

EU - IN

For democratic socialism *Chartist Referendum Special 2016*

50p

Stronger in for jobs and rights

Labour leader **Jeremy Corbyn MP** puts the case to vote to remain in the EU

The people of this country face an historic choice on 23rd June, whether to remain part of the European Union, or to leave. The Labour Party is overwhelmingly for staying in because we believe the European Union has brought: investment, jobs and protection for workers, consumers and the environment, and offers the best chance of meeting the challenges we face in the 21st century.

In the coming century, we face huge challenges, as a people, as a continent and as a global community. How to deal with climate change. How to address the overweening power of global corporations and ensure they pay fair taxes. How to tackle cyber-crime and terrorism. How to ensure we trade fairly and protect jobs and pay in an era of globalization. How to address the causes of the huge refugee movements across the world, and how we adapt to a world where people everywhere move more frequently to live, work and retire.

Collective international action through the European Union will clearly be vital to meeting these challenges. Britain will be stronger if we co-operate with our neighbours in facing them together.

As Portugal's new Socialist Prime Minister, Antonio Costa, has said: 'in the face of all these crises around us. We must not divide Europe – we must strengthen it.'

When the last referendum was held in 1975, Europe was divided by the Cold War; what later became the EU was a much smaller, purely market-driven arrangement. Over the years I have been critical of many decisions taken by the EU, I remain critical of its shortcomings; from its lack of democratic accountability to the institutional pressure to deregulate or privatise public services.

So Europe needs to change. That change can only come from working with our allies in the EU. It's perfectly possible

to be critical and still be convinced we need to remain a member.

In contrast to four decades ago, the EU of today brings together most of the countries of Europe and has developed important employment, environmental and consumer protections.

Britain needs to stay in the EU as the best framework for trade, manufacturing and cooperation in 21st century Europe. Tens of billion pounds-worth of investment and millions of jobs are linked to our relationship with the EU, the biggest market in the world.

EU membership has guaranteed working people vital employment rights, including four weeks' paid holiday, maternity and paternity leave, protections for agency workers and health and safety in the workplace. Being in the EU has raised Britain's environmental standards, from beaches to air quality, and protected consumers from rip-off charges.

We also need to make the case for reform in Europe – the reform David Cameron's Government has no interest in, but plenty of others across Europe do. That means democratic reform to make the EU more accountable to its people.

Economic reform to end self-defeating austerity and put jobs and sustainable growth at the centre of European policy, labour market reform to strengthen and extend workers' rights in a real social Europe and new rights for governments and elected authorities to support public enterprise and halt the pressure to privatise services.

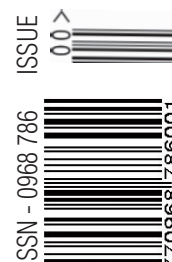
So the case I'm making is for 'Remain - and Reform' in Europe.

Some argue that we need to leave the EU because the single market's rules are driving deregulation and privatisation. They certainly need reform. It was not the EU that

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Jeremy Corbyn MP *EU-IN* **Frances O'Grady** *Workers Rights*
Don Flynn *Free Movement* **Julie Ward MEP** *Social Justice*
Anita Pollack *Environment* **Owen Tudor** *Legal Quagmire*
Mary Southcott *Human Rights* **Ann Pettifor** *Hindsight*



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EDITORIAL

Remain and reform together

An historic decision will be made on 23 June. Labour has come out clearly for remain and reform of the European Union. Jeremy Corbyn has nailed Labour's colours to the mast of internationalism, cooperation and worker's rights in Europe.

While the Tory Party tears itself apart, Labour is mounting an independent united campaign to secure an in vote. The spectre of narrow nationalism, xenophobia and fascism is once again stalking Europe. Within the EU, 'warts and all' and working with socialists and greens across the 27 member countries is the best way to combat this menace to our rights and freedoms.

We know there are problems with the EU, largely the result of the domination of neoliberal free market privatisers and a harsh austerity agenda being pursued most viciously in Greece. But the Syriza government and left critics are determined to

stay and take the fight for an alternative, democratic road to the heart of Europe. This must be the British road as well.

In this world where global capital can move across borders to divide and rule, working in stronger regional blocks to curb and regulate their tax dodging and exploitation is the only approach with a hope of success. A Brexit could also set the clock of social progress back years.

