



# **PUBLIC SERVICES, PRIVATE PROFIT.**

Bringing our waste collection services back into public hands.

**THE WORKERS' PARTY** 

# 1. Introduction: Private profits and the environment - a zero sum game

The primary objectives of household waste management in an era of looming climate catastrophe should be to reduce the amount of material which households dispose of to the smallest amount possible, while at the same time ensuring as much of disposed material as possible is recyclable.

These basic goals are unlikely to raise objection from the powers that be. It is our view that it is impossible to achieve these objectives under the for-profit, market-driven model of household waste collection that has been adopted in Ireland. Even for them to be partially achieved, would require massive increases in the charges paid by ordinary workers.

Why is this?

Firstly, if we succeed in radically reducing the amount of waste we create, those who currently collect our waste would be done out of a job. It makes little sense to imagine a private operator will be willing to play ball in a system which aims to eliminate the waste people produce - and with it, the operator's profits. The only way for profits to continue for the private operator would be to increase charges for those who produce very little waste. But this is entirely contradictory to the idea that we should be rewarded rather than punished for reducing our waste.

Recycling the waste we do create, meanwhile, is ultimately a profitable activity: the recycling business. It costs money up front to the body which collects the recyclable material and then invests in upgrading it. But it does, in most instances, generate a profit - because recycling a material is almost always less costly than creating it from scratch all over again.

Here, of course, private companies have great interest in operating. However, it makes little sense for us, the consumer, to pay all of the "input costs" for this business - i.e. paying them to take away recyclable material which is then used to create profit - if it is the business which retains that profit. Why, if we provide the materials, should we the people not also receive the profits?

The answer to this riddle is that we have succumbed to the idea that private companies are the rightful owners of all profitable enterprises. Under such an ideology, the state should carry out those activities which are not profitable for the private sector - things where it isn't possible to individualise costs, like shared street

lighting, or where it isn't socially acceptable to charge people, like primary education. But this is neither inevitable nor wise.

Why shouldn't a state provide services that generate surplus? And wouldn't this make good financial sense?

The system of global capitalism, with its tendency to over-production, and which puts profit and expansion above all other concerns, is fundamentally responsible for our environmental problems. The Workers' Party recognises the scale of the environmental and climate challenges which we face and the specific role of the economic system under which we live, which is predatory, exploitative and wasteful, in driving production and consumption for profit motives rather than human well-being. Environmentally sustainable capitalism is a contradiction in terms.

When it comes to waste, the Workers' Party believes that, in order to marry the vital objectives of ensuring waste collection is done in a way which has as its primary objective the protection of the environment, the preservation of employment and the health and well-being of the people, the only option is a publicly-owned and provided household waste collection service.

## **2. A brief history of waste collection in Ireland**

Public waste collection was historically provided by local authorities in Ireland. In 1983, following a period of de-funding of local authorities by national government, Local Authority Service Charges were introduced. In the decades that followed, protracted civil disobedience campaigns mobilised widespread public opposition to the charges. In Dublin, the scale of the campaign ultimately led to a suspension of the charges in the mid-1980s, but they were rolled out elsewhere. Activists were jailed in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s as part of the campaign.

However, in spite of significant success, bin charges remained in place, and ultimately public provision of waste services ended nationwide.

In 2009, Dublin City Council attempted to shift to a 'one provider' model (in which either the city council or a contracted private operator would collect all waste), but this move was prevented when Greenstar / Panda won a high court action demanding that the market be left open to multiple private operators. A number of local authorities ultimately chose to stop providing a waste collection service entirely. Dublin City Council sold its client list of 140,000 households to Greyhound in 2011/12. Minor regulations such as a waiver scheme for those on low incomes were enforced only for a very short period.

Since household waste collection was fully privatised, a number of new regulations including the separation of waste, wheelie bin collection, mandatory collection of food waste, and 'pay-by-weight' fee structures, were introduced into law.

