



AFGHANISTAN: DYING FOR AMERICA



JOURNAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

IF YOU WANT TO REBUILD BRITAIN, READ ON

WORKERS

CC Make it in Britain

INCREASING numbers of British people are expressing deep disquiet over the obscene amounts of foodstuffs imported into our country, which require transportation over huge distances, unnecessary air miles and wasteful consumption of fuel. They realise that most of these foods can be grown or produced here. Accordingly, calls to 'Grow it in Britain' are spreading – a welcome sign of the vital need for greater agricultural selfsufficiency if we are to secure reliable food supplies for our population and prevent any prospect of hunger.

Yet, bizarrely, a similar call to 'Make it in Britain' is rarely heard, even though arguably it is even more important to a national economy to have the capability of manufacturing products and industrial goods that are absolutely essential to daily life. For without a comprehensive network of industry, a nation is utterly dependent on others for survival and has no dignity or inner strength. Industry is essential to life, as capitalism is not known for its pity or altruism.

Everyone can see the fundamental changes that a massive growth in industry has brought to the economies of China, India, Brazil and others. Undoubtedly, the world working class has been strengthened. But why should we allow capitalism to develop industry in new regions at the expense of its destruction in older industrialised countries? If we want a future, there needs to be a resurrection of industry, manufacture and science here in Britain as well.

'Make it in Britain' must be raised within unions, workplaces, sectors and communities the length and breadth of the country. Perhaps to begin with, just advancing the idea is important because the demand must enter the mental fabric of our society. But as the British capitalist establishment has been pursuing a policy of deindustrialisation to weaken our class for a number of decades, we know the matter has to go beyond mere calling and requesting. We have to come up with practical ways of restoring industry that people can either implement or bring pressure to develop.

Here are a few ideas to start the ball rolling: Contest the supremacy of finance capital over industry. Protect the remnants of our industry: no more closures. Buy British in state and council contracts. Form new types of banks that support industrial reconstruction. Consciously impart or hand over skills to the younger generation. Audit as a trade union movement those products we no longer make. Plan to fill those industrial gaps. Form cooperatives as stop-gaps to restore particular manufacturing skills essential to a thriving national economy.

Put your thinking hats on: come up with ideas of your own: popularise them.

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Separatist setback

THE MARGIN of defeat for the Scottish National Party in the recent parliamentary election in northwest Glasgow has proved a setback for the separatist agenda of splitting Britain. The much trumpeted 'referendum on independence' is now on hold, with opinion turning against the exercise - especially as the capitalist collapse begins to bite with resultant closures and job losses.

However, with the lowest ever turnout in a parliamentary by-election (just over 32 per cent) the now moribund Labour Party hardly comes out of this with any credit. Their 74 years of control in the area has caused nothing but steady decline.

On analysis it appears that the slanderous accusation of "apathy" against the 67 per cent majority who did not vote for these discredited parliamentarians is highly inaccurate. The level of anger found during doorstep and high street campaigning was palpable and some of the largest and most vociferous tenants' actions and demonstrations in Scotland recently have emanated from this area of the city.

The long delays in the proposed demolition of the Hamiltonhill district of the constituency, for example, have caused decay, insecurity and ill health to hundreds of residents. The whole area has been blighted by high unemployment, which came in waves in the 1950s, 1960s and again under Thatcher.

It was once the home of renowned high-skill industries such as MacFarlane Engineering whose ornamental ironwork in bridges, fountains and gates were found around the world. The Hydepark Locomotive works and BREL Engineering had global reach - some of their steam trains are still to be seen in operation today in India and China. Many other suppliers, transport depots and smaller manufacturers crowded into the area.

Springburn and Possilpark became synonymous with a hard working, tough, unsubdued industrial working class culture. That once proud, skilled and cultured community had most of its life crushed out of it in the last five decades - social work students of the mid seventies studied what they were told was the 'most socially deprived area in Europe'.

A BBC 2 documentary famously slandered the area in the early 1980s as the "heroin capital of Britain". What remains now, in the minds of those there who have not succumbed to total despair, is a bitter resentment and simmering hatred of the system that caused this - and of its representatives.

If you have news from your industry, trade or profession we want to hear from you. Call us or fax on 020 8801 9543 or e-mail to rebuilding@workers.org.uk

TRADE GAP

'Unexpected' widening



BRITAIN'S GLOBAL goods trade deficit "unexpectedly" widened in September to its worst since the start of the year as surging imports outpaced the growth in exports.

The Office for National Statistics said that September's goods trade deficit was £7.2 billion, up from £6.1 billion in August. City economists had expected the figure to be unchanged. They got it wrong again.

Deterioration in the trade balance was largely due to the government's car scrappage scheme, unsurprisingly, causing a rise in car imports, which rose by 30 per cent.

Britain's goods trade gap with countries outside the EU also widened "unexpectedly" to £3.8 billion from £3.1 billion in August. Analysts had forecast a deficit of £3 billion.

The total trade deficit, which includes the traditional surplus in services trade, widened to $\pounds 3.5$ billion – the worst since August 2008.

EUROBRIEFS

The latest from Brussels

Watch my lips

BEFORE THE last election Conservatives, Labour and Liberal-Democrats promised a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. There's no sign that will happen.

In 2007 David Cameron wrote, "...a Conservative government will hold a referendum on any EU treaty that emerges from these negotiations." He repeated the promise last May, adding that they would also pass a law requiring a referendum to approve any further transfers of power to the EU and negotiate the return of powers to Britain.

Now Cameron says that the time for a referendum has passed, but he makes another promise to hold a referendum on any future treaty. He says there would be "full parliamentary control" over the self-amending and 'ratchet' clauses in the Lisbon Treaty. But he knows full well that Treaty ends all national and democratic controls over European Union bodies.

Chop, chop

THE EUROPEAN Commission is telling Britain to cut the budget deficit down from a prospective 12 per cent of GDP to 3 per cent by 2014-15. That would mean about £25 billion in spending cuts and tax rises every year.

The European Commission has also demanded that RBS and Lloyds sell off branches, causing 3,700 job losses.

Plans to build a ten-mile tidal barrage across the River Severn that could generate up to 5 per cent of Britain's electricity are likely to be shelved under a government cost-cutting drive.