Have no doubts that the Tory opponents of the EU and UKIP stand for untrammelled capitalism and a much harsher, meaner, dirtier, inhumane and divided Britain. Cooperation with our European brothers and sisters on issues from climate change, cyber crime, terrorism, human rights and economic justice is the internationalist way.

Vote remain to continue the fight for a democratic Europe. Vote remain for a socially just Europe that will tackle corporate greed and put people before profits.

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Stronger in for jobs and rights

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privatised our railways. It was the Conservative Government of John Major and many of our rail routes are now run by other European nations' publicly owned rail companies. They haven't made the mistake of asset stripping their own countries.

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership is also a huge cause for concern, but we defeated a similar proposal before in Europe, together when it was called the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, back in 1998.

Labour MEPs are rightly opposing the Investor-State Dispute Mechanism opposing any attempt to enforce privatisation on our public services, to reduce consumer rights, workplace protections or environmental standards.

The free market enthusiasts in the Leave campaign would put all those protections at risk. Labour is building alliances to safeguard them.

We live in an increasingly

globalised world. Many of us will study, work or even retire abroad at some point in our lives. Free movement has created opportunities for British people. There are nearly three-quarters of a million British people living in Spain and over two million living in the EU as a whole. Learning abroad and working abroad, increases the opportunities and skills of British people and migration brings benefits as well as challenges at home.

It is EU regulations that, underpin many rights at work, like holiday entitlement, maternity leave, rights to take breaks and limits to how many hours we can work, and that have helped to improve protection for agency workers.

Just imagine what the Tories would do to workers' rights here in Britain if we voted to leave the EU in June. They'd dump rights on: equal pay, working time, annual leave, for agency workers, and on maternity pay as fast as they could get away with it. It

would be a bonfire of rights that Labour governments secured within the EU.

There is a strong socialist case for staying in the European Union. Just as there is also a powerful socialist case for reform and progressive change in Europe.

By working together across our continent, we can develop our economies protect social and human rights, tackle climate change and clamp down on tax dodgers.

You cannot build a better world unless you engage with the world, build allies and deliver change. The EU, warts and all, has proved itself to be a crucial international framework to do that.

That is why I will be am backing Britain to remain in Europe and I hope you will too.

This is an edited version of the Leader's speech on 14th April 2016

**Jeremy Corbyn
MP is leader of
the Labour Party**

In for social solidarity

Frances O'Grady says the way to equality, jobs and workers' rights lies through the EU

No wonder so many people feel turned off by the EU referendum campaign. The Leave campaign, fronted by Boris Johnson, is funded by hedge funds and dominated by business interests. The Remain campaign, fronted by David Cameron, is part funded by American banks and dominated by business interests.

Understandably, some may ask - what's the difference? This decision is too important to leave to an old school stitch-up. Post-crash, we know that we face a titanic struggle way beyond that being fought out between two old Etonian egos. This is a choice between a model of extreme inequality, such as the United States or Russia on the one hand, and the opportunity to rebuild and revitalise the European Union social model on the other.

The TUC's conclusion is that we're better off sticking with the Union - so we can change it. No trade unionist would argue that the EU is perfect. Over the past decade, it has pursued an increasingly neoliberal agenda of austerity, privatisation and a hire and fire labour market. The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) has become emblematic of subservience to the interests of multinational corporations. Neither neoliberalism nor nationalism offer answers to the big challenges we face: climate change, the rampant greed of the finance sector and the biggest refugee crisis since the Second World War. These demand

greater economic equality and closer cross border cooperation, not less. European membership still retains a distinct social dimension which unions fought for, including protections for workers, citizens and the environment.

The TUC's starting point is, and must always be, what's in the best interest of workers? First jobs, while I take the warning that Brexit could mean three million jobs being lost with a pinch of salt, many good jobs depend on our membership of the EU. If those jobs were to go, it's clear that they would be replaced by worse ones. Almost half of our exports go to the EU. Seven in ten of our largest trading partners are in the EU. Half of foreign direct investment depends on the EU. Without access to a market of 400 million people, firms would be more reluctant to invest in a UK outside the EU. The risk to jobs in high-value manufacturing, like the car industry, is greatest.