### **2019 - the current state of play**

Today, household waste is collected across Ireland under a 'competition within the market' system, i.e. multiple providers 'compete' with one another to collect waste from households. The system is widely perceived to be a failure, on a number of fronts.

Workers' rights have deteriorated significantly, with only minimal trade union presence across the private operators, where previously all local authority bin collectors were unionised.

Secondly, competition is illusory in many parts of the country where bin collection is less profitable. This applies in particular to urban areas where it is difficult logistically to collect bins. A survey carried out by the Workers' Party showed that, of 766 respondents to the survey, two thirds said that either there was only one company providing a service in their area, or all companies operating in the area charged the same price. In reality, there is a choice available in easy-to-access large

housing estates, but, as ever, in less profitable areas, the private operators show little interest.

In much of Dublin's inner city, meanwhile, wheelie bins are not viable, and only one large company, Greyhound, collects bagged waste. Greyhound claim that this service is effectively operated at a loss. If it were to stop providing this service, entire areas would be left without any waste collection service. Dublin City Council has refused to put a plan in place to safeguard against this happening.

Thirdly, while Dublin City Council stopped formally collecting household waste, increased bin charges have led to a dramatic increase in the amount of illegally dumped waste. With this has come increased costs to the local authority in clearing these dumped bags. In 2018, the cost to Dublin City Council of cleaning up illegally dumped waste was €1.14m, with a total of 3932 tonnes of dumped household waste removed. The cost of disposing of this waste was approximately €150,000. This figure does not capture the additional costs such as inspection programmes and CCTV, of monitoring and attempting to prosecute illegal dumping.

There is also a serious problem with rural waste and, in particular, the dirtier and more expensive to clean farm waste. The issue of fly tipping is another factor contributing to the despoiling of the countryside.

### **Household Waste Collection in Dublin in 2019: Poor quality, expensive and environmentally questionable**

The primary principles, coming from successive European Waste Directives, which underpin Ireland's legal requirements in relation to waste are as follows:

- The application of a '**waste hierarchy**' in which disposal of waste to landfill is the least preferred option, and waste reduction the most preferred option
- For each country to be **self-sufficient** in dealing with its waste within its borders
- To reduce the environmental impact of waste disposal and, wherever possible, **extract value such as energy** from any waste which cannot be reused
- To ensure that the **waste producer** bears the costs of waste disposal

These principles, and the Irish legislation which puts them into effect, are implemented via the 2012 policy framework "A Resource Opportunity: Waste Management Policy in Ireland."

The government's own waste management policy, "Resource Opportunity" recognises the "somewhat unique" system of waste collection in Ireland - i.e. competition between side-by-side waste collection actors. It also recognised the weaknesses of such a system and indeed that the changing requirements of EU law may require it to be revisited. It recognised that the market had failed to deliver a number of Ireland's environmental obligations, and was subject to opaque pricing

for households. However, in spite of this, because of the perceived ‘risk’ of disrupting the waste service “at this point in the country’s recovery,” and because of a risk of lack of competition, it was agreed to retain the structure, with an enhanced regulatory framework.

A cursory examination of which components of this system have progressed and which have not, gives an indication of who has been driving the waste collection agenda in Ireland over the past decade. The following sets out a number of the commitments made in “A Resource Opportunity,” and notes whether or not progress has been made in that regard.<sup>1</sup>