The EU's Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS) costs Britain £16.4 billion a year. The EU now wants to fund its £110 billion annual budget through "green taxes". ETS would become a direct tax, increasing the burden on each British family from £117 to £658 a year.

Meanwhile, Treasury figures show that British taxpayers are funding child benefit payments of over £20 million for 37,900 children who live in Poland, while one or both of their parents live and work here in Britain. The payouts come despite government assurances that migrants from new EU member states would not immediately be eligible for most benefits.



The NUJ conference in Southport this month, where the main themes were resistance to job losses – including via outsourcing and offshoring, the fight for quality, and press freedom. The union also took steps to remain solvent in the face of financial pressure.

Grow it in Britain

ON SATURDAY 14 November more than 150 people crowded into the hall of the secondary school in Todmorden, West Yorkshire, to celebrate the town's two years' effort towards growing and eating local produce. Most of the participants were local; some from the North West and a few from further afield, including London.

The original project started very small and now involves virtually every organisation in Todmorden, including every local school, the health centre, the fire station and Pennine social housing, among others. Thirty-two small local egg producers have formed themselves into a network supplying eggs to the Todmorden market, where demand exceeds supply.

The first local cheese has been produced and is also sold at the town market. Initially a few fruit trees were planted; there are now hundreds, rising to over 1000 next year with a local apple press to make juice. The local authority in Calderdale is supporting the project by providing a "licence to grow" to anyone who identifies underused council land and is prepared to grow food on it.

The enthusiasm at the conference was palpable. Many of the participants introduced themselves with the phrase "I am not a grower but..." and then went on to describe how they contributed to the project by helping with education, marketing materials, maintaining the website etc.

The project has now set itself the ambitious target of making Todmorden selfsufficient in food by 2018. Participants described the raised beds at the railway station, the schools, the health centre, in the gardens of derelict premises and so on as "propaganda gardens". They know that a series of raised beds do not feed a town of 17,000 people. So how are they going to meet their target?

Local farmers (egg producers aside) were not a major feature of the conference. Many may be sole workers on their farms and could not be at a conference. To make a living they are probably sending their produce to a distribution centre outside the area, while local supermarkets will be buying in produce from overseas.

But if people truly aim for the target and demand changes, watch this space. From the floor of the conference a question was asked: "If we can grow our own and reducing food miles is a good thing, then why can't we extend the idea to making other things we need in this country?" The top tip from those currently involved in the project was "don't ask anyone for permission, just do it." It was a very refreshing day.

PAY

The norm is...nothing

FOR THE FIRST time in the history of the IRS EMPLOYMENT REVIEW's analysis of pay settlements the median pay award for 2008-2009 has resulted in zero being the norm.

In other words, a pay freeze except for

financial services ran through the majority of settlements in 2008-09. Of the employers surveyed, 25 per cent indicate that they have not decided on possible pay offers for 2010, but that they are again likely to make no offer on pay.

There is some indication of a 2 per cent median for others. Pay freezes are indicated across the public sector by all politicians for 2011.

Teachers attack licence plan

THE NATIONAL Union of Teachers is urging its members to send messages of opposition to the Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families over the issue of teacher licensing. The union is highlighting the insincerity of the government as it fails to provide additional funding for teachers' continuing professional development.

The government's plans, outlined in a White Paper, will require teachers to be relicensed every five years from September 2010 – despite the fact that there is no shortage of accountability measures against which teachers are judged. These include performance management, inspections by Ofsted, capability procedures, school league tables, local authority interventions and performance-related pay.

"Teachers already face a raft of accountability measures from initial teaching training, performance management and Ofsted inspections," said NUT General Secretary Christine Blower. With so many hoops already for teachers to jump through, the climate of constant surveillance is already having a negative impact on teachers being creative or taking risks. Moreover, the licence is to be approved by head teachers – hardly reassuring when in many schools it has been established that a "bully" culture is operated, instead of a genuine educational leadership. Objectivity and impartiality are unlikely to be dominant in the licensing process in many schools.

Obviously, this bureaucratic proposal will provoke internecine strife, but the reason for its introduction lies in the government's fear of teacher professionalism. It is yet another attempt to curtail, curb and restrict teacher confidence; another effort to police the profession by adding another dose of uncertainty and anxiety to the educational landscape.

INDUSTRY

Government 'has no plan'

ROLLS-ROYCE CHIEF executive Sir John Rose has attacked successive British governments for their lack of industrial strategy at a meeting of the Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in London on 10 November – where, in the past, issues such as the nationalisation of the railways and the digging of the Channel tunnel were first raised.

"What we need is a clear education, industrial and energy strategy" that makes Britain an exporter of goods rather than an importer, he said. "We must stop hiding behind the myth that Britain is a post-

TRANSPORT East London bus strike

BUS DRIVERS employed by East London Bus Group were on strike for 48 hours on 20 to 22 November, affecting 58 bus routes across east London and the City.

Members of Unite are protesting against the freezing of drivers' wages by the company – a slap in the face as it coincides with the announcement of sharp rises in bus and tube fares by London mayor Boris Johnson.

London bus fares will rise by an average of 12.7 per cent from January 2010 while the drivers are told they must make do with nothing.

The union, representing 2,400 of the

industrial economy as if that was a praiseworthy ambition."

He had a pointed question about government policy for the energy industry in particular: "...do we mean we want the UK to be the biggest manufacturer of wind turbines or the biggest importer or subsidiser of them?"

Critical of the view in government that "other less fortunate countries could get on with the business of making things", he pointed out that India and China will not be satisfied with low-cost manufacturing for long, and are already investing in highvalue energy, infrastructure and defence projects.

"We should be shocked by the speed with which our competitors are moving up the value chain."

company's 2,600 workers, said it would do "what is necessary to secure the decent increases that our members seek". Pickets were out in force at affected garages, including Barking, Bow, Leyton, Romford, Upton Park and West Ham, and the mood was angry.

Unite regional secretary Steve Hart said: "We cannot tolerate pay freezes for these low-paid workers. Our preference is always for negotiation but we take strike action where necessary. Our negotiators and shop stewards have gone the extra mile to reach agreements, but across London many public transport employers are refusing to realistically negotiate."

The latest 48-hour strike follows the drivers' earlier 24-hour strike on 9 November.

