

the EU and Brexit

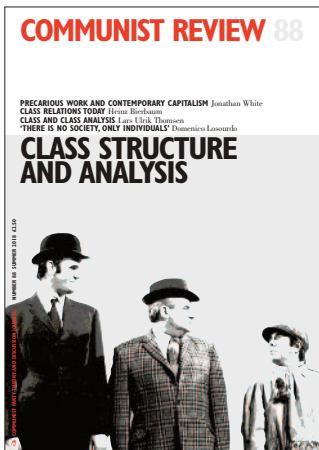
questions and answers



by Robert Griffiths



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the EU and Brexit

questions and answers

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questions and answers

Q1. What is the European Union (EU)?

The European Union is a political and economic union of 28 Member States with an estimated population of about 513 million. Its origins lie in post-war reconstruction and the Cold War, when the first attempts were made to construct a political, military and economic power bloc in Western Europe.

Although the plans to establish a pro-NATO, anti-Soviet European Defence Community and European Political Community were defeated in 1954, the European Iron and Steel Community survived to form the basis of the European Economic Community in 1957 alongside the new European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom).

The UK joined the European Communities in 1973, despite widespread opposition on the left and in the labour movement. Since then, the EU—as it became—has taken big steps towards that original goal of a political, military and economic union.

The EU has since developed an internal Single Market and a Customs Union through a standardised system of Rules, Directives and Regulations which apply in all Member States to major areas of the economy (notably competition, trade, investment, agriculture, fisheries, public finances, VAT and trading standards), employment and social policy (including hours of work, leave, health and safety, gender equality and consumer rights), and the environment (including pollution and waste management).

Q2. How is the EU structured?

The heads of state or government of the EU Member States meet as a European Council at least four times a year. They and their subsidiary councils of ministers in specific matters give political direction to the development and operation of EU policies. In reality, the EU Commission (nominated between the Member States and the Council) uses its treaty-based powers to initiate, draft and police EU legislation and control the operations of the EU. The President of the Commission is currently Jean-Claude Juncker (who when Prime Minister turned Luxembourg into a major corporate tax haven). There is a European Parliament of 751 MEPs elected every five years in national or regional constituencies who have very limited powers (see Q12).

Q3. What are the basic EU Treaties?

As a result of the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon (the 'Constitutional Treaty'), these are the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU, based on the 1957 Treaty of Rome) and the Treaty on European Union (TEU, based on the 1992 Maastricht Treaty amended by the 1998 Amsterdam Treaty)

The peoples of France and the Netherlands had rejected a European Constitution in referendums in 2005. Referendums planned for the UK and five other EU Member States were then cancelled.

The Constitution was repackaged as the Treaty of Lisbon and rejected in the only referendum allowed, in the Irish Republic in 2008. The result was reversed by another referendum in 2009 and the Treaty finally adopted. It introduced Qualified Majority Voting in the Council of Ministers (the UK has about 8% of the votes), an unelected President of the Commission, an unelected High Representative for Foreign and Security Policy and a substantial military dimension for the EU.

Q4. What are the EU's 'four freedoms'?

EU Treaties and Directives aim to ensure the free movement of goods, services, capital and labour within the internal market (and the free movement of capital between Member States and the outside world). The EU 'right of establishment' empowers companies in one EU country to set up and conduct operations in any other EU Member State.

These 'freedoms' implement the principle of an 'open market economy' proclaimed five times in the TEU and TFEU. They are the main reasons why most of the big capitalist monopolies and big business organisations across Europe—including the CBI and Institute of Directors—support EU membership.

This 'open market economy' and its 'freedoms' have contributed (along with an overvalued pound and high interest rates) to the huge unbalancing of Britain's economy since 1973: unregulated imports and the shift of production to low-cost regions of Europe have helped reduced manufacturing employment by more than 4m and shrunk the sector's share of GDP from 32% to 9%; unlimited capital exports have increased dependency on inward investment; Britain's balance of payments relies even more heavily on profits from exploitation overseas; and the domestic economy is now dangerously over-reliant on financial, property and other services.

Q5. What about the free movement of people?

The free movement of labour and workers is also presented in EU treaties as the 'free movement of persons', in the attempt to humanise the main aim of maximising profit through the exploiting mobile labour power.

