Resistance worked.

In 1994, the Irish government was forced to withdraw water charges from domestic users because of a boycott campaign.

Resistance worked again.

We can beat the Household Tax if we all join together in a mass non-payment campaign and get onto the streets in large numbers.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

- **Make sure there is a local meeting in your housing estate. Advertise it well with posters in local shops and door to door leafleting. Put a resolution to that meeting to support the campaign of non-payment.**
- **Converge on the Dail for its re-opening on September 14th. Assemble for protests at 1pm and at 5.30pm. Make your voice heard.**

Inside:



Market chaos: Explaining the Crisis

Page 4



Why is there Famine in Somalia?

Page 5

CLOYNE REPORT: KENNY STILL COVERING FOR CLERGY

By PEADAR O'GRADY

AFTER THE Cloyne report the praise for Enda Kenny's Dail speech criticising the Catholic Church is hard to justify.

No-one now doubts the Pope and the bishops covered up child abuse and protected paedophile priests from arrest and prosecution to preserve their own power.

Pope Benedict had been personally responsible for the cover up but Kenny only referred to 'Vatican' responsibility.

Cloyne's Bishop Magee went on the run but still no



DPP or Garda is trying to arrest him.

Kenny promised no resources of any kind in implementing legislation for the 'Children First' guidelines!

It is obvious the Church should not be running children's services.

However, the majority of primary and secondary schools in Ireland are still under the authority of the local bishop and parish priest.

Again Kenny had no comment.

Some people may have been relieved to hear a politician finally acknowledge the Church cover-up but Kenny himself is still covering for the Church hierarchy.

Any Bishop or Pope who covered up child abuse should be prosecuted for child abuse.

All children's services, especially schools and childcare should be immediately removed from any church authority.

Childcare emergencies like child abuse and neglect require Emergency Childcare services.

Urgent assessments by social workers are required, including out-of-hours provision. Child protection care plans often require direct provision of childcare services.

These include family support workers, preschool and school supported placements, respite and full-time fostering and adoption services as well as trained family and individual therapists and counsellors.

Support from other health and education services means cut-backs must also be reversed.

Labour and Fine Gael cuts in services show their support for 'Child Protection' is a lie.

Fighting for decent children's services is the best way to honour the victims of Cloyne.

LABOUR'S THATCHERITE DOLE SLUR



Labour minister Joan Burton

By MICHAEL WALLACE

LABOUR MINISTER Joan Burton's remarks, that welfare is becoming a 'lifestyle choice' for some people, are disgusting.

Labour and Fine Gael want to blame the unemployed for their plight, instead of bankers, developers and politicians.

Burton's comments deflect attention from the government and employers' failure to produce jobs.

Following Budget 2011, an unemployed person over 25 now gets just €188 a week to live on.

For those between 22 and 24 the figure is €144.

Young people under 22 have just €100 euro to survive on.

Faced with abject poverty on the dole and youth unemployment at 30%, emigration is now running at 1,000 a week.

However, welfare-for-the-rich shows no let up as Burton's government pours another €19 billion into the banks.

For example, John Mullins, chairman of Bord Gáis, who warned us all of 'tough times ahead', is currently on €324,000 a year.

He also receives €15,700 for showing up at board meetings.

Matthew Elderfield, Central Bank regulator, is also complaining about the €500,000 'salary cap' on bankers' lavish earnings.

But Burton promises more welfare cuts in December's budget.

The best way to lower the social welfare bill is to create real jobs through a massive public works programme, not by terrorising the unemployed.

Join the protest outside the Dáil on the 14 September to show these lackies exactly what we think of their cuts and threats.

More oil and gas giveaways



By LEAH SPEIGHT

CORRIB GAS has been the biggest sell-off of our natural resources to date.

Under the FG/Labour government this record may soon be matched.

There are an estimated 10 billion barrels of oil off the west coast of Ireland.

Recent advances in technology have meant a jump in exploration applications: 2 in 2009 to 15 in 2011.

Under the terms of a 1992 licensing agreement, oil companies pay just 25% tax, which can be written off against exploration costs.

Companies applying after 2007 had a profit resource rent tax (PRRT) introduced, with 5% to 15% tax on profits.

A report by the US Government Accountability Office found Ireland had the 2nd lowest government take (on oil and gas) in the world.

Oil and gas produced in Ireland is in complete ownership of the petroleum lease holder.

Labour party Energy Minister, Pat Rabbitte said: "We have to design the tax structure so that it will invite more activity" and that protesting against Shell Oil has "damaged our reputation".

But Labour also complains there is no wealth available to deal with the economic crisis.

The best way to respond to this is by demanding our natural resources be taken into public ownership immediately.

Housing Action Campaign

By CLLR MELISA HALPIN

IN JUNE, the Government announced that from now on there will be no more council houses built!

Delivery of social housing will be by an extension of the Rental Accommodation Scheme (RAS) and long-term leasing.

These schemes will see councils rent a house at market value from a landlord and use it to house someone from the housing list.

The tenant then pays a rent to the council.

The length of the lease will be three, five, ten or twenty years.

With no new houses being built, these leases will

be the only way the 55,000 families currently on waiting lists will be housed.

This provides no security for these families.

Many people will be moving home every three years, with no hope of ever getting a permanent home of their own.

Bail-out

Currently there are over 300,000 empty housing units in the state, many in NAMA.

The developers own these units but are unable to sell them or rent them.

But now the Labour Party Social Housing Minister, Willie Penrose, is bailing developers out yet again.

Instead of providing per-



Labour Housing Minister Willie Penrose

manent homes to people in need, the government is leasing them from the bankrupt developers with public money.

Councils across the country are starting to roll out this new policy.

In Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council, 400 people received letters telling them they were no longer on the housing list, causing huge anger and upset.

People Before Profit organised a public meeting and a Housing Action Campaign has now been set up.

Already two protests were organised at Eamon Gilmore's local clinic to demand a meeting with him and Willie Penrose.

The campaign plans a major protest outside the Council Meeting on 12th September.