<b>Commitment</b>	<b>Status</b>
“To introduce a household waste collection waiver scheme and other alternative support schemes for low income households.”	<b>No waiver scheme exists.</b>
Mandatory collection of food waste by all operators.	<b>Some areas still have no waste food collection service.</b>
Private waste operators to bear costs of inspections of permit-holders, and ‘potential liabilities for the State’ owing to poor collection services.	<b>PQ Jan 2019 confirmed waste operator fee only covers permit costs, and costs of remedial services etc. are borne by local authorities</b>
To radically reduce the amount of waste and recyclables which is exported out of the country.	<b>80% of plastics waste still exported. No transparent system exists to monitor how waste operators deal with recyclables. Ireland does not monitor the scale of waste being exported</b>
Review voluntary ‘producer responsibility’ initiatives aimed at reducing packaging waste and make mandatory if necessary.	<b>No mandatory producer responsibility initiatives in place.  No evidence of reduced packaging from voluntary initiatives.</b>
Introduce a ‘market development programme for waste resources’ to increase recycling facilities, including possible restrictions on export of recyclables.	<b>No progress evident to date.</b>

<sup>1</sup> Progress reports have been drawn from the Department of the Environment’s Annual Reports since 2012

Mandatory 'pay-by-weight' household waste collection, based on 'producer pays' principle, phasing out flat-fee	<b>Introduced via legislation in 2017/18</b>
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In addition to the above commitments from 'A Resource Opportunity' a number of schemes were rolled out either via the government or the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). These include:

- A 'Recycling Ambassador' series of 650 workshops, targeting 15,000 citizens, aimed at educating and improving uptake on recycling
- A 'Price Monitoring Group' to monitor the prices of waste collection
- Initiatives to reduce waste in the commercial sector including the "Retail Sector Action Group on Preventing Wasted Food in the Supply Chain"
- The establishment of "Regional Lead Authorities" overseen by a National Steering Committee chaired by the Department, and a series of supporting 'enforcement structures' all funded by the Department
- €2.3 million allocation to the 'National Waste Prevention' programme
- €1.5 million to the operational costs of recycling
- An estimated €10 million / year towards landfill remediation
- In 2013, the EPA spent €2.5 million on "business supports" to support environmental compliance - "Green Business Programme" and other supports
- An onerous system of inspections: in 2016, the EPA estimated a total of approximately 80,000 waste inspections were carried out nationwide, across a variety of collectors, disposal and recycling services and households.

### **What lessons can be drawn from this record?**

Four basic lessons can be taken from the above-outlined record:

1. Amongst the suite of measures which the government set out to implement EU Waste directives, the measure which falls to householders – pay-by-weight charges – is the only one to have progressed significantly since 2012.
2. By contrast, a vast array of measures which fall to private operators, including measures to reduce waste, to provide food waste collection services, and to deal with recyclable waste sustainably and within Ireland, have not been progressed.
3. The government's stated policy of using licence fees to recoup the costs of monitoring the private waste collection sector, and the costs to the state of any failures in private waste collection services, has not been implemented at all.
4. The government has invested significant amounts of public money in educational and regulatory initiatives, while the profits of the recycling and waste collection industry have been retained by the private sector.

To listen to media reporting and government spin over the past decade, one would be excused for believing that increasing charges to householders for non-recyclable waste was the **single most important objective** in our government's own waste policy. In fact, this is far from the true.

Instead, Fine Gael's *own policy* sets out that reducing waste creation in the first place, introducing sustainable recycling options within Ireland, and ensuring private sector operators bear the costs of regulation and possible service failures. But these have been virtually ignored. Although it is unsurprising from a government in a capitalist society, this record paints a stark picture of a government which is entirely unwilling even to *regulate* the privatised waste collection market effectively.

This is neither environmentally sound, socially acceptable, nor a financially sensible model. While, as socialists, we propose the public ownership and democratic control of our society as a solution, even in the interim, if the state is to bear the burden of paying the costs of Ireland's transition to a 'circular economy,' then the people should also benefit from any profitable activities that emerge from that transition.



### 3. An inevitable system? Debunking the myths justifying privatised waste collection in Ireland

The three features of the Irish model of household waste collection – charging households for waste disposal, reliance on private companies to collect waste, and competition between multiple private operators, rather than tendering to a single operator – are generally justified as being necessitated by European directives mandating competition, prohibiting state aid and requiring that the ‘producer’ of waste is responsible for paying for its disposal.