For travel, work and residency within the EU 'Schengen Area' of 22 Member States (due to become 26), passport and most other controls have been abolished (although some were partly reintroduced during the 2015 migrant crisis). The UK and the Republic of Ireland are not part of the Schengen Area and so still have the power to operate passport controls within the EU.

The EU's 'free movement of labour' principle and its Posted Workers Directive empower companies to employ and transfer workers across

national borders, sometimes undermining local pay, conditions and trade union agreements.

Q6. How is the EU Budget distributed?

There are usually nine EU Member States that contribute a net amount to the EU Budget and around 12 countries that usually receive over one million Euros from the Budget. The largest net contributor is Germany followed by France and Italy contributing about the same amount with the UK close behind. Poland is by far the largest net recipient of EU funding followed by Greece, Hungary, Spain, Belgium and Portugal. The EU spends more than one-third of its Budget on the Common Agricultural Policy, less than one-quarter on regional development and 7% on aid to developing countries.

Q7. How much does the UK pay into the EU?

In 2017, the UK's gross contribution to the EU Budget amounted to £18.6bn (or £358m a week). Receipts from EU funds and Britain's rebate added up to £4.1bn and £5.6bn, respectively. That leaves a net contribution from the UK to the EU of £8.1bn. In short, all the spending by EU funds in Britain is more than affordable in future from the savings of non-membership. In addition, up to £8bn a year would be available for extra spending on, say, housing, the NHS, education, social benefits, pensions and overseas aid or for National Debt repayment or tax reductions.

Q8. What is the European Court of Justice?

The ECJ is the highest court of the European Union in matters of EU law, but not national law unless this conflicts with EU Treaties and Directives. Its judges are nominated and approved by the Member States.

In a series of rulings (the Viking, Laval, Ruffert, Luxembourg, Alemo-Herron and Woolworths cases) the ECJ has upheld the right of companies to defy collective agreements and national and provincial legislation in their treatment of 'posted' (imported), outsourced and redundant workers. These judgements uphold EU business freedoms at the expense of local wages, conditions and the right of trade unions to strike in their defence.

The ECJ is not to be confused with the European Court of Human Rights (see Q15)

Q9. What is the Eurozone?

Monetary union began in 1990 and 19 EU Member States have adopted the Euro since 1999. In preparation, Britain entered the European Monetary System in 1990 before crashing out with soaring interest rates, prices and unemployment on 'Black Wednesday', September 1992.

Prime Minister Tony Blair recommenced preparations by granting 'independence' to the Bank of England in 1997, but Chancellor Gordon Brown vetoed adopting the Euro in place of the pound.

Operated by the European Central Bank and policed by the European Commission, Eurozone policy prioritises fiscal conservatism and low inflation above public investment, economic expansion and full employment.

Q10. What is the European Central Bank?

The Treaty of Amsterdam established the ECB in 1998 to ensure 'price stability' at a very low, calculated rate of inflation.

The President of the ECB is Mario Draghi, formerly governor of the Bank of Italy, member of the World Bank and managing director of the Goldman Sachs international division.

The Governing Council comprises the central bank chief governors of the 19 Eurozone countries. The TFEU makes clear that the ECB must operate its monetarist policies independently of any elected or appointed EU or national Member State body.

Q11. Is the EU to blame for austerity?

Right-wing governments are usually happy to cut social and welfare spending, privatise public assets and cut taxes for the rich and big business.

The EU presses all Member State governments to do likewise. The TFEU's Stability and Growth Pact subjects all Member States (not just the 19 members of the Eurozone) to annual monitoring by the European Commission and the Council of Ministers. Every country must aim to limit public sector borrowing to 3% of GDP and debt to 60%.

Breaches are subject to an Excess Deficit Procedure (EDP) to achieve this 'convergence'. The UK was removed from the EDP recently as the Tory government's austerity policies were on course to meet EU targets.

From 2010, the EU Commission-ECB-IMF 'Troika' granted loans and 'bond swaps' to eight EU Member States to assist the bail-outs of banks and financial systems. In return, national governments had to impose sweeping public spending cuts, tax rises and labour 'flexibility' reforms. Those that resisted were removed in 2011 and replaced by unelected technocrats acceptable to the 'Troika' (see Q12).