Labour backs Bruton's war on low-paid

By MICHAEL WALLACE

ON 7 July, the High Court ruled that Employment Regulation Orders (EROs) agreed by Joint Labour Committees (JLCs) are 'unconstitutional'.

Multi-millionaire fast food chains, notorious for low wages, brought the case.

This decision favours the 'property rights' of an elite few over the rights of low-paid workers to decent living standards.

Trade union Mandate's John Douglas said: "This is devastating for 200,000 workers."

"Following increases in gas prices, mortgages and food prices, thousands will be driven over the edge."

"It won't create a single extra job."

Of course the court decision could be resisted.

But the Labour party have already caved on the entire JLC system and union leaders like SIPTUs Jack O'Connor are following suit.

Disgracefully, Labour in cabinet have agreed to FG minister Bruton's proposals to scrap Sunday premiums for the low paid, allow employers to claim 'inability to pay', and introduce lesser rates for normal working days.

According to the National Employment Rights Association (NERA), 70% of employers had already breached previous agreements by refusing to pay correct wages to staff.

The new court ruling will halt the prosecution of these bosses.

Bruton plans more legislation in the autumn, following 'consultation' with the EU/IMF, who favour abolition of the JLC system.

Massive pressure from rank and file workers on union leaders for strike action is vital in building resistance against the greed of the bosses.

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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 workers 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.

Join the Socialists

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David Norris: Driven Out by Establishment Hypocrisy

By PEADAR O'GRADY

DAVID NORRIS has been driven out of the Presidential election by establishment hypocrisy.

The issue leading to Norris giving up his presidential bid was that he had written on senate notepaper to an Israeli court to ask that his friend and former partner, Ezra Nawi, who had been convicted of 'statutory rape' of a Palestinian 15 year old, not be sent to prison.

The boy in question refused to give evidence against Nawi who was sentenced to 6 months and served just 3.

David Norris standing by his friend through thick and thin was admirable.

Using his elected position to do so was wrong however.

The suggestion that 'If a bishop did this they would be treated more harshly' is farcical.

The Cloyne Report reconfirms that Bishops, unlike Norris, caused real harm to children: they protected paedophiles from prosecution and also moved them to other areas to abuse again – and the church is still in charge of schools?

Despite the suggestion of Norris being careless with child abuse, the discussions in the media consistently confused important but very different child protection issues regarding statutory rape, rape and paedophilia.

Sexual relations by a 17

year old with a 15 year old is statutory rape, but the closeness of ages means that in these cases the issue of the 15 year-old's consent should be paramount and usually the only other issues are education and contraception.

Where older adults have sexual relations with a 15 year-old there is obviously an increasingly serious case to answer in terms of abusing adult power and trust but consent still matters.

Without consent it is always rape full stop, not just 'statutory rape'.

Rape of a 15-year-old is not usually paedophilia, which is a persistent pattern of seeking sexual relations with pre-pubescent children (usually under 13 years).

All 17 year-olds who have sex with their consenting 15 year-old boyfriend are not paedophiles.

The same is true when it is 40 year-old men, but they do have questions of abuse and statutory rape to answer.

Traditionally, conservatives have systematically sought to confuse homosexuality and paedophilia.

There is no association between paedophilia and either homosexuality or for that matter heterosexuality; these are mature forms of sexuality and paedophilia is not.

Norris was not the only politician who used their position to gain influence on sentencing.



The Fine Gael candidate for the Presidency, Gay Mitchell, has written to US courts appealing for clemency for an anti-abortionist double murderer, Paul Hill, who killed a doctor and his body guard at a US abortion clinic.

The difference between Norris and the rest was that he acted from personal motives connected to a past love affair.

The others acted from po-

litical expediency.

The story that derailed Norris' candidacy was leaked by a fanatical pro-Israeli supporter, John Connolly.

Connolly vociferously opposed Norris' pro-Palestinian views.

The Israelis deny any involvement.

No one should believe the Israeli embassy's subsequent story that it does not involve itself in the internal affairs of

other countries.

A country that was willing to sabotage ships bound for the Gaza and endanger the lives of those on it is more than capable of planting stories to discredit opponents.

The greatest potential victors from the Norris debacle are the Labour Party.

One of the first to attack David Norris and to compare him to the Bishops was Fergus Finlay, a key backroom strate-

gist for the Labour Party.

At the very least, Labour did nothing to resist the homophobic deluge that was directed at Norris.

Rather it stood aside and sought to gain from it.

Far from simply celebrating the defeat of the Bishops, we need a real social movement that links the fight for full equality for gay people with a battle to overthrow the system itself.

Egypt at the Crossroads

By JOHN MOLYNEUX

AS *SOCIALIST Worker* goes to press the Egyptian Revolution stands at the crossroads.

On the one hand the military government has been forced by mass pressure to bring ex-president Mubarak to trial.

He appeared in court, in bed in a cage, in Cairo on 3 August, charged with corruption and conspiring to kill protestors.

That this is happening is a considerable victory for the revolutionaries, but it is impossible to know at this stage whether or not he will be convicted – it is certain to be a political decision.

On the other hand there have been worrying signs of increasing repression.

On Friday 22 July a demonstration heading from Tahrir Square to army headquarters was blocked en route by the army and then, in a planned trap, set upon from the side streets by thugs armed with rocks, swords and Molotov cocktails.

There were many injuries and marchers were forced to retreat to Tahrir.

Then fears developed that



both right-wing Islamists and the army might be going to attack the ongoing sit-in in Tahrir Square.

A deal was brokered between the left and the Islamists to share Tahrir Square in a so-called 'unity' demonstration on 29 July.

Both sides agreed to avoid the most contentious slogans.

However, the Islamists broke the agreement and, in a national mobilisation, turned the demonstration into a

mass rally for sharia law.

Outnumbered, the left were eventually forced to withdraw, but the families of the Martyrs (those killed in the Revolution) and the revolutionaries who support them returned to Tahrir when the Islamists left.

The next day, 30 July, the army attacked the Martyrs' Families, broke up their sit-in and made a number of arrests.