However, when we examine the actual policy frameworks which underpin waste collection, it is clear that this is not the case.

The primary principles, coming from successive European Waste Directives, which underpin Ireland’s legal requirements in relation to waste are as follows:

- The application of a **‘waste hierarchy’** in which disposal of waste to landfill is the least preferred option, and waste reduction the most preferred option
- For each country to be **self-sufficient** in dealing with its waste within its borders
- To reduce the environmental impact of waste disposal and, wherever possible, **extract value such as energy** from any waste which cannot be reused
- To ensure that **waste producer** bears the costs of waste disposal

None of this prescribes that waste collection must be for-profit, provided through a private market, or that householders should bear the cost of waste collection. And yet consistently, this is how the policy has been interpreted in Ireland.

A cursory examination of how household waste collection operates in other countries demonstrates this to be patently untrue. A majority of European countries do not operate household waste collection on the basis of open competition, often invoking the fact that waste collection and recycling are essential to the public good, and therefore exempt from state aid and competition laws.<sup>2</sup> It is however also clear that the European Commission and, indeed, many national governments, continue to use the legal system to interpret legislation in a way which outlaws public provision. This remains a major obstacle to any efforts to regain public control of services.

Indeed, legal scholars have pointed out that, in relation to the 2009 High Court case cited above, “in other jurisdictions, domestic waste collection might well be viewed

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<sup>2</sup> Kingston, Suzanne (2012) “Competition & Environmental Protection,” in *European Competition Law Annual 2012*, p.120-1

as falling outside the scope of competition law, as an activity aimed at meeting an 'essential public interest' which is 'provided for the benefit of the whole of the community,'"<sup>3</sup> rather than mandating a local authority to facilitate an open market for waste collection.

Nonetheless, it is clear that attempts to resist enforced privatisation, for example 're-municipalisation' efforts in various European cities, have been met with strong resistance from Brussels. Most significantly, the European Commission is attempting to revive particularly onerous components of the Services Directive, which would grant the Commission oversight of any alterations to how local government services are provided – and, in practice, the authority to veto efforts to bring services back into public ownership, if adopted.

Currently, these principles are implemented by government through the 2012 framework

[“A Resource Opportunity: Waste Management Policy in Ireland.”](#) It sets out as its main aims:

- The 'virtual elimination' of landfill use through reduction and recycling initiatives
- Enhanced regulation of the 'waste collection sector' to ensure transparent pricing, greater incentives for the segregation of waste, mandatory organic waste collection, and enhanced customer service
- For government, i.e. the relevant Department and the Environmental Protection Agency, to monitor the activity of the private sector
- To ensure “a sufficiency of waste management infrastructure within the State to manage municipal waste” through an expansion of recycling and disposal facilities within the State.

It is worth noting the measures that are set out for both waste collection operators and householders, since it gives a clear overview of how implementation of the policy has focussed almost entirely on householder responsibility, whilst disregarding the responsibilities of operators.

For example, the policy states that the fees paid by waste collection operators should reflect “the need to contribute to the costs of essential enforcement of the permitting system and the potential liabilities for the state which may arise from poor collection and management practices.”<sup>4</sup> In theory, this would make the private operators liable for policing costs, and action taken to remedy poor quality operations. However, in February 2019 a parliamentary question revealed that the Department contractors were *not* being charged fees to cover these costs, and that the cost of monitoring private companies was being covered by local authorities.

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<sup>3</sup> *ibid*

<sup>4</sup> [A Resource Opportunity \(2012\) p.6](#)

## **The wilful misinterpretation of the ‘polluter pays’ principle**

Irish waste policy is governed primarily by a number of EU Directives, primarily the EU Waste Framework Directive.<sup>5</sup>

In relation to WEEE, the ‘polluter pays’ principle has been interpreted to refer to the producer of the equipment and so the cost of recycling is borne by the producer of the item. Therefore, there is no clear logic to the fact that ‘polluter pays’ would be interpreted as meaning the consumer in cases of household waste.