In December 2018, the EU Commission, ECB and bond markets forced the Italian government to cut spending on pensions and unemployment benefit, even though its budget obeyed the 3% deficit rule.

Q12. Is the EU democratic?

Although the European Parliament is directly elected, this is on a scale (one MEP per half a million electors—almost ten times the Westminster ratio) that breaks any organic link between the people and their representatives.

The EU Parliament does not have the powers normally associated with parliaments in a democracy: to initiate legislation, appoint and control the executive (the government or in this case the Council of Ministers), determine the Budget or effectively call the civil service—the Commission—

to account. Nor can it impinge on the 'independence' of the European Central Bank which controls the euro and monetary policy. The EU Parliament merely shares decision-making with the Council of Ministers to amend and approve any legislation brought to it by the EU Commission. Its other limited powers include treaty assent, Budget approval and dismissal of the Commission as a whole (the never-used 'nuclear option').

Pressure from the EU and its supporters has forced countries to re-run referendums that do not produce a pro-EU result (eg, Denmark 1993, Ireland 2002 and 2009). Other adverse referendum results have been circumvented (France and the Netherlands 2005).

When elected governments in Greece and Italy refused to carry out stricter austerity policies in line with the EU Stability and Growth Pact, they were forced from office in 2011 by the 'Troika' (the Commission, ECB and IMF) and the financial markets, and replaced by unelected regimes headed by former top EU officials. In December 2018, the Commission and financial markets compelled the Italian government to abandon plans to boost unemployment benefits and pensions.

Q13. Isn't the EU a force for peace and stability in Europe and the world?

The EU has expanded alongside NATO across eastern Europe, the Baltic states and other former Soviet republics to the borders of Russia. The Treaty on European Union commits EU Member States to rearmament and to a Common Security and Defence Policy that will 'contribute to the vitality of a renewed Atlantic Alliance'.

Since the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, the EU has developed a military-political apparatus including the European Defence Agency, the European Defence Fund, the Military Planning and Conduct Capability HQ, the EU Institute for Security Studies, the EU Satellite Centre and the European Operational Rapid Force (the nucleus of EU armed forces). In 2017, 25 of the 28 Member States established PESCO ('Permanent Structured Organisation') to carry forward the integration of their armed forces.

EU membership has not prevented members states from military intervention—mostly unlawful—in Djibouti, Chad, Mauritania, Afghanistan, Zaire, Iraq, Kuwait, Serbia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia, Libya, Syria and elsewhere.

Q14. How important is Britain's trade with the EU?

Since joining the European Economic Community in 1973, the UK's trade deficit in goods with the EU has grown to £95bn (2017). Although there is a trade surplus in services (£28bn), the UK's overall trade balance with the EU is in deficit by £67bn.

Beyond the EU, the UK has a trade surplus with the rest of the world of £41bn (the £83bn surplus on services outweighing the £42bn goods deficit). The UK sells 44% of its exports to the EU (down from 53% in 1998) and is

jointly the biggest market for EU exports along with the USA (16% each). The EU 28's share of world economic output has declined from 30% in 1980 to 17% today.

Britain and the EU have a mutual interest in maintaining close trade relations—but economic relations with the rest of the world are becoming increasingly important.

Q15. Would Brexit mean a loss of rights?

EU legislation has expanded some employment, environmental and consumer rights and standards. These were all transferred into British law by the EU (Withdrawal) Act 2018.

However, most of our rights and standards derive from domestic legislation—much of it won only after determined campaigning by trade unions, pressure groups and other popular movements. This is true in terms of statutory pay, pensions, health and social care, trade union recognition, the right to strike, most equalities legislation, planning and the environment.

UK rights and standards are often far superior to the minimum levels required by EU legislation (eg. working time regulations, maternity pay, traffic pollution and animal welfare).

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU) forbids any EU measures to enforce the right to strike, minimum pay or protection against employer lock-outs. The EU has never defended rights and freedoms in Britain against anti-trade union and other repressive legislation.

Instead, civil liberties in Britain have received some protection from the Council of Europe (established in 1949) to which all 47 European states are affiliated. Neither this nor its European Convention and Court of Human Rights (ECHR) are related to the EU.