EUROPEAN UNION

Rule by the unelected



IN A PROCEDURE apparently copied from the Vatican for choosing a Pope, 27 people in Brussels have chosen who is to fill the two biggest jobs in the EU. The 500 million citizens they are supposed to represent had no say. These posts will carry the huge, open-ended powers given them by the Lisbon Treaty/Constitution.

Never again will the EU's leaders need to risk calling a referendum. Never again will the EU's leaders need to show their hand by passing a treaty.

Herman Van Rompuy, the new EU President, has the most federalist agenda of the EU's leaders, which is why they chose him. He is a Flemish-speaking member of the centre-right Christian Democrat party, who secured Belgium's entry into the eurozone. He will be paid £320,000, making him one of the highestpaid leaders in the world, and will pay just 25 per cent income tax. He will have a staff of 22 press officers, assistants and administrators, and ten security agents. And he will have access to a £5 million reserve fund to dip into as his job 'develops'.

Baroness Ashton, the new EU Foreign Minister, has never been elected to anything in her life. She steered the Lisbon Treaty through the House of Lords, cancelling the referendum on it that all three parties had promised. Brown then appointed her to the European Commission, to avoid a by-election. She will have a staff of 7,000 diplomats and will get a salary of \leq 216,000, an annual entertainment allowance of \leq 11,000 and an annual accommodation allowance of \leq 32,500.

This is an attack on democracy, especially on British democracy. The EU has revealed its true face by forcing on us these two unelected, unaccountable, unrepresentative rulers. Why do we allow our country to be ruled by this foreign dictatorship?

The fight for Cadbury

THE BATTLE for domination of chocolate and confectionery sales and production worldwide is under way with a hostile takeover bid by the US Kraft Corporation for the 195-year-old British company Cadbury. Under Stock Exchange takeover rules the 60-day window for hostile bids has started, with Kraft lodging the £10.2 billion offer, lifted from their September suggested figure of £9.8 billion.

The latest offer is expected to lift the share price to 820p. Cadbury is resisting, but has already indicated something in the region of 850p per share would be acceptable. Its resistance is driven solely by shareholder greed, not principle or loyalty.

All that is relevant to Cadbury is the share price, not the 195 years of history of the British company, the Quaker principles behind it, or the employment of over 1,000 workers.

The hostile bid comes from two key US corporate raiders who hold significant shares in Kraft – Warren Buffet, the second wealthiest man in the world, and Nelson Peltz, also a billionaire. In the past two years they have overseen takeovers of key brand names worth billions of dollars – Coca Cola, Wrigley, Budweiser, Proctor and Gamble, Stella Artois etc. Recession needn't be a bad thing if you are a predator.

Global ambitions

With the move on Cadbury, Kraft is trying to become the world market leader in confectionery, ahead of Mars and the Hershey–Nestlé alliance. Chocolate sales to China alone are worth \$450 million (\$50 million to Cadbury, \$400 million to Kraft), to Russia \$1 billion (\$800 million Kraft, \$200 million Cadbury). Cadbury has a \$50 million market penetration of the US franchised via Hershey but then dominates in the former British Empire. Monopoly and profit dominate the worldwide machinations and manoeuvres of these companies.

The independence and retention of Britishfounded, British-based and sovereign confectionery business is vital in the context of retaining industrial structure, and social structure epitomised in jobs, training, skill and identity.

Kraft has promised the Unite union that if it takes over Cadbury it will keep open the Keynsham plant near Bristol and expand investment in the West Midlands Cadbury factories. Cadbury planned to close Keynsham and move production to Poland, threatening 500 jobs. But Kraft is also looking for £600 million savings from the merger with the Cadbury group.

When Kraft took over Terry's it broke its promises and closed the York factory, transferring work to Eastern Europe in 2005. Why should anyone believe any promises from Kraft when Cadbury's original business plan was to do exactly the same and move all except the West Midlands production to Poland? And when Nestlé took over Rowntree it cut the workforce from 33,000 to 3,000 and moved production abroad.

Are we to continue as cannon fodder for the banks?

Finance capital isn't working

MOST PEOPLE do not believe what they are being told about the state of the economy in Britain, if recent polls are anything to go by. It's hardly surprising given the different stories we are being sold and the variety of cures that are proposed. Blame has been laid at the door of a global recession from which there was no escape, too much personal credit, a US recession, bankers, bonuses, lack of regulation, politicians etc. But recessions don't come out of thin air.

There has been a running battle between the two wings of British capitalism for over a century, between manufacturing and finance. Of course, manufacturing always needed the finance capitalists to lend for investment and to oil the wheels of burgeoning industry and commerce. The limited liability joint stock company helped break the bounds of small-scale production by pooling the riches of individuals into the massive investment needed for the Industrial Revolution. The banks provided essential credit, a secure deposit, a safe currency, the means of settling bills, and of exchanging currencies. That was how it was.

But some finance capitalists thought that money could be made by wizardry with money alone, without manufacture and commerce. Marx ridiculed these finance capitalists, pointing out that wealth is created only through labour and not through finance. But the finance capitalists seemed to have won the argument, building their castles in the air, making London a centre of finance capitalism and putting British manufacturing into decline. This led eventually to the development of "financial products", the demutualisation of building societies and the creation of a so-called "finance industry".

Packaging up the sub prime

A good example of how it works is the packaging up of sub prime mortgages into "financial products" – which led to the current economic crisis. Some years ago, the banks had difficulty in lending all the money they had access to, even by offering cheaper credit and mortgages. So they began lending to "sub prime" borrowers, mainly people who could not be expected to repay these mortgages. They then repackaged these debts as "collateralised loan obligations", CLOs, to sell on. Never mind that the collateral (the houses mortgaged) was overvalued. Finance capital was trying to turn the base metal of sub prime into the gold of profit.

How did they do it? They would first set up a separate company that would borrow, say, £900 million at low interest rates from, typically, insurance companies and pension funds. They would add £100 million of their own money and then the company would buy £1 billion of sub prime mortgages from the original bank. The mortgages would bring in income of £80 million a year, which was more than the £54 million p.a. they would pay in interest to the insurance companies and the pension funds from which they borrowed the money. This meant a profit of £26 million a year, or 26 per cent on their own investment, which was a very good return. From these returns, the bankers paid themselves five figure salaries and multimillion pound bonuses. It was a short-term bonanza based on assets expected to crash in value sooner or later.