At the time of writing it is not yet a full crackdown.

Building the revolution now means more workers' militancy and political organisation.

It also means encouraging rank-and-file soldiers to break from the Army Council and for revolutionary young Muslims to break from the conservative leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Email protests to the Egyptian Government at pm@cabinet.gov.eg Picket the Egyptian embassy in the event of serious repression.

Syria: Stability or Freedom?

By DONAL MAC FHEARRAIGH

ACROSS SYRIA cities are rising up against the regime of Bashar al Assad.

The revolutionary process has been unfolding since March.

In July millions marched against his repressive regime.

Since the start of August Assad has tried to drown the revolution in blood.

The army surrounded the city of Hama, attacking it with tanks and killing hundreds.

Hama is an historic centre of revolt.

When in 1982 it rose up an estimated 10,000 were butchered.

Many people on the barricades in Hama today are the sons and daughters of people killed in 1982.

This time other cities are coming out in solidarity with Hama.

20,000 people joined a funeral march of a protestor in Damascus.

Similar protests are happening across the country.

Since 2000, Assad's policy of 'opening up' has enriched a tiny elite while impoverishing



the majority.

Syria has a population of 19 million, half under the age of 19.

Unemployment is running at 30% and youth unemployment over 50%.

This month is the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

Every night people gather in mosques to pray.

The regime is terrified these gatherings will turn into anti-regime protests.

The regime is trying to whip up sectarian religious divisions to split the revolution – but the protesters have responded chanting: "Muslims, Christians, Kurds and Arabs – united in freedom" and "We are like fingers of the same hand."

Some try to paint Assad as

an anti-imperialist because Syria was named in the axis of evil.

But Assad has never backed off repressing the Palestinian movement in Syria or Lebanon when it suited him.

For all their condemnations Western Leaders would be happy to see a weakened regime stay in power, possibly minus Assad.

The Arab revolution spreading to the borders of Saudi Arabia terrifies them more.

Any intervention from the West would be a disaster for the revolution – as we can see from Libya.

The best solidarity we can give is to rise up against our rulers here too.

Why All Workers Should Oppose the Orange Order

by SEÁN MITCHELL



THE VIOLENCE surrounding this year's 'marching season' has once again called into question the role played by the Orange Order (OO) and Orangeism in politics in the North.

From the BBC, with its all-day coverage of the Twelfth, to the NI Tourist Board's attempt to sell 'Orangefest', we are bombarded today with the notion of Orangeism as a natural expression of 'Protestant culture'.

Stripped of historical or political context, this attempt to mainstream the OO is aimed at lulling us into an acceptance of sectarianism as a permanent and unquestionable facet of Northern life.

Sinn Féin is as happy as anyone to see all aspects of politics demarcated as either Unionist or Nationalist. Indeed one Nationalist writer recently suggested that we should try "to be entertained by it, rather than offended".

The idea that the OO is simply a commemorative outfit, a sort of Battle of the Boyne re-enactment society, is nonsense.

The OO is an institution that actively seeks to reinforce sectarian order and division in society.

The polarisation that it encourages provides a context for sectarian violence and even murder. It is a deeply political project, and one whose goal has been to keep the North divided at the expense of those at the bottom.

The OO was originally set up by Protestant landlords as a way to weaken rebellions by the mainly Catholic peasants and sustain the project of a Protestant supremacy.

The Orange consciously saw itself as a counter-revolutionary force, "a barrier to revolution and an obstacle to compromise", and actively opposed the Protestant-led 1798 Rebellion.

For this reason it had the support of British military authorities from its founding.

In the modern era the Order has proved itself equally useful as a barrier to working class unity.

Above all its role was to tie Protestant workers to their employers, and later to the Unionist politicians who ran the Northern state.

Its appeal depended in part on its strength among the big industrial employers and its enforcement of discrimination against Catholics.

Even today the Order promotes sectarian segregation, discourages mixing of any kind and prohibits mixed marriage amongst its membership. But it is not just Catholics who lose out.

The divisions encouraged by Orangeism weakened the labour movement, resulting in Protestants workers earning wages far lower than their counterparts in England.

Furthermore, the Order is as sexist and homophobic as

it is sectarian.

Women are not allowed to join the organisation and are only allowed to march if 'invited'.

And according to one local 'Grand Master': "multiculturalism and diversity politics are a mask for intolerance and hatred towards the established majority".

Today the Order is organizationally far weaker and less influential.

In 1968 it could boast of more than 100,000 members; today it is down to around 35,000.

In a society no longer dominated by Unionist employers, the stranglehold of Orangeism has been seriously weakened.

However when resources are divided and distributed along sectarian lines by the state the OO can be seen as a powerful expression of 'our side'.

The numerical decline of the OO is partly a rejection of religious customs rather than sectarianism.

In many areas 'Blood and Thunder' loyalist marching bands, organise outside of the main Orange institution; more secular but often more vociferously sectarian than the OO.

Orangeism today may still be a very strong ideological current, but organisationally it is fragmented.

In the past this has led to a disjuncting along class lines.

In periods of conflict with the interests of working people fissures have developed both to the right and, importantly, to the left.

Today as the DUP and their Nationalist counterparts introduce savage cuts, pan-Unionism is disintegrating and disillusionment in working class areas is rife.

Historically, more militant loyalists have tried to seize on this and exploit it.

This is what Paisley did in the 60s and it is what loyalists are attempting to do with attacks on Catholic areas today.

Their argument is that the deterioration of working-class life in Protestant areas is down to Catholics getting preferential treatment.

But these periods of crisis have also held potential for the Left.

In 1907, 1919, 1932 and after World War Two, class politics became a real threat to Orangeism.

The urgent priority today is to build a movement against the cuts that can cut across division and raise the idea of class unity above and beyond the muck of sectarianism.

In short, we need to build a movement which can turn the resource war into a class war over who runs this society.

Within this, a political challenge to Orangeism will be necessary, as it will attempt to break any emerging unity to the benefit of the elites and to the detriment of all workers in the North.