Some opponents argue that it makes little difference, as the cost of recycling would ultimately increase prices of consumer goods which have packaging. However, studies indicate that electrical goods have [increased in price by 2.1%](#) since the introduction of the WEEE recycling levy.<sup>6</sup> This is a small enough margin that it is unlikely to prove the cost of recycling has been passed onto consumers. Although even such a small amount is undesirable, in a capitalist society it is difficult to introduce measures to explicitly outlaw such transfers. Nonetheless, previous experience indicates that the business lobby tend to overestimate the increase in consumer prices which will result from increases in environmental and other regulations on business, in order to prevent their introduction.

What is clear from this is that while Ireland’s pro-market interpretation of EU waste directives is conveniently aligned to the pro-market ideology of the European Commission, other states and municipalities have interpreted it differently. Whether they will in due course be challenged on this remains to be seen.

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<sup>5</sup> Packaging Directive (94/62/ec); Waste electrical and electronic equipment (WEEE) Directive (2002/96/ec); restriction of hazardous substances in WEEE Directive (2002/95/ec); end of life vehicles (elv) Directive (2000/53/ec); batteries Directive (2006/66/ec); landfill Directive (1999/31/ec) and Waste Framework Directive (2008/98/ec).

<sup>6</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/integration/research/newsalert/pdf/374na5\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/integration/research/newsalert/pdf/374na5_en.pdf)

## 4. The alternative

The Workers' Party believes that a public-sector led household waste collection service is a far better option both in terms of financial sense, and environmental protection.

Our alternative model has three components:

### **Waste reduction: focussing on the real waste producers**

- A complete overhaul of Repak into a publicly-owned body which establishes mandatory waste reduction and packaging standards for all goods retailers

### **A public household waste collection service**

- Introduction of a single-collector, publicly-owned waste collection system, funded primarily through the operation of a publicly-owned recycling industry
- Free collection of all recyclable material for all households

### **Recycling**

- The establishment of a national recycling 'centre of excellence' under the auspices of Bord na Móna, run on a commercial basis, with surplus reinvested into subsidising waste collection services

### **1. Waste reduction: focussing on the real waste producers**

The first component of a public-led waste policy involves a radical re-interpretation of the 'producer pays' principle to place the burden for waste reduction on the entity (almost always a profit-making company) which (a) takes the decision as to how to package a particular good, and (b) makes profit from the sale of the good in question.

Contrary to government wisdom, it is not possible for individual households to 'choose' to reduce the amount of waste they produce. Plastic packaging on vegetables, redundant multiple layers of packaging on electronic goods, or pointless plastic wrapping around a cotton t-shirt, do not result from the choices of consumers, but from profit-driven corporations wish to maximise sales by packaging multiple units together, and to reduce costs by using packaging to allow less costly transport and handling of produce.

Currently, the responsibility for monitoring, reducing and paying for packaging in the retail sector lies with REPAK, a body funded by and governed by private retailers themselves. Similar to the alcohol industry, the government backed away from putting in place an independent regulator of packaging in the waste industry, and instead allowed the industry to regulate themselves. And as ever in Ireland, as

we can see from the steady increase in packaging in supermarkets, self-regulation has failed miserably to deliver for anybody except the retailers' shareholders. It lacks all credibility to imagine that profit-driven retailers will voluntarily implement measures which prioritise environmental concerns over profits.

The single most important step required to implement a *real* 'producer pays' waste reduction strategy is to scrap REPAK and instead establish an independent, public waste reduction regulator which will be responsible for mandating a reduction in packaging across the retail sector, and ensuring the cost of disposal or recycling of all packaging is borne by the private sector itself.