The CLO companies, which were not banks and therefore were not regulated, then sold on these repackaged mortgages to others keen to get in on the bonanza. From 2003 British financial institutions piled into this gravy train, too good to be true, through their US subsidiaries who



The Bank of England: it was Gordon Brown's faith in the City that led him to take control of the banking system away from it in 1997.

put billions into CLOs. Because the CLOs were not part of a bank, these transactions were all off balance sheet. The credit rating agencies gave CLOs the highest ratings, AAA.

By 2005 there was £600 billion in these rivers of cash that flowed through Wall Street and the City of London, eventually peaking at £3 trillion – and all dependent on the least credit-worthy borrowers whose purchases had been made in a greatly inflated property market.

The rest is now history. As interest rates increased, mortgage holders defaulted and the bubble burst. CLOs lost value and collapsed, banks collapsed, pension funds and insurance companies lost billions overnight, banks would not lend to manufacturing industry or each other. Any business dependent on borrowing would collapse. The effects rippled out to unconnected industries.

This is simply one example of how finance capitalism works, just like defying gravity. And they were at it again. The same finance capitalists came up with another "moneymaking" scheme, the Credit Default Swap (CDS).

By mid 2007 there was \$45 trillion invested in CDSs, more than twice the size of the US Stock Market at the time. This was finance capitalism still at the roulette table with another pyramid selling scheme, another wheeze. But this is exactly what finance capitalism is all about. It makes nothing, it contributes nothing socially and it is like a giant bloodsucker on the back of workers.

In 1997, the Bank of England controlled the banks and banking system. That year, Gordon Brown, then the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, took that control away and shared it among the Treasury, the Financial Services Authority and the Bank. No one body had any real control. Welcome to the world of "light touch regulation".

This was the first action of a new Labour government that British people elected to end the days of Thatcher's Tories who had devastated the country in the name of finance capitalism. Labour simply made it easier for them.

Labour's bail-out

Not only did Labour make it easier for finance capitalism. When it collapsed, they used our money to bail them out and then told us that we would have to pay with job cuts, pay cuts and cuts in public services for the subsequent debt created .

Adding insult to injury, the government now intends to sell off the profitable section of nationalised Northern Rock and leave us with the toxic debts. If you ask why France and Germany have come out of recession before Britain, the answer is that they are not so dependent on finance capitalism and invest more in manufacturing.

That there is anger among British workers is an understatement. Anyone who can see and understand what has happened, and what will continue to happen, wants something done about it.

Brown and Darling call in vain on bankers not to take their bonuses, talk of a tax on transactions, talk of breaking up banks into proper banks and casino banks, but say they can do nothing without international agreement. Why? Because if we're beastly to the bankers in Britain, they will leave.

So what? This gets to the nub of the problem. Do we want British workers to continue to be the cannon fodder for finance capitalism? This is the system that has robbed us of our pensions, our savings, our jobs, our pay and conditions, our sovereignty and in many cases our homes.

The answer has to be NO. A government that speaks for Britain would end the nation's dependence on finance capitalism by taking unilateral national action against it. Outlaw casino banking and let them go to the US if they whinge. Make them repay our money first, whether by tax, sequestration or nationalisation. Create a banking system as a public service instead of milking cow for finance capital. Re-mutualise those banks that were Building Societies. Instruct the banks to invest in manufacturing and create a new industrial revolution.

For sure, a government that speaks for Britain would not be a Labour or a Tory one. There has never been a time when the case for workers taking matters into their own hands, taking control, has been so obvious. Who else is going to do it? Unison has made an agreement with a predatory US union over recruiting members in three companies in Britain. It should tell the US union to go home...

Trade unionism, colonialist style

THE US Central Intelligence Agency must be splitting their sides with laughter as Unison enters into working agreements with the US "trade union" Service Employees International Union (SEIU) to recruit members in three private companies in Britain.

Non-union members in Aramak, Sodexo and Compass are to be targeted but with Unison staff being "retrained" in SEIU happy clappy mantra-chanting mindless rabble-rousing techniques. The totally different contractual arrangements, industrial relations legislation, representational structures, labour traditions, working class history and generic development between the US and British unions are ignored. The SEIU is invited into Unison as displacement activity by a directionless, squabbling and indecisive Unison leadership.

The SEIU is viewed in the US as a predator, employer collaborationist, corporatist, undemocratic organisation sponsoring "business unionism" in the interests of anyone but their members. They haven't always been seen that way but this has been the model since 2005. In 2005 the SEIU's claim to fame was in splitting the US Trade Union Congress – the AFL-CIO.

Splitting

Though the AFL-CIO has long been viewed by many as Mafia and infiltrated by US security services, splitting US trade union density of roughly 10 per cent down the middle contributed nothing to advancing trade unionism or working class interests.

The SEIU claims to be organising their way to huge growth in recent years. But that growth has only come from raiding other trade unions, mergers bordering on shotgun weddings and sweetheart deals with the employers. It's a similar growth strategy to that pursued, but in a very British way, by ASTMS, MSF, the EETPU in the past and now by Unite.

The SEIU had a similar working arrangement with the Transport and General Workers Union before that union merged with Amicus to become Unite. The "There has always been a need for international trade union solidarity, as capital is international. But it has also always been available as a handy diversion..."

SEIU was shown the door when its real takeover strategy became apparent. The SEIU is referred to as a "colonialist trade union" by opponents in the States or even better the "Ryanair" of the trade union movement by wags in Britain.

Unite Here, a US competitor trade union to SEIU, entered into a similar arrangement with SEIU to recruit the same three companies' staff in the US only to find the SEIU was not trying to recruit but to poach its members. Unite Here has written to Unison's national executive council warning of the dangers epitomised by the SEIU. They also highlight that every US trade union that left the AFL-CIO (the US's TUC) in the SEIU-orchestrated sectarian split has now returned to the AFL-CIO. Watch out Unison – ignore this warning at your peril!

There has always been a need for international trade union solidarity, as capital is international. But it has also always been available as a handy diversion. For some, any excuse will do for being somewhere else rather than delivering the business at home. For others, solidarity is corrupted into an excuse to stick your oar in other people's business, to patronise and proffer pearls of wisdom.

When the SEIU set out to undermine the national strike of teachers in Puerto Rico, a US colony, it created a totally artificial organisation with the aim of representing teachers' interests. It was sent scurrying home by the victorious teachers' action, exposing its collaborationist and corporatist behaviour.