EXPLAINING THE CRISIS:

US and E Economy

Economist **Brian O'Boyle** explains
and why organised mass re

"The recovery in global manufacturing is running out of steam....raising fears that there is little momentum left in the world economy".

- Chris Giles, Financial Times, 2 August, 2011.

THESE WORDS in a mainstream newspaper point to a situation where massive government debts, a private sector investment strike and weak consumer demand are creating a potent mix which is driving the global economy back into recession – the so-called 'double-dip' recession.

Despite a series of 'quantitative easing' (printing money) the US economy is predicted to grow by less than 0.4% this year with UK growth predicted to be around 0.7%.

Typically, advanced capitalist economies need growth of at least 2% to sustain economic recovery.

However the worrying thing about this for the ruling class is that the negative effects of their budgetary austerity (cuts in spending) will not be felt until at least the start of 2012.

All of this means that socialist predictions about the depth and severity of this economic crisis are coming true, and the lunacy of the 'market' means that the speculators who helped to cause the crisis are now making it considerably worse.

As we go to print, the cost of borrowing for both Spain and Italy have surpassed the crucial 6% interest rate.

Private speculators are gambling that Spain and Italy's problems will need EU/ECB assistance (a 'bailout').

The problem is however that Spain and Italy currently have a combined national debt of over €2,300 billion, and this effectively makes them 'too big to bail out'.

Coming just ten days after a second 'bail-out' (€109 billion) for Greece was supposed to calm the markets, this development is extremely ominous.

It is useful to remind ourselves exactly why developed

economies have found themselves with so much debt.

Why Debt?

Three years ago, Western governments were forced to underwrite all of the losses in the international banking system.

They put their national treasuries in debt to meet the banks' massive losses.

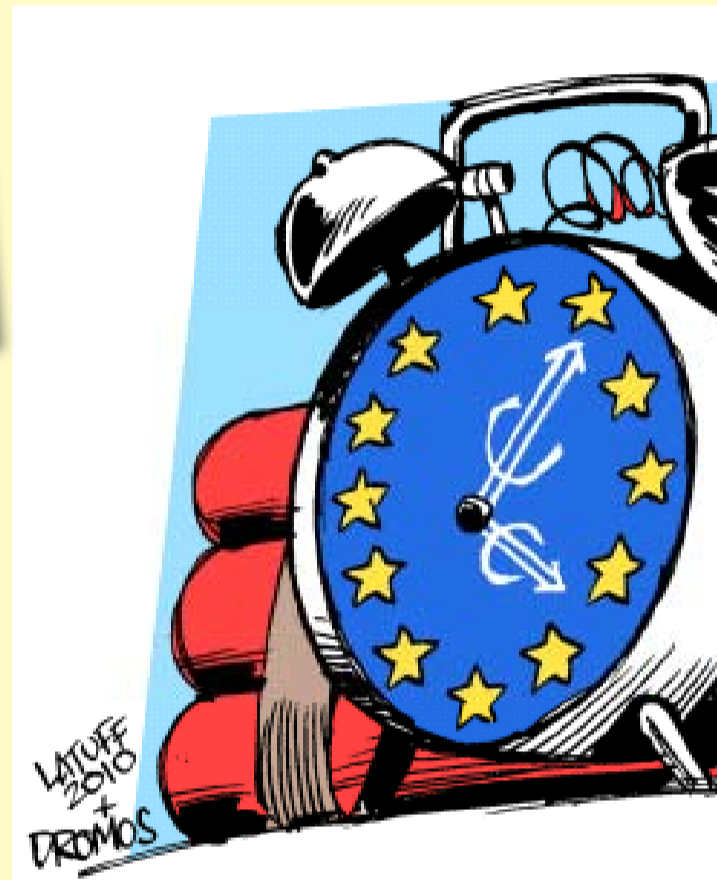
This is why many of them now face a debt-to-GDP ratio of over 100% (GDP is a country's entire economic activity for a year).

If you have to pay 6% interest on this debt, then you have to have economic growth of at least 6% to service it – with growth rates at less than 1% you can see why the markets are getting jittery.

Of course 'the markets' is really a euphemism for private capital.

Governments could have taken some of this private capital to help resolve the economic crisis.

Worse still, rather than forc-



ing corporations to repay the money they received during the peak of the crisis (September 2008), governments have accepted these private debts on behalf of their citizens and then used this as an excuse to attack the living standards of working people.

US Debt Crisis

Alongside its 'bank bail-out', the US deficit (\$14.3 trillion) stems

directly from its involvement in imperialist wars, the Bush Tax Cuts (designed for the super rich) and the surge in unemployment (9.6%) caused by the economic crisis.

In spite of this, the American ruling class has ensured that there will be absolutely no increase in taxation at the same time as \$1 trillion is cut from family planning clinics, food stamps and a host of other critical social



Eurozone Economic Crisis

Why the economic crisis is spreading
and why assistance is the only solution.



stagnation in global output as purchasing managers across Asia, Europe and the US report manufacturing activity at its most feeble rate since countries began to claw their way out of the 2008 recession.

Marx

Capitalists will only invest if they expect a decent return (profit rate).

One of the great ironies of the current crisis is that their behaviour is actually making profitability ever more unlikely.

Governments across the globe are massively indebted (to private capital).

As they are forced (by capitalists) to cut back on their deficits, they not only curb the spending power of working families, they also cut the spending that sustains private companies.

Neoliberalism has thus systematically increased the proportion of the world's wealth going to the rich, only to be confronted by a lack of demand from all of those who lack control of the means of production, the working class.

One of Karl Marx's greatest insights was that all crises in capitalism are ultimately caused by 'disproportions' in the accumulation process.

The growth of capital (the means of production etc) always steams ahead of the growth of workers wages and the numbers of workers engaged in production.

Disproportions between capital and labour are an intrinsic part of capitalist society.

Neoliberalism has continually exacerbated this problem without leaving capital with any obvious solutions.

Solutions

Crisis is therefore writ large in capitalism's DNA, but this does not mean that the outcome of any particular crisis is predetermined.