Second, rights. Brexit could mean kissing goodbye to many of the rights working people take for granted, on which union agreements build: rights for pregnant women and working parents; redundancy consultation which gives unions vital time to put forward alternatives; information and consultation rights which give staff more of a say at work; health and safety protection which can quite literally be the difference between life and death; stronger anti-discrimination protections which gives women, black people and others recourse against bad bosses and bigots.

Other rights at risk include equal treatment for part-timers, temps and agency workers to protect the growing precariat; the Working Time Directive, which has given six million workers more generous holidays - and two million paid holidays for the first time. The key question is this: if we left the EU, would a Conservative government that is bashing us with its Trade Union Bill choose to maintain and protect rights trade unions have won from Europe? Not a chance!

Third, a new Europe, the choice we face doesn't have to be in with Cameron or out with Farage. By staying in, we can fight for a Europe with stronger social solidarity at its heart. We need to build popular support to drive an ambitious vision and practical plan for what Europe should deliver for working people in the twenty-first century. Unions combine our strength across national borders to campaign for fairer, greener growth and good jobs, especially for young people. We want a radical rethink of rights and protections in the new digital gig economy. We put economic democracy centre stage, because - as the crash proved - the old model of shareholder supremacy has failed; the great majority and stronger unions are the best way to win fairness at work. So the EU does need reform, just not David Cameron's version of it. A Brexit poses real threats to workers and our communities. I hope that when 23 June comes, trade unionists vote for not just for 'remain' but for the belief that another Europe is possible.



Frances O'Grady
is General
Secretary of the
TUC

Corbyn on steel and jobs in the EU

The Conservative Government has blocked action on Chinese steel dumping. It has cut investment in infrastructure, that would have created demand for more steel and had no procurement strategy to support British steel. A Labour government would have worked with our partners across Europe to stand up for steel production in Britain. The European Union - 28 countries and 520 million people - could have made us stronger, by

defending our steel industries together. The actions of the Conservative Government weakened us. The jobs being created under this Government are too often low skill, low pay and insecure. If we harnessed Europe's potential we could be doing far more to defend high skill jobs in the steel industry. Of course the Conservatives are loyally committed to protecting one British industry in Europe - the tax avoidance industry. The most

telling revelation about our Prime Minister has not been about his own tax affairs, but that in 2013 he personally intervened with the European Commission President to undermine an EU drive to reveal the beneficiaries of offshore trusts; even now, in the wake of the Panama Papers, he still won't act. On six different occasions since the beginning of last year Conservative MEPs have voted down attempts to take action against tax dodging."

EU DEMOS

Getting closer to people

Julie Ward MEP on standing up for a Social EU

It is clear that if we would like Britain to remain relevant, prosperous, and socially progressive in the 21st century, we must remain part of the EU. However, we must strive to make the EU stronger, more effective, and bring it closer to its citizens. British citizens have been exposed to years of anti-EU stories in the tabloid press, with various myths and outright lies about straightening bananas or vacuum cleaner regulation.

Although we did not ask for this referendum, it is an exciting opportunity to reshape the way we see Europe, to talk about it, re-fashion our national discourse from one of disgruntlement, to one of solidarity. The type of reforms we need in the EU are not about protections for City bankers, but about how we can bring about greater social justice and inclusion, with a stronger connection between the EU and its citizens, and the developing world.

Enormous benefit

The enormous economic and political benefits to the UK from EU membership – the millions of jobs, and billions of pounds of revenue from trade with the EU, our place at the table at international negotiations and our ability to tackle such pressing global issues – are indisputable. But what about a more social EU? We need to be reminded that the European Union is a project of peace. It has brought about an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity after hundreds of years of bloody wars. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the European Union managed to bring the Eastern bloc dictatorships into the fold of democratic nations. Europe has created a space where values of human rights, democracy, and social justice are fought for and protected. Indeed, I spend much of my time working on human rights cases.

The Tories like to think of the EU in terms of a common market. In fact, the reason the most neo-liberal Conservatives are anti-EU is because it sets limits to the

market, and set standards of social and environmental protections. Ever since it was created, the EU has consistently raised standards, giving workers and citizens more rights, and greater equality. This also includes concrete gains like non-discrimination laws, paid holidays, gender equality, and health and safety at work.