The SEIU is doing the same across the States to unions with hundreds of thousands of members, business unionism undermining generic, indigenous local and state organisation, which has questioned or challenged SEIU corporatism. Sections of the SEIU are being closed down using anti-union US labour legislation, fraternal unions with contractual rights being undermined by similar use of National Labour Relations Boards decisions. In California the reaction to the undemocratic practices of the SEIU has seen the defection of the SEIU's flagship branch, United Healthcare Workers-West, with 80,000 workers petitioning to be allowed to join the new National Union of Healthcare Workers - a petition drawn up, signed and delivered in less than one month.

Pack your bags

Those who want exchange trips to the USA and import US "organisers" and gurus over here, parrot US organising techniques and psycho-babble, should pack their bags and move to the States. We do not need the SEIU in Britain.

The reasons for the continuing decline of trade union membership, relevance, influence and purpose will not be found in some quick fix from abroad, in a tick box exercise wheeze or a buzz word. They lie in the undermining of our industries, in our offices, in our workplaces. They lie in the destruction of industry and work, in fragmentation of class and identity. The answers lie in our own heads and hands and in building a new class unity.

We do not need a turf war fought across the British trade unions by competing US trade unions with their "attack" websites, disinformation, cold calling of members with pre-recorded campaign messages, raiding of fraternal unions, collaboration with the employers to sack trade union activists and so forth. The message is very simple: Yankee go home and take your "trade unionism" with you! Capitalism depends on us. But the reverse is not true. Indeed, unless we strike out on our own we will never have what we want...

Why workers need to run Britain



EVER SINCE Thatcher, governments here have thought they had "picked a winner", the City of London as a whole. How does the City operate? Low interest rates enable City traders to borrow cheap, lend dear and hedge the risk, encouraging easy loans and reckless lending, creating housing and credit bubbles.

It's money for old rope. Leverage and the bull market, not fund management genius, brought the hedge funds' success. Their customers paid very high fees for very low performance. The hedge funds' big con was packaging default risk so they could sell it – they said – without risk: the market would magic the risk away! Then they put these dodgy deals into shell companies, mostly based in the Cayman Islands, to shift the deals off the books. (Try telling the taxman that your income is "off the books"!)

But cuts in interest rates do not make economies grow. Businesses borrow when they can make money, not because interest rates are low. All the City's gambling does not create wealth: only labour creates wealth – finance capital just seizes its profits from the great streams of wealth, our wealth, our savings and pensions, flowing through the financial markets.

They need us

The City depends on us, not vice versa. As Karl Marx wrote in DAS KAPITAL, "Gain and loss through fluctuations in the prices of these titles of ownership [stocks and shares]...become, by their very nature, more and more a matter of gamble, which appears to take the place of labour as the original method of acquiring capital wealth."

Free movement of capital aids corruption, just as free movement of labour aids people trafficking. The profits from moving illegal gains from graft and corruption, and from tax avoidance, are major revenue sources for banks. Capital only operates freely in Britain and, it seems, Haiti. Note, if trade liberalisation and spending cuts brought wealth, Haiti would be the richest country in the world.

The state imports low-paid immigrant labour to keep wages low and to rob other countries of their skilled labour. Around 80 per cent of new jobs in the private sector have gone to migrants from Eastern Europe "keeping wages down", as the

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Adam Smith Institute noted approvingly.

What's the government doing? Gordon Brown buried the Cruickshank report urging curbs on profiteering. He sank a plan to encourage new investment in industry. He saved the tax havens like the Cayman Islands and the "off the books" banks. He refuses to stop banks gambling our money away in the stock market. He opposes even the tiniest tax on the \$1000 trillion annual trade in currencies. He bought the banks' debts as dearly as possible, so as not to hurt them, whatever the cost to us, running up huge debts and printing money, to save the banks. He put private debt into public hands.

We are not a property-owning democracy but a debt-owning plutocracy. Bankers run Britain. The bail-outs are part of capital's war on the working class.

What are the prospects? What do the bankers say? After Wall Street collapsed in 1929, Harvard University's Economics Society said, "A serious depression like that of 1920-21 is outside the range of probability." The Society kept on predicting recovery, until it sadly went bankrupt two years later.

Boom and bust

In 2005 a book was published with the title, WHY THE REAL ESTATE BOOM WILL NOT BUST AND HOW YOU CAN PROFIT FROM IT. The International Monetary Fund said in 2006, "The dispersion of credit risk by banks to a broader and more diverse set of investors ... has helped to make the banking and overall financial system more resilient" ensuring "fewer bank failures".

Gordon Brown told us in June 2007 that deregulating Britain's banks would bring "the beginning of a new golden age", that growth was "expected to be stronger this year than last and stronger next year than this. We will succeed if like London we think globally ... advance with lighttouch regulation, a competitive tax environment and flexibility". The government forecast last year that the economy would start to recover this summer.

Now the National Institute of Economic

"The government forecast last year that the economy would start to recover this summer..."

and Social Research tells us that the recession is over, so there's no problem, job done, we can end the discussion now. Although, it also tells us that unemployment will carry on rising well into next year and that "there may well be a period of stagnation now, with output rising in some months and falling in others; the end of the recession should not be confused with a return to normal conditions." In the real world, investment between April and June was down by 18.4 per cent on last year, the biggest fall for 40 years. The OECD forecast a 4.7 per cent fall in Britain's GDP this year, far worse than in any other advanced country.

What do we need to do?

John Maynard Keynes wrote in 1933, "Advisable domestic policies might often be easier to compass, if, for example, the phenomenon known as 'the flight of capital' could be ruled out. ... I sympathise, therefore, with those who would minimise rather than maximise economic entanglement between nations. Ideas, knowledge, art, hospitality and travel these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be homespun whenever it is reasonably and conveniently possible; above all let finance be primarily national. ... the retention of the structure of private enterprise is incompatible with that degree of material well-being to which our technical advancement entitles us ... economic internationalism embracing the free movement of capital and of loanable funds as well as of traded goods may condemn this country for a generation to come to a much lower degree of material prosperity than could be attained under a different system."

Keynes is often described as a liberal, but calling for "a different system" doesn't <image>

sound much like the modern Liberal Party. Keynes said that we needed "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment". But he breezed over how to do this. How could we socialise investment without taking power from the capitalist class?