In December 2014, jealous of its own powers, the EU Court of Justice ruled against European Union accession to the ECHR. In Britain, we will only lose our rights if we fail to defend them, whether outside or inside the EU.

Q16. Is Brexit racist?

The free movement of people within the EU has been accompanied by restrictions on people coming in from elsewhere. EU Member States such as Britain, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands have been pressured to raise their barriers to non-EU immigration.

This 'Fortress Europe' policy has helped create the conditions in which violent racist attacks have increased in many EU Member States.

The trade and investment agreements imposed upon countries in Africa by the EU have opened up their economies to privatisation (eg, water) and over-dependence on a narrow range of exports, contributing to debt, destitution and mass migration.

While many Leave voters in 2016 were concerned about immigration, opinion surveys (Ashcroft Polling, the TUC) show that their biggest issue was

democratic control and national sovereignty.

Misplaced fears about the impact of immigration on jobs and public services should be countered with information and rational argument, not by falsely branding 17.4m people as racists.

Q17. What is Theresa May proposing?

After triggering Article 50 in March 2017 to leave the EU, the mostly pro-EU Tory Cabinet colluded with the EU Commission to produce a 'bogus Brexit' deal. This was a fall-back position if Brexit could not be reversed altogether.

Under the original UK-EU Withdrawal Agreement and joint Political Declaration:

- The UK will leave the EU and its institutions on March 29, 2019 (Brexit Day).
- The UK will remain part of the EU Single Market in most goods and services and the Customs Union during the 'transition period' until December 31, 2020 (which can be extended for up to two years), bound by existing and new rules and Directives. Thereafter, if no future treaty has been negotiated, the UK would remain in a similar single market and customs territory, but outside the EU Common Agricultural Policy.
- There should be a 'frictionless' border between the UK/ Northern Ireland and the EU/ Irish Republic. Failure to reach an agreement on trade relations would mean that a 'backstop' would operate from the end of the transition period, whereby Northern Ireland stays aligned with EU Single Market and Customs Union rules and—for as long as the union between Britain and Northern Ireland exists—so, too, by extension would Britain. That arrangement can only be changed legally with EU consent.
- EU citizens and UK nationals and their family members will have guaranteed rights of continued residency and travel.
- The UK will pay an estimated £39bn to the EU in order to meet past commitments to future EU expenditure. Most will not come to Britain or British citizens and a House of Lords report Brexit and the EU Budget (2017) claims that the UK legally owes nothing.
- Disputes over interpretation of the Withdrawal Agreement will be decided according to ECJ rulings in matters of EU law, while British authorities will take these into account when deciding other matters.
- Both sides will continue to coordinate their policies in areas such as taxation, professional qualifications, policing, judicial affairs, intellectual property rights and environmental protection.

MPs rejected the Withdrawal Agreement on January 15, 2019. May has since offered to negotiate with the EU to modify the Irish 'backstop' (eg. with a time limit) while ensuring no 'hard border' and 'embed' protections for workers' rights and the environment. Tory Cabinet members and pro-EU

MPs want to extend the Article 50 notice period, postponing Brexit Day and allowing time for a new pro-EU Withdrawal Agreement or a second referendum.

Q18. What about Scotland and Wales?

Brexit would transfer decision-making powers in 64 areas of policy from the EU and its Commission to both the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly of Wales. These areas include state aid to industry, public sector procurement, rail franchises, equalities legislation, agriculture, forestry, land use, carbon capture and storage, offshore oil and gas installations, environmental impact assessments and quality controls, planning consent, onshore hydrocarbon licences, radioactive shipments, animal welfare, food standards and public health and safety protection.

In 47 additional areas, Scotland's greater degree of devolution would mean new powers over renewable energy, rail markets and operating licences, social security and criminal justice including child sexual exploitation and human trafficking.

There is every prospect that Scotland and Wales would develop policies that can only improve on the low standards set in Brussels and Westminster.

'Independence' for Scotland and Wales inside the EU would mean (1) those powers remaining or going back to Brussels and (2) possible dislocation of trade relations with their biggest trading partner by far, namely, a post-Brexit England.

Q19. What are the 'Norway +' and 'Canada +' options?