Lenin (the Great Russian Revolutionary) once remarked that capitalists can escape any crisis if they can walk long enough on the backs of the working class.

Regardless of appearances, it is working people that produce all of the wealth in capitalist economies.

If we can organise ourselves as a revolutionary force we can overthrow the exploitation (and oppression) of class society to found society anew.

In concrete terms this means organising in local communities and fighting against the idea that we must pay for their economic crisis.

Over the next four years the Irish government is committed to giving €73 billion to private bondholders (under the terms of the IMF-EU deal).

This will be done alongside a massive assault on the services needed by ordinary people.

The only real solution to the economic crisis is mass mobilisation by the working class.

This is the only way to ensure the debts of the capitalists are not borne by the citizens of the world.

We have much more in common with foreign workers than with Irish capitalists.

The slogan of unity among workers across the world should be:

**CANCEL THE DEBT
and TAKE BACK THE
WEALTH.**



programs.

This will be followed by even more draconian cuts to Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security—a pattern that is being replicated across the world.

Wages and services are slashed at the same time as corporate taxes fall and executive pay spirals upwards.

Rather than wealth trickling down, the *Financial Times* (28 July) notes that capitalism is

now characterised by a 'trickle up effect'.

The top 1% of US incomes have risen by 18% in the last ten years, at the same time as workers incomes have fallen by 12%.

This has been the direct result of a 'neoliberal' offensive.

'Liberal' or 'neoliberal' economic policy means freedom for capital to exploit, and a corresponding fall in the share of GDP going to workers (from over 75% in 1980 to around 63% in 2006).

In its hey day of the 80s and 90s, neoliberalism supplemented this fall in real wages with a wall of cheap credit.

But now that this 'pyramid scheme' has collapsed, yesterday's cheap credit is the very (bad) debts that capitalists everywhere are trying to recover.

Instead of accepting these losses as part of a strategy to get back to successful accumulation, private capital is attempting to force workers to pay back 'yesterday's capital with 'tomorrow's wages'.

The problem of course, is that today's wages are not even sufficient to drive today's consumer demand (hence the ongoing need for credit).

When these capitalists look at this stalling economy they are deciding to hold back on investing and the economy only stalls further.

This is the real reason for



WHAT DO SOCIALISTS SAY?

Why is there Famine in Somalia?

By ÁINE DILLON



SOMALIA IS a country 9 times the size of Ireland with a population twice as big and an economy based on livestock, bananas and frankincense.

Two failed rains have thrown the country into the worst drought in 60 years and this, combined with rising food prices, has already caused 80,000 deaths.

10 million people across East Africa have been affected.

War and famine

The crisis and associated refugee exodus have prompted calls for deployment of a UN peacekeeping force.

Writing in *The Irish Times*, GOAL's John O'Shea called for the UN to go into Somalia and 'face down the terrorists'.

However previous interventions by US forces (1993) and US-backed Ethiopian troops (2006) and the African Union's AMISOM mission (2007) have only exacerbated the long civil war there.

Following the overthrow of the Barre regime in 1991, Somalia descended into civil war, swiftly followed by famine.

The US launched *Operation Restore Hope* to create 'safe corridors' for humanitarian aid, exactly what GOAL is now advocating.

In October 1993, Somali warlords shot down two US Black Hawk helicopters killing 18 soldiers; and the US responded by killing over a thousand Somalis.

UN troops committed vile human rights atrocities against Somali civilians.

In the years that followed, Somalis have remained cynical about international engagement. Some 20 'peace conferences' have so far failed.

In 2006, the Union of Islamic Courts defeated the warlords, stabilised Mogadishu, established a period of calm in southern Somalia and opened the air and seaports there.

But this period of stability clashed with the war on terror crusade.

The UIC was defeated by a US-backed Ethiopian invasion and occupation in 2006.

Since then, the US 'Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa' in Djibouti has worked with Somali warlords and Ethiopia to disrupt Islamic insurgents.

This has succeeded in disrupting the lives of all Somalis.

Poverty and famine

Dumping subsidized Western food products and rising food prices combined with the

eviction of nomads to create conservation parks, has forced many to seek alternative ways of feeding their families.

Toxic waste dumping in the Indian Ocean and illegal fishing by foreign vessels have destroyed the livelihoods of fishermen.

With 10% of world trade passing through the Gulf of Aden every day, piracy is becoming the only option for Somalis with no prospect of legal employment.

Some are turning to radical organizations for solutions.

Al-Shabaab is a conservative remnant of the UIC, primarily occupied with building an Islamic state in Somalia and opposing both the US-backed Transitional Federal Government (TFG), and the AMISOM mission which it views as an occupation force.

60% of people affected by the drought are living in the Al-Shabaab-controlled area in the south and the US has refused to give aid to these areas.

Meanwhile there are reports that AMISOM troops, backed by US expertise from Djibouti, are taking advantage of the drought to attempt to extend the control of the TFG.

Imperialism and Famine

Through its economic power and overseas military bases, the US continues to exert tremendous power, particularly over fragile states.

Despite the horrendous images of famine and death, US policymakers have found an opportunity to consolidate their hold on one of the most strategic locations on the planet. Already last year, US policy shifted towards greater engagement with the breakaway Somaliland and Puntland regions, with banking and trade agreements in the pipeline.

Extending TFG control of Mogadishu and further south towards the Kenyan border will allow the US to increase its influence in the region.

Watching images of famine on the television every night, it is only natural that we want to help.

But if we are to end once and for all a system that lets 16,000 children die every day from hunger-related causes then a charitable response is not enough.

We need to challenge the causes of famine as well as addressing its dreadful human effects.

Ending famine means stopping the inflated food prices caused by capitalist trade and ending the chaos caused by imperialist wars.

THE MURDOCH SCANDAL: THEIR MEDIA AND OURS

Art Historian, John Molyneux, shows how the Murdoch scandal exposes the so-called 'independence' of key pillars of society: media bosses, senior policemen and politicians, and shows the pressing need for an alternative.