The EU has allowed us to establish a European social model of progressive welfare states. If we want to revive that vision and pursue it, we need a stronger EU. As Europe goes through troubling times, we need to build solidarity



Julie Ward is a Labour MEP for North West England

and develop dialogue to combat fear and prejudice throughout the continent. The Left must speak with a clear, united voice in order to stand up to the waves of xenophobia that we have seen on the rise.

Socialists, progressives, and democrats must stand up to give humane and compassionate answers to the challenges all Europeans now face together. Let us use this period of campaigning to re-engage with our fellow citizens, and tell them the story of Europe as we see it: a Europe for social justice, a Europe for progress, and a Europe for peace.

VOTE REMAIN

Unite is clear that continuing membership of the EU is still the best hope for the jobs and rights of Britain's workers.

23 JUNE
2016

With so many myths around, what is the truth about the EU?

VOTE JOBS VOTE RIGHTS VOTE REMAIN

THE FACTS

The EU is our biggest trading partner, which means JOBS for Unite members. But EU membership also means we benefit from protections on health and safety, on redundancy, on part time work and much more.

A lot of rubbish is talked about the EU, with it being blamed for everything from straight bananas to a ban on Easter – but what is the truth around some of the biggest myths.

7 MYTHS – BUSTED

- 1

Myth 1: 'most of our laws come from Brussels'
Only 13% of our laws have anything to do with Brussels, and this even includes anything that mentions the EU, even if just a passing reference or a definition.
- 2

Myth 2: 'European laws are made by unelected bureaucrats'
The European Commission has fewer staff than large councils in the UK. EU laws are debated and adopted by elected MEPs and national government ministers – people we elect!
- 3

Myth 3: 'Norway enjoys all the benefits of the EU without being members'
Norwegians make roughly the same per capita contribution to the EU budget as we do but have no say in decisions that affect them and have to abide by EU trade regulations without being able to influence any of them.

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Nature needs the EU too

Anita Pollack on the environmental case for the EU

There are plenty of good reasons for staying in the EU, but environmental protection is high on the list. The old cliché that environment knows no borders remains true. The best way of meeting today's multiple environmental challenges is by co-operating with our near neighbours. What better way to do that than as part of the EU? Whether it concerns water, air or waste, EU legislation leads to improvements in standards and protection that affect you and me and the birds and bees at the local level.

Records of Conservative gov-

ernments show they would not attain such high standards without EU pressure. As Mary Creagh MP, chair of the House of Commons Environment Audit Committee points out: 'Anyone who thinks the environment will be better off if we left the EU should take a long hard look at the Tory record'. And if we leave, we will still need to implement EU environment law but without a seat at the table and a vote in decisions. Why should we walk away from this?

Europe remains a huge force for environmental protection. If we are serious about implementing the Paris Climate Change



Anita Pollack is a former Labour MEP. Her latest book is "New Labour in Europe: Leadership and Lost Opportunities"

Accord we can only do it through organisations like the European Union. European co-operation played a key role in securing the Paris deal. Alan Johnson MP, leading Labour's campaign for the UK to stay in Europe, points out that 'if you look at where all the climate change deniers are, largely... they're in the Out campaign'.

Policies such as the Birds and Habitats Directive have protected our natural environment for years. More technical legislative initiatives from the EU dealing with large combustion plants, air pollution and pesticides, protect our health. Bathing and drinking water directives do both. Without EU standards on recycling and renewables Britain would be lagging behind in our commitment to renewable energy.

The RSPB, one of Britain's largest and most respected environment organisations, has no doubt that being in the EU is beneficial. They say that climate change is an obvious policy where EU co-operation has led to agreements, but also that we can only manage our alien species, fish stocks, air quality, carbon emissions, biodiversity and much more by actively engaging with the countries around us and setting out the frameworks that we can all work towards.

We would, however, be deluding ourselves if we were to suggest that all is perfect in EU-land. Noxious air emissions, over-use of pesticides, lack of progress in banning both neonicotinoids that are killing bees and endocrine disrupting chemicals, compliance with the Paris Accord on climate change, how best to advance the UN Sustainable Development goals for 2030: these and plenty of other problems all demand a better vision for the European environment. This is something the Left should be promoting. We should remember that the EU Council and Parliament currently have a right-wing majority. This needs to change if we want to see real progress in the future. But progressives need to engage within the EU, not criticise it from the outside.

www.anitapollack.eu

4 Myth 4: 'EU migrants are a drain on the economy'

EU migrants contribute much more in taxes than they claim in benefits, only 5% actually claim unemployment benefit. It is estimated that migrants have contributed over £20bn from 2001-2011. The real problem is exploitation by unscrupulous employers – something that the UK Government has refused to tackle.