As a member of EFTA (the European Free Trade Association), Norway participates alongside the EU in the European Economic Area (EEA), which is based on EU Single Market principles of the free movement of capital, labour, goods and services. EFTA also has its own less substantial free trade agreements with non-EU countries (mostly aligned with EU principles and standards).

Norway therefore accepts almost all EU legislation and ECJ and EU Commission rulings on economic matters (except agriculture and fisheries) and contributes to relevant EU budgets.

The EFTA countries are subject to EFTA Court rulings on market 'freedoms' and labour 'flexibility' and are part of the EU Schengen Area.

A 'Norway +' arrangement signifies adding affiliation to the EU Customs Union, Euratom, the European Defence Agency or the EU VAT Area to EEA membership.

EFTA member Switzerland participates in Euratom and—through its own non-EEA sectoral agreements—in the EU Single Market.

Under the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA), trade tariffs on all industrial and most agricultural goods are being removed or capped. So are many barriers to investment, public procurement

contracts and—with restrictions—the provision of services. EU Single Market rules do not apply, border checks on people and goods still operate and Canada will not contribute to EU funds.

State aid will be restricted and strict compensation rules apply in cases of nationalisation. Companies in the EU will be entitled to take the Canadian government to a disputes resolution tribunal.

Either side can withdraw from CETA with notice. For Britain, 'Canada +' could mean adding full access to each others' financial markets and/or accepting some or all EU Single Market rules.

Q20. What if there's a 'no deal' Brexit?

With no Withdrawal Agreement and transition period, Britain would be outside the EU and its Single Market and Customs Union—but would retain access to EU markets under WTO rules.

As the pro-EU Tory government has deliberately failed to prepare for a real Brexit, this could cause significant—albeit temporary—economic dislocation. But forecasts of a 'catastrophe' are wide of the mark.

Britain is the world's fifth biggest economic power. Most economic activity here—around 85%—takes place independently of relations with the EU. Temporary and emergency arrangements could be negotiated. Otherwise, UK-EU trade relations would be conducted under general WTO rules which (1) guarantee market access between WTO member states in most circumstances; (2) disallow discrimination by one member state against another, unless a preferential trade agreement exists between them; (3) set universal limits on tariff or quota levels that can be imposed on imports; and (4) outlaw 'dumping' of under-priced exports on foreign markets.

This would mean average EU tariffs on British exports of around 3%. But Britain's trade deficit with the EU means that the Treasury could reimburse exporters in full from the tariffs on EU imports—and still have a £5bn annual surplus. Furthermore, trading on WTO rules would free British governments to reduce tariffs with non-EU countries, which account for 56% (and rising) of Britain's exports and 46% of imports. Currently, 43% of Britain's exports and 34% of imports are traded under WTO rules.

Outside the EU, Britain will remain a full participant in more than 70 international organisations including the UN and its affiliated bodies, the World Trade Organisation, the G8, the IMF, the International Labour Organisation, the International Panel on Climate Change, the Council of Europe, the European Court of Human Rights, Interpol and—unfortunately—NATO.

Q21. Would a no-deal Brexit mean a 'hard border' in Ireland?

There has been a Common Travel Area across all of Britain and Ireland since 1952 (and 1923-39 before then). Customs posts between the UK/ Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic were dismantled in 1993; the border has been

open ever since despite continuing different rates of VAT, excise duty and corporation tax and the need to maintain separate national economic and financial accounts. Passport checks on non-EU nationals are carried out at Irish and British ports and airports.

The EU Commission and its supporters in Ireland and Britain claim that Brexit could mean the return of a North-South 'hard border' (ie, infrastructure to check goods or passports), breaching the 1998 Good Friday Agreement (GFA) and endangering peace.

There is no mention in the GFA of North-South border operations, economic relations or trade, nor any requirement for EU membership. Although the British and Irish governments and the EU have all declared that under no circumstances would they rebuild border infrastructure, the EU Commission is now insisting it would be necessary for both governments to do so if Northern Ireland does not remain within EU Single Market jurisdiction.

As confirmed by the all-party Home Affairs Committee of the European Parliament report *Hard Border 2.0* (September 2014), notification procedures, non-border spot checks and new technology make a structural 'hard border' across Ireland unnecessary, whether or not Britain and Ireland are in a European single market or customs union.