Imports

THE OBSERVER recently quoted an investment banker, no less, who said, "Many industries are so big and important that long-term, central planning is essential." The chap who used to be the World Bank's chief economist, Joseph Stiglitz, agrees: "development ... requires long-term thinking and planning." So we need to think and plan. Stiglitz also says that imports destroy jobs. So we need to control imports.

Stiglitz points out that "migration of unskilled labor leads to lower wages for unskilled workers in the developed world". So we need to control immigration.

He notes that "the European Central Bank pursues a monetary policy that, while it may do wonders for bond markets

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EAVE NOW, DO THE RIGHT THING

to: Communications Workers Union members on strike during July.

by keeping inflation low and bond prices high, has left Europe's growth and employment in shambles." So we don't need the EU's Central Bank. The Maastricht Treaty, which set up the Bank, prevents EU governments from investing for recovery.

What are we to do? All too often, people agree with Thatcher and say there's no alternative. But there is and it's blindingly obvious - an economy based on making here the goods we want, an economy with jobs for all who can work, an economy with decent, well-funded services, an economy that educates and apprentices young people, an economy where resources are invested not gambled away, an economy where labour uses capital and industry uses banks, not vice versa, an economy based on equity and cooperation.

We need to develop all our energy industries. We need coal (we have 200 years' worth left), oil, gas, wind, solar, tidal e.g. the Severn barrage, nuclear power, and energy conservation measures,

new technologies like carbon capture and storage (which power stations in Canada and Germany are using already).

Some people disparage coal, but our civilisation is built on fossil fuels. It has been said, "With coal we have light, strength, power, wealth, and civilisation; without coal we have darkness, weakness, poverty and barbarism."

The Institution of Chemical Engineers says that we must quickly replace our aging nuclear plants. We should demand that British workers using British technology build the new generation of nuclear power stations, not a French firm using east European labour. British workers should be doing all the work preparing for the Olympics.

Make it in Britain

We should be demanding that all that we need to build our new high-speed rail network be made in Britain, with Britishmade steel and British-constructed rolling stock. We should be building decent-sized new houses, with good insulation and domestic solar heating. We should involve unemployed young workers in all these projects, alongside skilled workers who can pass on their skills. In Chicago, trade union organisers marched skilled, jobless workers to building sites and demanded jobs. If site managers refused, the workers shut them down. In three years, they won jobs for 455 workers.

We could fund the work by using the state's controlling interest in RBS, Lloyds and Northern Rock to form a new investment bank. All these proposals could and should become demands of the trade unions in those industries and of the TUC.

To survive, capitalism must have free movement of capital, goods and labour. So for workers to survive, we must plan to stop the export of capital, control imports and control our borders. We need our troops in Dover not in Afghanistan. We need capital and trade controls to rebuild and protect our national industry. For this, we must have national independence and sovereignty. For Britain's sake, workers need to run Britain.

Not for the first time in its history, Afghanistan is turning into a well. The killings will go on until British troops are withdrawn...

No end in sight as Afghan adventure turns



US troops on patrol in Afghanistan, September 2009.

THE BRITISH state's war politics are crumbling under the pressure of reality. The British working class opposes the war: in the recent YouGov poll, 73 per cent want troops to be withdrawn from Afghanistan now or within the next year or so. That figure rose to 77 per cent in London. (THE GUARDIAN headlined this as "35% believe troops should come home.")

When asked, Should British troops be brought home from Afghanistan? 35 per cent said yes – all troops should be withdrawn immediately. 38 per cent said yes – most troops should be withdrawn soon, and the rest within the next year or so, and 20 per cent said no – British troops should remain in Afghanistan as long as Afghanistan's government wants them there. 10 per cent didn't know. If our TV companies changed their policy of never showing the effects of NATO bombing, even more of us would oppose the war. When asked, Do you think British troops are winning the war with the Taliban in Afghanistan, or not? 5 per cent replied yes, the British troops are winning. 28 per cent replied no – they are not winning yet, but victory is possible eventually, and 57 per cent said no – they are not winning, and victory is not possible. 10 per cent didn't know.

The US working class has also turned against the war. A majority of Americans now believe that the war is "not worth fighting". 57 per cent oppose the war; only 26 per cent support the idea of sending more troops.

In all NATO member countries, the working class majority opposes deployment, not, as the BBC tells us, because they 'do not understand' the state's case for intervention, but because they oppose it.

The Afghan war began as the US ruling class's revenge for the 11 September 2001 attacks, but it was a fraud, because not a single Afghan was involved in the attacks. The ruling Taliban had no quarrel with the USA and were dealing with the Clinton administration over a strategic pipeline. They offered to apprehend Osama Bin Laden and hand him over to a clerical court, but Clinton rejected this offer.

The main reason for the war is to establish a permanent US/NATO presence in a strategic region. British troops are there because Washington wants it.

Casualties

NATO military fatalities are rising every year. British military casualties, dead and wounded, are rising too: 1,442 in 2007, 1,857 in 2008 and 1,982 so far in 2009.

The war has caused the deaths of even greater numbers of Afghan civilians. These figures are less precise because the USA "doesn't do body-counts" any more. But somewhere between 9,260 and 12,057 have died as a direct result of

killing ground for British troops – and for Afghan civilians as

into a fully fledged disaster

the war, only about a third of them as a result of insurgent actions.

The indirect death count is much harder to estimate, but is considered to be between 3,200 and 20,000. Taking direct and indirect deaths together, it is estimated that somewhere between 12,460 and 32,057 Afghan civilians have been killed as a result of the war.

2008 saw the highest number of civilian casualties so far. 2,118 are reported to have been killed. This is almost 40 per cent up on 2007, when 1,523 people were killed. In the first half of 2009, there were 1013 civilian deaths, 24 per cent up from 818 in the first half of 2008. There were 684 in the first half of 2007.

The USAF and RAF continue their lethal air attacks. For example, on 4 September 2009, a US airstrike called in by German troops killed as many as 90 people, most of them civilians, in northern Kunduz province. The US denied that any of those killed were women and children, until confronted with the evidence.

Claims

Some, like Lord Ashdown, resurrect the discredited domino theory and say that if Afghanistan is "lost", then Pakistan will be next. Others say that our troops are there to stem the flow of drugs to Britain.