5 Myth 5: 'The EU does nothing to help ordinary people'

Hundreds of thousands of our members' jobs directly depend on our membership of the EU and many of our most important employment rights originate with EU legislation. The EU has ensured safe working hours, introduced the right to paid annual leave and the right to parental leave.

6 Myth 6: 'Our most important markets are China and the US, not the EU'

Half of Britain's exports go to the EU, accounting for some 3.5 million jobs. The UK sells more to the Netherlands alone than to the whole of China.

7 Myth 7: 'The European Court of Human Rights forces its will on the UK'

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) is nothing to do with the EU, it is an entirely separate institution. But, the ECHR is there to protect everyone not just the privileged few. Its rulings have helped to advance LGBT rights, improve child protection laws and give victims of the Thalidomide scandal access to justice.

VOTE JOBS VOTE RIGHTS
VOTE REMAIN

23 JUNE 2016

unite
the UNION

The biggest myth of all is that workers will somehow be better off outside of the EU

This is the reality of the referendum – our membership of the EU is hugely important for fundamental employment rights in the UK and Unite members depend on the jobs and investment that our membership of the EU brings.

There is work to be done to make a better Europe. But we can only do this together with sister unions across the continent if we stay in

That is why Unite are clear

VOTE JOBS VOTE RIGHTS
VOTE REMAIN

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BREXIT THREATS

Total reversal of workers' rights?

Owen Tudor reports on **Michael Ford QC**'s opinion about the risks of Brexit

An independent legal opinion, commissioned by the TUC, warns of years of uncertainty for workers and employers if the UK votes to leave the European Union. It lists the rights that would be most at risk of being diluted or scrapped after Brexit, and it considers the mechanisms for disapplying EU workplace laws in the UK.

Michael Ford QC's legal opinion says that the process would not be quick or easy, noting "there is no precedent for the kind of radical overhaul of laws which would potentially flow from Brexit". He says that simply repealing the European Communities Act 1972, as some Brexit supporters appear to advocate, is an "almost unimaginable" course of action, which would lead to "legal and commercial chaos".

More likely is a lengthy transition in which the government

could pick and choose which EU rights to dilute or scrap. This would create long-term uncertainty and confusion for both employers and workers; it could result in workers losing many hard-won rights at work.

Michael Ford QC's legal opinion states: "All the social rights in employment currently required by EU law would be potentially vulnerable". He lists those rights that he believes are most at risk post Brexit from a government with a deregulatory agenda. They include rights to properly-paid holidays, protections for agency workers, health and safety protections, protections from some forms of employer discrimination – such as compensation rates, protections for pregnant workers and older workers.

The legal opinion also notes that, regardless of whether the UK government was to choose to retain any EU-guaranteed work-

er protections, workers would no longer be able to seek redress from the European Court of Justice (ECJ).

The ECJ's rulings make sure all workers can benefit from EU-guaranteed workers' rights. A notable ECJ ruling in 1982 extended equal pay rules to include equal pay for work of equal value, benefitting millions of women workers.

Michael Ford QC notes that if the government opposes a decision of a domestic court, it can change the law, adding: "I very much doubt, for example, that the government would have stood by had the domestic courts interpreted equal pay laws in the way the ECJ has done." In the opinion, Michael Ford QC further comments that "It is easy to contemplate a complete reversal of the gradual increase in social regulation protecting workers which has taken place since the 1960s".



**Owen Tudor is
TUC Head of EU
and International
Relations**

EU umbrella for peace

Mary Southcott on the positives for 'Remain' and why she dreads 'Leave'

All the things I care about, peace, participation, civil society, democracy, women, diversity, environment and human rights are why I am asking everyone I know to vote Remain on 23 June. We need to develop progressive transnational links to deal with institutions which are bigger than nation states. This fake sovereignty Outsiders offer is like virginity, never productive. On peacemaking, the investment from the EU in Northern Ireland and Cyprus has helped women to influence the peace process, directly and through civil society.