Anti-EU campaigners oppose the Irish 'backstop' because it could lock the UK into the EU Single Market and the Customs Union (see Q17). The DUP also oppose it because it (1) gives Northern Ireland a separate status from the rest of the UK and (2) could increase the pressure for Britain to break the unionist link in order to escape Single Market and Customs Union rules.

Q22. Isn't a second referendum the democratic way forward?

The people were told that the June 2016 EU referendum would enable them to decide whether the UK—as a whole—would remain in or leave the EU. That exercise in popular sovereignty saw the biggest vote in Britain's history.

Nobody proposed beforehand that the result could or should be ignored as merely 'advisory'.

The official campaigns on both sides put forward reactionary and dishonest arguments and the Remain side (which included the Tory government, most big City banks, the CBI and the Institute of Directors) outspent the Leave side by £19m to £13m (not counting the Tory government's £9m brochure).

Normal democratic practice is that the results of a mass vote should be implemented before a similar vote occurs again. No conditions were attached to the size of the turnout or the majority needed for this to happen.

According to the detailed Ashcroft analysis, the majority of—by any definition—working class, unemployed, anti-capitalist, English, Welsh, Jewish and Sikh voters favoured Leave.

The 'People's Vote' (or Losers' Vote) campaign is promoted by the same big business and political forces that bankrolled and organised the official

Remain campaign in the 2016 referendum.

Q23. Where does the Labour Party stand?

Labour's official policy is to leave the EU and negotiate a new 'customs union' that would retain all the alleged 'tariff-free trade' benefits of EU membership. But the EU would almost certainly insist on including the free movement of capital and super-exploited labour, while restricting the terms on which Britain could reach trade agreements with non-EU countries.

A majority of Labour MPs would prefer to remain in the EU or, failing that, to stay aligned with its Single Market and Customs Union via EFTA and the EEA.

They also argue that the EU could be reformed from within—but who by? Most social-democratic parties in Europe have lost much of their support, having long backed the EU and austerity policies. Labour currently opposes May's EU deal, claiming it jeopardises jobs, economic growth, future cooperation, etc., but also opposes a 'No Deal' exit on WTO rules.

While the Shadow Cabinet's official policy is to force the Tory government's resignation through Commons votes, leading to a General Election, many Labour MPs prefer one of the secondary options agreed at the 2018 party conference—a second referendum ('People's Vote')—in the hope that it will overturn the result of the first. Some Labour MPs support extending Article 50 and postponing Brexit Day in order to secure a new pro-EU deal or a second referendum.

Q24. What would be best for Britain's workers and peoples?

The left cannot base its strategy on a perspective of permanent defeat and right-wing rule in Britain. In its 2017 General Election manifesto, Labour put forward a raft of left and progressive policies to:

- Boost infrastructure investment with central bank credit ('People's Quantitative Easing').
- Support small business, cooperatives, R&D and innovation through national and regional investment and development banks.
- Direct corporate investment into distressed areas.
- Support public and social sector companies competing against private ones and promote public ownership of rail services, energy, water and the Royal Mail.
- Maintain public and private sector banking facilities in local communities.
- Pursue trade policies which safeguard rights and public services, subsidise exports and guarantee new jobs.
- Make public sector contracts conditional on tax compliance, trade union recognition, equal opportunities and training provision.
- Make employees the 'buyer of first refusal' when their company is put up for sale.

- Amend company law so directors have a legal duty to workers, customers, the environment and the public interest as well as to shareholders.
- End the exploitation of migrant labour and stop 'overseas-only' recruitment.
- Develop fair immigration rules to replace EU freedom of movement.
- Restrict VAT to its current range of goods and services.

These policies would almost certainly breach: the EU Stability & Growth Pact's borrowing and debt limits; ECJ rulings (see Q8); EU Directives on the railways, postal services, public sector procurement, 'posted' workers, VAT and the protection of shareholders and creditors; the Fourth Railway Package; the VAT Action Plan; and TFEU Articles 18 (against national discrimination), 20 and 21 (migration and residency rights), 28-30 (EU Customs Union and tariffs), 32 (EU Commission monopoly of trade negotiations), 37 (regulation state monopoly procurement), 45 and 46 (free movement of workers), 49 and 50 (right of establishment), 56 (freedom to provide services), 59 (liberalisation of services), 63 (free movement of capital), 101 (banning supplementary public sector contract conditions), 106 (protecting competition against state monopolies), 107 (restricting state aid to industry), 110 (banning tax discrimination against EU products), 113 (harmonisation of excise duties and turnover taxes) and 123 (banning central bank credit and bond purchases).