THERE ARE moments when a single event, like a flash of lightning, illuminates the sky and reveals the whole landscape below which previously remained hidden in the dark.

Such is the *News of the World* phone hacking scandal which has engulfed Rupert Murdoch and his whole News Corporation media empire.

And what a landscape it has revealed!

Across the world we live in societies dominated and run by a small minority of their population.

This ruling minority is not a tiny handful, some secret conspiratorial committee, but a definite social class consisting of the very rich, the industrialists, the bankers, the financiers, the generals, the judges, the police chiefs and so on.

Together they make up maybe one per cent of the population.

This class, which has a common interest in boosting profits, exploiting working people and defending capitalism, masks its domination through a division of labour.

It spreads its members out through a variety of institutions which are claimed to be independent of each other.

The judges are independent. The senior policemen are independent.

The politicians are independent.

The state broadcasting corporations (BBC or RTE) are independent.

The civil service heads are independent.

The editors of newspapers are independent.

The Committees of Inquiry, headed by independent judges, are independent.

And of course they are all 'non-political' except the politicians.

Moreover they all check and balance each other so that no one individual group or faction gets too much power, and everything is fair and democratic.

What the phone hacking scan-



David Cameron with Rebekah Brooks



David Cameron and Andy Coulson



BREAKING NEWS HACKING SCANDAL
METROPOLITAN POLICE COMMISSIONER
SIR PAUL STEPHENSON HAS RESIGNED



dal lit up was the murky world of interconnections that, in practice, link all these institutions together.

Not so independent after all!

And what a murky world it is – key establishment figures left with hardly a fig leaf to cover their shame.

“Tyrants, hypocrites, liars!” as Padraic Pearse described a previous generation of the British ruling class.

As the adjacent Timeline shows, the core of the scandal is simply that journalists working for Rupert Murdoch routinely, illegally tapped people's phones.

The scandal started to come out when they were caught hacking the phone of a member of the Royal Family.

It exploded when it emerged they had hacked the phone of child murder victim, Milly Dowler – that was too horrible to spin or sweep under the carpet.

As the scandal unravelled, however, it became clear that they were all in it together.

Britain's top politicians, top policemen and top media producers.

They were all politically and socially connected.

Cameron had numerous private meetings with Murdoch and was a neighbour and friend, and they all protected each other.

Much the same as the US protects its puppet dictators like Hosni Mubarak, until the last possible moment, quite regardless of any considerations of morality or decency.

We need to understand there is nothing unusual about this.

It is how the system works.

In Ireland Charlie Haughey resigned over a phone-tapping scandal, and was corruptly linked to Ben Dunne and AIB.

Bertie Ahern was up to his neck in it with Haughey, like Brian Cowen with Seán Fitzpatrick and Michael Lowry with Denis O'Brien (who, with Tony O'Reilly, controls most of this country's media).

Some commentators, like David McWilliams, have said

that this is just 'crony capitalism' not 'real' capitalism.

It's not; it is how capitalism operates in the real world from Texas to Beijing.

Tory Prime Minister, David Cameron is clearly implicated but Tony Blair and Gordon Brown were also linked to Murdoch.

Capitalism oozes corruption like an athlete oozes sweat, for the simple reason that it is a system driven, first and last, by profit.

Capitalism means being ruled not just by rotten individuals, but by a class which owns and controls the means of production and, on that basis, dominates economically, politically and ideologically.

At the same time the scandal also shows that our rulers are not all-powerful.

They are beset by contradictions and rivalries among themselves and they fear the people. Faced with exposure and potential revolt they retreat and discard subordinates, a Coulson here and a Brooks there, to preserve those at the top.

Faced with serious revolt or revolution, as in Egypt, they will even sacrifice those at the very top to save the system.

But they can be beaten.

While every corrupt scalp taken is a step forward it is the system itself, capitalism, that has to be uprooted.

And for this, working people and socialists need our own media.

This is because the mainstream media is not only self-serving, dishonest and corrupt but also systematically

promotes a pro-capitalist view of the world – a view which absolutely takes it for granted that production has to be organised for profit; that 'the markets' have to be kept happy, and that 'entrepreneurs', i.e. capitalists, are the real wealth-creators.

We need a newspaper, like *Socialist Worker*, which reports on and reflects the struggles of working people – their strikes, demonstrations, campaigns and uprisings, here and in other countries – in a way that RTÉ and the

Evening Herald will never do.

But the paper has to do more than just record what is happening; it has also to develop and communicate an alternative anti-capitalist, socialist world view.

It has to expose the evils of capitalism but also explain how the system works.

It has to fight against reactionary ideas that can divide the workers' movement, like racism, sexism and homophobia and champion the oppressed such as travellers and refugees, who the capitalist media like to scapegoat.

It has to serve as the memory of the working class, preserving the history of our class's past struggles such as the Paris Commune, the Dublin Lock-Out or the Russian Revolution – a history which would otherwise be ignored and forgotten.

Of course other media – Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, film etc – all can and should be used for these

purposes too, but the paper remains key because selling it enables socialists to interact directly with the workers movement and other working people face-to-face.

It has to arm its readers with the political arguments to counter the propaganda of the politicians and make the case for a socialist alternative.

It also has to act as an organiser of the workers' movement, bringing groups of workers together, building solidarity and resistance to the system on every front.

Finally it has to serve as a kind of scaffolding, within which a workers' socialist organisation, a party of the working class, is constructed and grows.

Socialist media like *Socialist Worker* will never rival the size of capitalist media this side of a revolution, but when workers seize control of all production it will include all the media.

Without the corruption of profit and class domination, media could be run honestly, truthfully and well.

TIME LINE OF THE SCANDAL

2000 – *News of the World* (NoW) campaign over murdered 8 year old, Sarah Payne.

2002 – Schoolgirl Milly Dowler murdered.

2003 – NoW editor Brooks moves to *The Sun*. Andy Coulson becomes editor of NoW. Brooks admits she paid the police for information.

2005 – NoW runs story using Prince William's intercepted phone messages. Royal officials complain and the police investigate.