Specific, mandatory measures which will be introduced and monitored by this new public waste reduction regulator will include:

**A: Measures aimed to reduce packaging:**

- A ban on the use of non-recyclable (or non-reusable) materials for packaging
- The elimination of packaging for the majority of fresh produce. A list of exempted produce where packaging is necessitated for hygiene reasons (e.g. fish, meat) to be drawn up
- To enable a reduction in food waste, the elimination of all 'multi-item' packaging of perishable foods such as fruits, vegetables and dairy, to be replaced by loose produce.
- The replacement of small plastic sacks with paper bags for the sale of all loose fruit and vegetables
- For bulky items already included in 'producer pays' initiatives such as electronics, the responsibility for recycling of packaging from these items should be transferred to the producer along with the item itself (e.g. the box, plastic and styrofoam from a television set)
- For clothing, the elimination of all packaging

**B: Measures which place the burden for disposing of packaging waste on those who profit from it:**

- The installation of waste collection receptacles outside all major supermarkets
- The introduction of standardised, reusable typology of containers for food stuffs and health & beauty products, to facilitate easier and greater levels of reuse
- The introduction of mandatory container deposit schemes for the widest possible range of reusable containers, to include aluminium, glass and reusable heavy duty plastic
- Container return depots to be installed at all major supermarkets
- The introduction of a **rating system** in which both retailers and goods producers are graded based on both the quality (re-usability) and quantity of their packaging, with a graduated fee to be used to fund public waste collection levied according to the grade attained by the company in question. For example, a company with below average packaging levels and a high

level of reusable packaging (aluminium, glass etc.) will pay a lower than average levy.

## **2. A public household waste collection service**

The second major component of a public-led household waste strategy is to re-introduce the local authority as the sole collector of household waste - i.e. to remunicipalise the provision of public waste collection services.

We take the example of Dublin City Council to outline the cost of such a proposal.

Figures from Dublin City Council suggest household waste collection would cost approximately €50 million. This is in line with estimates that households typically spend approximately €20 per month for private bin collection.

We propose that, in the long-term, all costs associated with collection will be covered by the establishment of a state-of-the-art national recycling service (as detailed in the next section).

In the immediate term, the following funding options can be considered, and fall within the powers of local government:

- The elimination of the ‘vacancy refund’ which is currently issued to the owners of vacant ratable commercial buildings in the city, would raise approximately €10 million in additional commercial rates for the city council
- A 25% increase in the rate of the “Development Contribution Scheme,” which extracts a levy for all new property developments, would raise approximately €10 million. When Irish Water was established, the development contribution levy rate was reduced by 25% to account for the fact that water services were no longer provided by the city council. This increase would therefore only result in levies being reinstated at their pre-2013 levels.

Other measures which would require a change in legislation

- A 2% transaction levy on all property sold for more than €1,000,000 would raise approximately €6,500,000, based on 2017 sales levels.
- The introduction of a €500/property annual ‘city tax’ payable by landlords with 2 or more rental properties would raise an additional €10.5 million<sup>7</sup>

Additionally, a savings of €3 million / annum would be made through the fact that the council would no longer be paying for the collection of illegally dumped rubbish.

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<sup>7</sup> There are approximately 63,000 privately-rented homes in Dublin City. Assuming a breakdown similar to nationwide ownership figures, approximately  $\frac{2}{3}$  of these are owned by single-property landlords, leaving 21,000 owned by multi-property landlords.

We propose the balance of €10 million be covered through the issuance of a local authority bond, to be paid back as the national recycling industry becomes profitable.

The balance in funding would be made up through the profitable operation of a public recycling company, to be established through the repurposing of Bord na Móna.

Local authorities would be responsible for collecting household waste, and depositing it with one of three collectors:

- For food waste, with a city composting hub, in which all food waste would be transformed into compost, for purchase
- For recyclable material, with a newly-upgraded public recycling facilities operated by Bord na Móna (see below)
- For residual waste the possibility of establishing a state waste-to-heat plant should be investigated, taking into account environmental and health concerns before any decision to establish such a plant is made.