A left-led Labour government would face enough political and big business opposition from within and internationally, without becoming embroiled in an endless series of political and legal conflicts with EU treaties, rules and institutions.

Q25. Why a 'People's Brexit'?

The people have spoken

17.4 million electors rejected the scares that voting Leave would cause an immediate recession, mass unemployment, an emergency budget and a swing to the far right. Election results should be implemented—not cancelled by the losers in a second referendum.

Popular sovereignty not EU rule

Brexit reaffirms the right of the people to decide their own future. It provides the opportunity to return powers not only to Westminster but also to local government, regional assemblies and the Scottish and Welsh legislatures in a federal Britain.

General Election now!

The political crisis around Brexit shows how the Tory government and many MPs are out of touch and fundamentally hostile to popular sovereignty. A

General Election will provide the opportunity to elect a government that represents the interests and aspirations of working people and their families, including in negotiations on future relations with the EU.

For left and progressive policies

A left-led Labour government must be free from EU Single Market and Customs Union rules in order to introduce policies that serve the interests of the working class majority, not the capitalist few.

Invest to mend 'broken Britain'

The government in Britain must use money saved by leaving the EU—including some of the £39bn—to maintain the public spending levels in former EU programmes (to which the UK was a net contributor). EU rules and directives will no longer outlaw policies to promote infrastructure investment, manufacturing, economic planning, public ownership and regional development.

Full rights for all workers

Instead of the EU big business 'freedom' to super-exploit migrant workers, labour markets should be regulated by collective bargaining and progressive legislation. Equal rights are best protected by trade union strength, free from the anti-worker rulings of the EU Court of Justice.

No to a military, imperialist EU

Leaving the EU must also include Britain withdrawing completely from all the military structures and programmes authorised by the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon. Franco-German pressure for further armed forces integration underlines the danger of EU expansion and intervention having an openly military dimension.



THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

Under Corbyn's terms of successful leadership... the Labour Party must be able to... (text continues)

People's Assembly

The Campaign

NOT ENOUGH members supported the... (text continues)

Labour has asked to take a vote... (text continues)

Labour has asked to take a vote... (text continues)

The EU question will remain a... (text continues)

Millions of people on both sides of... (text continues)

The People's Assembly... (text continues)

Workers of all lands are already... (text continues)

It is time to take to the streets... (text continues)

High society
Even the Tory mind... (text continues)

Tories out! Election now!

BRITAIN'S REALITY

BRITAIN'S REALITY

MILKSHAKE. We know who actually... (text continues)

As they were, unemployment... (text continues)

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But it is not... (text continues)

With the neoliberal... (text continues)

The post-Tory... (text continues)

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Jeremy Corbyn

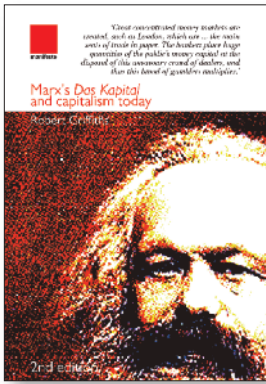
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Latin America analysed

The fifteen years after 1998 saw left-wing governments being elected across Latin America. Cuba's isolation was ended. Brazil joined with China, Russia and South Africa to challenge neo-liberal dominance in the WTO. Venezuela set up Bolivarian structures for economic cooperation across the subcontinent. The daily lives of working people were changed. Yet today right-wing and extreme right-wing regimes have been



installed across the subcontinent. While resistance continues, it is against the background of police repression, increasing material hardship and the loss of economic and civil rights. These two pamphlets seek to understand how this has happened and why left-wing governments were so quickly replaced.

Created by an editorial collective based around the Communist Party's International Commission
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A photograph of Jeremy Corbyn, a man with grey hair and a beard, wearing a dark suit jacket over a light blue shirt. He is smiling and raising his right fist in a gesture of solidarity. The background is plain white.

for Peace and Socialism

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Jeremy Corbyn

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