But as a "concerned member of the Royal Marines" wrote from Exeter, "If the government is worried about drugs ending up on UK streets, then why don't we spend the billions of pounds currently being wasted in Afghanistan to protect and increase security on our own borders? At least we'd have less people being killed!"

Tighter border controls certainly would be a great idea. But some call for increased surveillance of Muslim communities, and this would give even more powers to the increasingly repressive state, which could then be used against the entire working class.

Some claim that NATO forces will bring democracy, education, health and women's rights to Afghanistan. NATO forces have had eight years to achieve this and have failed. If the Afghans want these good things, they will have to win them themselves.

Brown tells us that the troops are there 'to keep the British people safe'. This is like President Johnson's claim, "We have to stop the communists over there [Vietnam] or we'll soon be fighting them in California." By refusing to bring the troops home, Brown may well provoke another atrocity here; the recent Old Bailey trial made that clear and his own security adviser has told him this publicly.

In polls in 2001 and 2004, 59 per cent of us rightly said that attacking Afghanistan would make terrorist acts in Britain more likely. Only 3 per cent agreed with Blair that it would make us safer. The bombs of 7 July 2005 showed who was right. This counter-productive war makes us less safe.

There are already 68,000 US soldiers, 9,000 British and 23,000 other NATO troops in Afghanistan. General Stanley McChrystal, the US commander overseeing the war, wants 40,000 more troops. Despite the addition of 21,000 NATO troops in March, the Taliban have continued to make gains across Afghanistan, disrupting at least 40 per cent of the country. US casualties have risen sharply in the four months since McChrystal took over, to 165, nearly onefifth of those killed during the entire war.

The Brown government has offered another 500 British troops and has given its support to McChrystal's 'new strategy'. 44 per cent of Afghans want fewer foreign forces; just 18 per cent want more, but what Afghans want doesn't count for NATO.

General McChrystal also wants another trillion dollars to be spent in this Vietnamlike quagmire. Spending on the war has risen rapidly, from \$2 billion in October 2008 to \$6.7 billion in June 2009, and President Obama has requested \$65 billion for 2010, even without more troops being sent.

In Iraq, there were 8,315–9,028 civilian deaths in 2008. This compares to 25,774–27,599 deaths reported in 2006 and 22,671–24,295 in 2007. There have been

"Somewhere between 9,260 and 12,057 have died as a direct result of the war, only about a third of them as a result of insurgent actions..."

between 93,897 and 102,451 violent civilian deaths during and since the 2003 invasion. This count includes noncombatants killed by military or paramilitary action and those killed due to the breakdown in civil security following the invasion. The US casualty count is nearing 4,500 dead and 30,000 wounded.

US forces are still occupying Iraq. Why should 117,000 American soldiers stay there until 2011 in a war costing the USA 20 dead and \$12 billion every month? Colonel Timothy Reese, an adviser to the Iraqi senior military command, says that it is time "for the US to declare victory and bring our combat forces home." The same goes for Afghanistan.

President Karzai may well be a corrupt autocrat. But this is a matter for the Afghan people to resolve. It is no business of ours whether Afghanistan is run by a corrupt autocracy or by a relatively clean democracy. If NATO troops were to stay until Afghanistan is democratic and not corrupt, they will stay for a very long time.

There is no military solution, no solution from outside at all. The only solution is for the Afghan people to take responsibility for running their own country, in their own interests, according to their own needs. NATO forces are not winning, they can't win, they won't win and they shouldn't win.

The US state is isolated, exposed and weak. Its economy is failing and its wars are failing. It now depends on its NATO allies, especially on Britain's ruling class. The British working class could end this war tomorrow, if we insisted on pulling our troops out now. It was the world's first financial bubble, and at the centre of it w and the world's first futures market...

When 70 tulips sold for the price of 300 to

THE DUTCH were not the first to be crazed by the tulip: the flower had enchanted the Persians and bewitched the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Tulips were different from every other flower known to horticulturists in the 17th century; their colours were more intense and more concentrated than those of ordinary plants.

The seeds of the Dutch tulip craze were planted in 1593 with the first import of a tulip bulb into Holland from Constantinople. Early 17th century Amsterdam merchants, at the centre of the lucrative East Indies trade, displayed their success by erecting grand estates surrounded by flower gardens. The tulip rapidly became a coveted luxury item, a status symbol and a novelty for the rich and famous. Initially, only the true connoisseurs bought tulip bulbs, but the rapidly rising price in the 1630s quickly attracted speculators looking to profit and a new type of tulip fancier appeared, lured by tales of fat profits. "Florists," or professional tulip traders, sought out flower lovers and speculators alike.

By 1634, speculators began to enter the market and tulip mania had feverishly spread beyond the aristocrats and merchants. Pretty soon everybody was dealing in tulip bulbs, looking to make a quick fortune. The majority of the tulip bulb buyers had no intentions of even planting these bulbs! The name of the game was to buy low and sell high, just like in any other market. The tulip bulbs were traded on local market exchanges, which were not unlike today's stock exchanges. The Dutch nation was caught in a sweeping mania, as people traded in their land, livestock, farms and life savings all to acquire one single tulip bulb!

The Dutch, who developed many of the techniques of modern capitalist finance, created a market for durable tulip bulbs. By 1636, any tulip could be sold off, often for hundreds of guilders, and the Dutch created a type of formal futures market where contracts to buy bulbs at the end of the season were bought and



sold, traders meeting in "colleges" at taverns. No deliveries were ever made to fulfill these contracts because of the market collapse in February 1637.

Tulip mania reached its peak during the winter of 1636/37, when some bulbs were changing hands ten times in a day and where, at an auction, 70 fine tulips sold for nearly 53,000 guilders. By way of comparison, a ton of butter cost around 100 florins, a skilled labourer might earn 150 florins a year, and "eight fat swine" cost 240 florins (a guilder was worth about 60 per cent of a florin at this time).

Mad rush

At the peak of tulip mania in February 1637, tulip contracts sold for more than 10 times the annual income of a skilled craftsman. In less than one month, the price of tulip bulbs went up twenty-fold. At its height there was a mad rush to buy tulip bulbs at any cost.

The crazed sections of the population imagined that the passion for tulips would last for ever, and that the wealthy from every part of the world would send to Holland, and pay whatever prices were asked for them. However, such a scheme could not last unless someone was ultimately willing to pay such high prices and take possession of the bulbs.