2006-7 – NoW Royal Editor, Clive Goodman and private investigator, Glen Mulcaire are jailed. Andy Coulson resigns

as editor but says he knew nothing.

May 2007 – Coulson becomes Conservative Party Director of Communications under David Cameron.

2008 – *News International* pays £700,000 to settle phone hacking claim.

2009 – Brooks becomes CEO of *News International*. Revealed that NoW reporters, with knowledge of senior staff, hacked the phones while Coulson was editor.

2010 – May: Coulson becomes Director of Communications for new Con-Dem government. Accusations of hacking pile up.

2010 – Cameron continues to defend Coulson despite calls for his resignation.

2011 – In January Coulson resigns. Three senior NoW journalists are arrested.

July 4 – Evidence emerges that they hacked the phone of

Milly Dowler while she was missing and misled her parents into thinking she was still alive.

July 5-6 – Claims surface in relation to Soham parents, victims of the 7/7 terrorist attacks and relatives of soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan.

July 7 – *News Corp* announces the closure of the *News of the World*.

July 8 – Coulson is arrested and former royal editor Clive Goodman is rearrested (over payments to police).

July 13 – Murdoch withdraws his bid for BSKyB.

July 14 – Neil Wallis, former NoW executive editor is arrested. Murdoch says, "Some minor mistakes have been made."

July 15 – Rebekah Brooks resigns.

17 July – Sir Paul Stephenson, Metropolitan Police Commissioner resigns, followed next day by his deputy John Yates.

BOOK REVIEW:

Last man in Tower



Author: Aravind Adiga

Reviewed by Dave Lordan

VISHRAM SOCIETY Tower A is a gated community in the Vokola slum in Mumbai.

Its residents are ethnically and religiously mixed and are drawn from the lower middle classes.

They have peaceful, secure and prosperous lives compared to their slum neighbours.

Recently Vokola has been acquiring value as a development area due to the rapid overheating of the Indian economy.

The ruthless developer Dharmen Shah offers the Vishramites enormous sums of money to vacate the tower.

The money means a huge amount for these people whose futures, in the new economy, are uncertain.

The other main character is the tower dweller Masteriji, a

retired science teacher.

Eventually everyone in the tower accepts the money—except Masteriji.

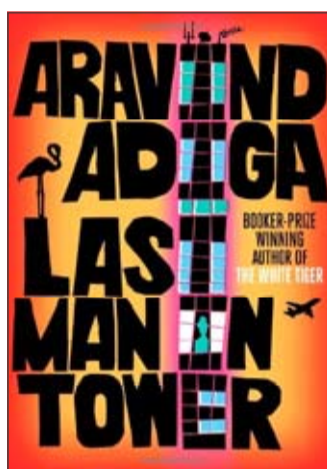
Much of the book is about the clash of wills between Masteriji on one side, and his neighbours allied with Dharmen Shah on the other.

In a society ruled by money snakes, the law of the jungle prevails and the whole game comes down to Dharmen Shah forcing the neighbours to do what he cannot be seen to do himself.

The book is also about the loss of illusion and the gaining of vision.

Masteriji looks for help from all the established institutions – the police, the legal profession, even his own son – but they all turn out to be working against him.

Masteriji realises that he must search for new sources



of solidarity.

He finds this when he goes into a restaurant for poor labourers and realises the incredible struggle of the very poor just to stay alive.

He makes an imaginative identification with the underclass and draws on this new identity to continue to struggle even after the methods used

against him turn from cajoling to violent intimidation.

By and large, contemporary literary novelists write safe market-oriented novels.

Adiga is an important exception—I'd guess the title 'Last Man in Tower' stands as a metaphor for the contemporary isolation of the engaged writer.

The shunning and exclusion of Masteriji by his neighbours parallels the treatment of political artists by many in the so called 'artistic community'.

Adiga's novel, while compulsive reading pulls no punches politically—indeed it seems to point in the direction of a revolution of the downtrodden as the rapturous event needed to cure humanity of the money plague.

A great read which may leave you angry and hopeful—the best of all combinations.

CLASSIC BOOK REVIEW:

Richard Wright's 1940 novel 'Native Son'

Author: Richard Wright: Penguin Classics

Reviewed by Paul O'Brien

RICHARD WRIGHT, the son of an illiterate sharecropper, was born in 1908 on a farm in Mississippi. In the 1930's he joined the Communist Party and began publishing articles and poetry in left-wing publications.

In 1937 he published *Uncle Tom's Children*, a collection of short stories that addresses the social realities faced by American black men. The novel—like its namesake, Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—was banned and censored in a number of American States.

However, it was Wright's 1940 novel, *Native Son* that stirred up real controversy by shocking the sensibilities of both black and white America.

He was determined to

make his readers feel the reality of race relations by writing something "so hard and deep that they would have to face it without the consolation of tears." The protagonist of the novel, Bigger Thomas, a young black man, hails from the lowest rung of society. Bigger has none of the romantic aspects or traits common to literary heroes. Rather, given his background, Bigger is what one might expect him to be—sullen, frightened, violent, hateful, and resentful.

Bigger obtains a job as a chauffeur to a white family, and accidentally kills their teenage daughter before

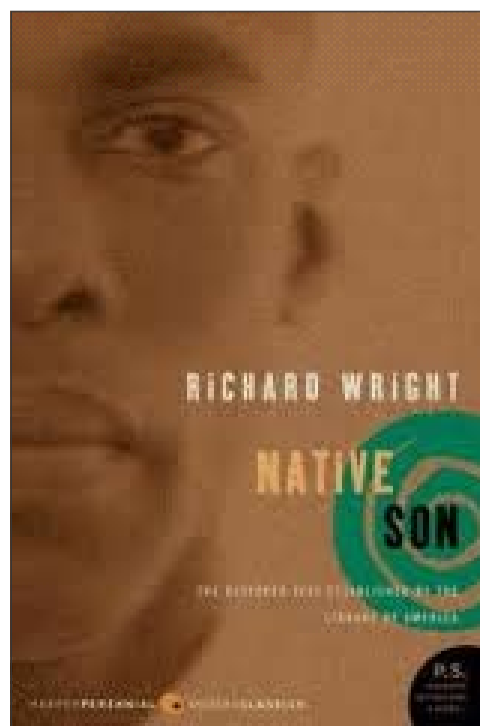
trying to cover it up.