The EU was the necessary umbrella which allowed Ireland and UK to support the NI peace process. Although difficult because of the EU refugee deal with Turkey, the United Nations Special Advisor on Cyprus, Espen Barth Eide, a Norwegian Social Democrat, has argued that the new positive aspect to a Cyprus settlement this year is the entry of the whole island of Cyprus into

the EU in 2004. The EU umbrella already provides a unifying factor in terms of trade, product quality, environment, dare I say the Euro as a common currency? The process of completing chapters to gain entry to the EU is not only about economic liberalisation but about the environment, human rights, the rule of law, freedom of speech, values we share with the rest of the EU.

The European Court of Human Rights relates to the Council of Europe so has nothing to do with the current referendum. However there is now a Charter of Fundamental Rights the EU adopted in December 2000. The Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights enables the EU to support and export democracy, surely better than bombing? This emphasises: the role of civil society, cooperation between civil society, local authorities and state institutions, vulnerable groups (national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and inter-sex persons (LGBTI)

and indigenous people) economic and social rights. Remember your favourite things about this country. Recognise we share these with the rest of the EU, and ask yourself do we want England inevitably, not the UK only, to go it alone?

This will surely follow Brexit which could put the delicate peace in Northern Ireland at risk. Human Rights and links between universities, cooperation between researchers, exchanges for young people, work opportunities, parental leave, working rights, holidays, clean beaches, mobile roaming, reduction in air pollution, recycling and a culture of cooperation, learning from best practice rather than a relentless race to the bottom being played off against each other by unaccountable multinationals. Conflict resolution, democracy, diversity and human rights are my bottom line.



**Mary Southcott is
coordinator
Friends of Cyprus
and a member of
the Chartist EB**

False promise on migration

Don Flynn explains why Brexit will not secure borders against immigration

The Brexit camp will be proclaiming one argument louder than all the others during the final few weeks of the referendum campaign: a vote to leave the EU is the only way that the UK will secure its borders against mass immigration. As a message it has the advantage of being crisp and concise. But it falls short of being realistic because it fails to take into account the obvious fact that levels of migration are rising across all countries which have been closely integrated into free market capitalism right across the world.

Set against the spectrum of developed industrial countries which trade in global markets the UK's migrant population – about 13% of its total – puts it firmly in a middle range alongside nations like France (12%), Germany (13%), Belgium (16%) and Sweden (16%)*. Yes, these are all EU states, but being outside the free movement regime hardly seems to make borders more

water-tight for countries outside this arrangement. In the United States the migrant population makes up the same 13% as we have in the UK. A whopping 20% of Canadians are immigrants, and for the Australians this figure rises even higher to 28% of all its people.

The fact is that there is something about the modern world which has been driving migration across all developed countries during the past 20 years and will continue to do so in the future. It is called globalisation and there is no escaping from it by going for Brexit. Through the medium of globalisation, transnational companies, of which the UK has more than its fair share, are involved in a scramble to get access to the labour markets of the world.

With six out of every seven of the planet's 800 million wage earners living in low- and medium earning countries, and with the advent of outsourcing and supply chains that span the globe, this means that the rate for the job is increasingly set by

the very modest wages which workers are forced to endure in much poorer countries than the UK.

A Britain outside the EU will have no greater capacity to resist the demands of its transnationals to have access to sources of low cost labour than it has at present. It is the mobility of capital rather than people which is playing the major part in pegging wage growth to historically low levels.

So, what should we do about migration? One positive thing would be to declare our solidarity with those who have been compelled to leave their homes and families to take the chances of a life that risks exploitation and marginality. Migrants are not the cause of the bad things that have happened to people in Britain during the dreadful years of austerity.

But if Labour and the working class movement can find its way to including them in the struggle for rights and a return to social progress, then they might just be the best recruits we can hope for.



**Don Flynn is
Director, Migrant
Rights Network**

***All statistics from OECD International Migration Outlook 2015**

In to transform Europe - a *Guardian* letter

We are going to vote for Europe, to change Europe. We are tired of the companies that abuse their global status to avoid their tax responsibilities or to play one nation's workers or governments off against others. We want international rules to clamp down on climate change. And we demand humane ways to deal with the growing numbers of migrants and a rebalancing of wealth, income and opportunity across the whole of Europe through new solidarity funds that move as people move.