In addition to carrying out regular household waste collection, local authorities should invest in the modernisation of waste collection through the provision of underground waste deposit 'bins' for inner city areas. This would allow householders without outdoor storage space to throw out rubbish on a daily basis, into communal underground bins at the end of their street, to be emptied by specialised trucks.<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Recycling

Currently, there is minimal available information about exactly where and how Ireland's 'recyclable' waste is recycled. This means we are unable to verify that recycling is happening in the most environmentally sound way, and also means we have not come close to our policy objectives of ensuring we are responsible for our own waste.

In addition, it means we do not have a true picture of how much money private operators make from the recyclable waste they collect from us, and certainly don't see any return from this activity.

A final difficulty which the current system produces is that there is no 'match up' between the regulation of packaging materials used in Ireland, and recycling capacities. This means, for example, that many items such as coffee cups or plastic packaging may in theory *be* recyclable, but the infrastructure doesn't exist to ensure that they are, in fact, recycled.

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<sup>8</sup> See example from the University of Cambridge which has installed a similar system <https://interestingengineering.com/uks-biggest-underground-bin-system-eliminates-the-need-for-9000-wheelie-bins>

All of this points towards the need to establish a public recycling infrastructure in order to facilitate large-scale investment in the technologies which are required, but also to ensure the moneys generated from recycling are directed towards public goods, such as waste collection services, rather than into private pockets.

We propose the establishment of a national recycling ‘centre of excellence’ under the auspices of Bord na Móna, run on a commercial basis, with all surplus reinvested into subsidising waste collection services. Bord na Móna already operates a minor waste-to-energy facility, and given this, and the need to transition Bord na Móna away from peat production in a socially responsible manner, transforming it into a national recycling company makes sense.

The initial up-front cost for investing in the development of a state recycling infrastructure should be provided through borrowing, to be repaid as the new industry begins to turn a profit. The European Investment Bank currently lends for projects which aim to increase the use life of materials i.e. recycling, or to turn waste products into new usable forms such as energy. Indeed, the EIB’s own research recognises that public sector interventions will be essential to developing a ‘circular economy’ - unusual from a body rigidly committed to the free market.<sup>9</sup>

Bord na Móna would be responsible for the development and operation of the national recycling infrastructure on a commercial basis. Each local authority would have ‘shares’ in the new company, and would be issued a rebate proportionate to the amount of recyclable material it collects, to be reinvested into fully covering the costs of waste collection in that local authority area.

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<sup>9</sup> Research carried out by the EIB notes that public sector investment is essential to upscaling recycling and waste reduction facilities and technologies. However, unsurprisingly, this is generally framed as a temporary measure to ‘absorb risk’ for private banks and companies, to be removed once an activity proves profitable. Nonetheless, wholly public initiatives, which remain in public ownership, do also qualify for EIB borrowing. [https://www.eib.org/attachments/pj/access\\_to\\_finance\\_study\\_on\\_circular\\_economy\\_en.pdf](https://www.eib.org/attachments/pj/access_to_finance_study_on_circular_economy_en.pdf)



**The Workers' Party wants to build a new Republic.**

**A Republic that is run in the interest of the great majority of people: the working class.**

**We want to take power away from the class that has run this so-called Republic into the ground and profited from it at the time. The bankers, developers, landlords and the cosy political establishment who line their own pockets at the expense of working class people.**

**We want an Ireland which can work for everyone and where everyone can work.**

**To do this we need our own party – a party that wants to win power for the working class – one that goes beyond slogans and has a plan for how to achieve a better life for all.**

**With your help, The Workers' Party can be that party.**

**If you want a Republic that guarantees the right to a home, to a living-wage job, and to quality healthcare, you'll have to fight for it.**

**Join the Workers' Party. Build a new Republic – a democratic, secular and socialist Ireland.**

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