It is a compelling story, beautifully written that works both as a thriller and as a

literary novel. Even though you know it is going to end badly, it sucks you in to the bitter end.

Rather than seeing racism as the ultimate problem, Wright understood—just as Bigger does—that millions of working people (black and white) suffered in the contemporary United States, and he located the cause of this suffering in the class structure of American society.

This is an extremely important insight, and today Richard Wright is honoured as one of the finest writers in African-American literature, who influenced the likes of Ralph Ellison, James Baldwin and Toni Morrison, among many others.



PAMPHLET REVIEW

Socialism and the fight for women's liberation

Author: Sinéad Kennedy

Reviewed by Aine Dillon



SOCIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

by Sinéad Kennedy

SINÉAD KENNEDY'S booklet is not so much a description of Irish women post 'Celtic Tiger', as an outline of how, despite the freedoms won under capitalism, the system continues to find new ways of strengthening the cage.

Kennedy makes the point that, "Stripped of any political equality, feminism has become the latest must-have accessory and sexual freedom too often [means] exploitation not liberation." We have effectively become our own jailers in a prison of punishing diet regimes and unattainable beauty ideals. Quoting Lindsey German, she makes the point that, "Capitalism has an amazing ability to use changes in society to its own advantage even if [it] has done...nothing to bring these changes about."

Kennedy also outlines the cynical use—by Western leaders - of the language of liberation to justify imperialism and the attacks on civil liberties which have accompanied the 'War on Terror'. She highlights, in particular, Europe's victimisation of Muslim women for refusing to bare their heads.

Acknowledging that some women are forced to wear the veil by male relatives, Kennedy does not make the mistake of blaming men for sexism. While undoubtedly a great deal of men are so deeply screwed-up by the system that they are incapable of recognising sexism or understanding a simple word like 'no', Kennedy explains that sexism is not part of the male DNA. Instead she locates the development of women's oppression in the origins of class society and proposes that, rather than looking to a cross-class women's struggle, we instead build a new politics of liberation that places our struggle as women firmly within the wider anti-capitalist struggle.

It would have been useful to have heard more on the question of women in power within capitalist society. Specifically, it would have been useful to have highlighted the ways that these women hold back the struggle for human emancipation. But all-in-all this is an excellent contribution to the on-going struggle against the machinery of capitalism and war.

■ Socialism and the Fight for Women's Liberation is available from books.swp.ie and also from your local SWP branch for €2.00.

Socialist Worker

Stormont serves the rich. We need...

HOMES AND JOBS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

Fund house-building programmes

Not tax-cuts for the rich

AS WORKING people across the North face cuts in jobs, services, wages and benefits, what is the main solution proposed by the political parties?

Is Stormont demanding that Westminster allow higher benefit levels?

Or lobbying Treasury Ministers to protect services to the most vulnerable?

No. The one demand they all put forward is a reduction in Corporation Tax.

The idea of reducing Corporation Tax (CT) came originally from the Taxpayers Alliance, a right-wing group that, like the US Tea Party movement, wants a 'small state' economy where virtually everything is privatised.

This means making the poor and working class pay for reduced taxes for the rich and for corporations.

A reduced CT for the North would mean more cuts in services, more public sector job losses and higher domestic rates.

This is because, under EU rules, the Treasury would have to reduce the money it gives Stormont by at least £300 million a year, to make up for the money no longer being collected. The hope is that, in return, the private sector would create more jobs.

It is hard to understand why, even after the near-collapse of capitalism, Northern politicians of every hue – including Sinn Féin, which in the South presents itself as on the left – remain committed to this neo-liberal approach to the economy.

Two main arguments lie behind this obsession: first, that it was the



South's 12.5% corporation tax that brought the Celtic Tiger into being; and second, that a similarly low CT for the North would bring more Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), reducing the region's 'over-dependence' on the public sector.

Neither argument stands up to scrutiny.

The Republic of Ireland has had low corporate tax rates since 1957.

From 1981 until 2003 it offered a

10% rate to manufacturing companies and companies located in particular areas.

When that was ruled unacceptable by the EU it was replaced by a tax rate of 12.5% available to all Irish resident companies.

In other words, the policy did not work from 1957 until 1994.

It was after this that the real growth in the Irish economy took off.

All the evidence is that a range of

factors made the South attractive to FDI.

These included: membership of the Eurozone, the 'light touch' regulation that eventually led to the banking crisis and the government turning a blind eye to financial irregularities.

In any event, only four percent of NI companies pay the full rate of CT at present and recent research by Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC) showed the UK, including Northern Ireland,

has the sixteenth most business-friendly regime of 182 countries.

The PWC report also notes that, in 2009, "with around three percent of the UK population, Northern Ireland secured 10.3 percent of new FDI employee jobs, as compared to its long-term average of 7.4 percent."

The problem is that most of these jobs are low-paid, low-quality jobs in call centres.

In fact, the PWC report says that overseas investors already established in the UK rank CT as 17th in a list of the most important investment drivers.

The main priorities are: language, culture and values, infrastructure, skills, and proximity to markets.

The North needs jobs.

So it needs an alternative to reducing CT.

One idea put forward is a programme of social housing.

This would cost a good deal less than reducing CT, would create hundreds of jobs immediately, solve a growing housing crisis and reduce poverty.

Moreover, the money invested would remain in the North rather than going towards the profits of multinational corporations.

Yet even with capitalism in its deepest crisis for seventy years none of the Executive parties will even consider such an idea.

All these mainstream parties are in thrall to the markets, and it is becoming increasingly clear that only mass mobilisation across the community can make the politicians work in the interests of ordinary workers.

Inside: Why All Workers Should Oppose the Orange Order: P4