Soon after, in February 1637, the tulip market crashed spectacularly and panic spread across the country. The market for tulips evaporated. Flowers that had commanded 5,000 guilders a few weeks before now fetched 100; tulip traders could no longer find new buyers willing to pay increasingly inflated prices for their bulbs.

As this realisation set in, the demand for tulips collapsed, and prices plummeted—the speculative bubble burst. The mania finally ended, with individuals stuck with the bulbs they held at the end of the crash — no court would enforce payment of a contract, since the debts were regarded as contracted through gambling, and thus not enforceable by law.

The Tulip Mania of the 17th century is an account of incredible financial folly.

A whole network of values was thrown into doubt. In the 17th century, it was unimaginable to most people that something as common as a flower could be worth so much more money than most as a luxury flower

ns of butter



people earned in a year.

tulip sold during

tulip mania.

It is fashionable today for bourgeois economists to argue that the overall fall out on the Dutch economy was negligible, as against traditional views that the aftermath of the tulip price deflation led to a widespread economic chill throughout the Netherlands for many years afterwards. Interestingly, some economists also point to the role of a growth in the supply of money, as demonstrated by an increase in deposits at the Bank of Amsterdam during that period, being an important factor associated with a speculative bubble.

Tulip mania is not so different from the dot.com bubble of 1995–2001 or the recent sub prime mortgage crisis. Capitalism is an active breeding ground for financial speculation.

Continuing our series on aspects of Marxist thinking



AS THINKING beings we always try and make sense of the world around us. (We wouldn't last long if we didn't). From the earliest days of antiquity, through the flowering of classical civilisation and on to the birth of modern society and developed industry, every advance has come about through our improved understanding of how things work. Dialectics is the tool for appreciating the inner workings of things, events, phenomena, but more importantly, how they change.

Elaborated first by the Greek philosophers (dialego – I debate), dialectics remained something of an intellectual curiosity, a philosophical cul de sac, particularly when religious beliefs dominated. It was Galileo's dialectical approach which forced him to conclude that the Earth revolved around the Sun, and not vice versa as the Bible insisted.

The signal breakthroughs in natural science which were a feature of the explosion of knowledge in the post-Reformation period were undoubtedly the work of geniuses, but what unites them is a dialectical approach. If conventional wisdom doesn't explain why something happens, then jettison it and approach the problem with new eyes. Even if the conventional wisdom is as revered as the Old Testament. Think of Darwin and his theory of natural selection. Evolution over millions of years. Only impossible if you insist on wearing blinkers.

It was the German philosopher Hegel who finally drew out the laws of dialectics, principally that everything contains a pair of opposites, as seen for instance in a plane flying at a constant height – aerodynamic lift wants to take it ever upwards, gravity wants to bring it hurtling down. And that gradual, quantitative change between these opposites leads to a qualitative leap to something new. Apply heat to ice, a solid, and you get water, a liquid and eventually steam, a gas.

Hegel however was an idealist in the sense that he saw things as being a reflection of thought. Figments of imagination we would call it now. It was his materialist students Marx and Engels who understood correctly that thoughts and ideas are a reflection of the real, material world, and who took Hegel's 'upside down' dialectics and stood it on its feet.

Contrary to other, fatalistic ways of looking at the world, dialectics enables us to see things and events as ever changing or capable of change. It is the working out of the contradictions within a thing which determines not if but how it will change.

True for the test tube and the nuclear reactor, at the microscopic and the cosmic level. True for all natural phenomena and true for society. Applying dialectics to Britain in 2009, we see a society full of contradiction. Millions of workers with the skill and capacity to make and do the things we need, held back by a system which puts profit before people. Fatalism says "It's always been like this, nothing ever changes." Dialectics says "Nothing is insurmountable. If we put our minds to it we can generate change. Possibly not a huge step all at once, but part of the process of changing the ice to steam."

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Back to Front – A rocky road

'If the political establishment here will not allow us a referendum, then the Lisbon Treaty ...is effectively an unlawful imposition of a foreign power over our country. ' GIVEN THAT the EU has recently ratified the Lisbon Treaty and presuming the Conservative Party carry out their declaration not to present the British people with a referendum on whether to accept the terms of the treaty, workers here need to consider the implications for our nation.

The nation state of Britain has been established a long time: the formation of the English component took place well over a thousand years ago; Wales had merged by late medieval times and Scotland was effectively integrated from 1603, though the actual act of political union came a century later. The Lisbon Treaty proclaims the transference of powers to the EU and away from the nation states combined within it. The traditions and interests of Britain stretch back over centuries and in a certain sense over a millennium, while the EU has merely a few decades.

At what point does a nation cease to exist? Britain is still a distinct network of political, economic and social interconnections. In the future, the EU wants to finish off its agenda by completely undermining and destroying our national identity and burying our sovereignty. Britain as a nation can only truly disappear if its people condone rule from unaccountable EU rulers.

A nation state is where workers are organised; it is where people come together to protect their interests. The defence of Britain as an entity remains our lifeblood. The EU acts for and represents a capitalist class huddling together to enforce their capitalist interests. The interests of workers and capitalists across the EU are diametrically opposed.

If the British people are clear on the class aims of the EU and continue to press their class interests, then the sovereignty of Britain will remain intact within the actions of our working people. We shall gather strength until such time as we can formally leave the EU and press ahead in the rebuilding of an independent Britain.

If the political establishment here will not allow us a referendum, then the Lisbon Treaty lacks political acceptance and is effectively an unlawful imposition of a foreign power over our country. The Westminster parliament and government have betrayed Britain; they are a group of EU lickspittles and quislings who will be ignored as a costly irrelevance because bourgeois power lies elsewhere.

Obviously there will come a time in the progress of history where nation states will wither away and be superseded by supranational, perhaps even world political organisation, but we are lightyears away from such a situation. That could only work properly with a mutual regard in the merger for the political and economic interests of each national state, only conceivable in a situation where socialism has succeeded in a number of coterminous states, that is, with common boundaries and regional cohesion.

The EU is not embarked on such a programme. It has capitalist aims, primarily of raising private profit to the status of a god to be worshipped in every sphere of economic and social activity.

It is not only crystal ball gazers who predict a rocky road for the EU and question whether it can remain united when it sits on a volcano of 27 different national interests and only has privatisation as the glue to keep it together.

We must keep our national and class unity!

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