We know we must stay in Europe if we are ever to get a financial transaction tax; if we are to develop a progressive alternative to TTIP that levels social and environmental protections up, not down; and if we are to build the public platforms for renewable energy, and even new media platforms that are publicly

owned and accountable. We know too that none of this will be easy. But there is no choice. Sovereignty has long escaped national borders and is never coming back. As tough as it is, we have to create a trans-national democratic political and economic union. It is the only hope the left has. If the EU didn't exist we would build it now – different and better, yes – but we would still build it.

This is not Cameron's or the Tories' Europe. This is a Europe inspired by the social and democratic values of Labour. This is a unique moment in which the fate of Britain and Europe will be sealed. The Labour party, Labour members and supporters will be critical. The choice is not exit or surrender but how we transform Europe. Working with social democrats across the continent, victory on 23 June, if we achieve it, is just the starting point for the Europe we want.

**This letter signed
by Labour
members of the
PLP was first
published in the
Guardian
newspaper on 17
April 2016**

JOHN McDONNELL MP
MARGARET BECKETT MP
CLIVE LEWIS MP
LISA NANDY MP
EMILY THORNBERRY MP
CAT SMITH MP
STEVE ROTHERAM MP
JONATHAN REYNOLDS MP
CHRIS BRYANT MP
RACHAEL MASKELL MP
REBECCA LONG-BAILEY MP
JO STEVENS MP
RICHARD BURDEN MP
PETER DOWD MP
CHRIS MATTESON MP
JUSTIN MADDERS MP
RICHARD HOWITT MEP
LUCY ANDERSON MEP
BARONESS OONA KING
BARONESS JOAN BAKEWELL
BARONESS MASSEY
BARONESS LISTER
BARONESS HILTON
BARONESS WARWICK
AND OTHERS

ECONOMIC ADVISOR'S VIEW



Ann Pettifor sees an unravelling of the EU as a huge threat to European democracy and peace

Ann Pettifor is a member of the Labour Party's Economic Advisory Committee and Director: Policy Research in Macroeconomics (PRIME)

Why I'm voting to 'Remain'

Back in 1975 I did not just oppose membership of the EU, I actively campaigned against it. In the 1990s I strongly opposed Britain's membership of the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). My opposition to the Labour leadership's support for ERM helped ensure that I did not get chosen as Parliamentary candidate at the time. I won a modest six votes at a General Committee Meeting that in 1991 selected the next MP for Dulwich and West Norwood! (While I was to be vindicated by Britain's eviction from the ERM in September 1992, that was no comfort because Labour, having backed the ERM, was unable to capitalize on the huge political damage caused to the Conservatives by the Black Wednesday fiasco.) Finally, I am firmly opposed to the way in which European Treaties (signed by Labour as well as Conservative governments) have embedded market fundamentalist economic policies into quasi-constitutional law. No doubt this is because the authorities are aware that policies for austerity, privatisation and the financialisation of European economies would be fiercely resisted by the people of Europe, and so had to be buried like concrete, in Treaties.

So why then, am I voting to Remain? The reasons are threefold and are essentially political rather than economic.

First and foremost, the political situation in Europe has changed – and the continent is now on the brink of fracturing. Market fundamentalism is dividing the people of Europe, and

instead of economies converging across the Eurozone, they are diverging. The situation is of course exacerbated by the EU's 'free' market principles for the untrammelled and unmanaged movement of capital, trade and labour, alongside the commodification of land and labour. These liberal finance principles have triggered popular resistance, and caused voters to go in search of a 'strong man or woman' that will protect the populations of Europe from the ravages of market fundamentalism. Hence the rise of right-wing and fascist parties in for example, France, Hungary and Greece. Right-wing populism



Time for the political wind to blow from the left

– a reaction to, and movement against market fundamentalism – now poses a real threat to European democracy, and to European peace and stability. If the UK votes to leave now, this will encourage those who seek the fragmentation of Europe based not on progressive economic and social policies, but on their very opposite. This is therefore not the moment for the people of Britain to trigger the break-up of the European Union. The last time European tensions spilt over into divisions, open confrontation and war, sixty million people died (including twenty million Russians). Britain could not stand aloof from that war, and it will not be able to stand aloof from any future disruption to European peace.

I am not prepared to be party to such disruption at such a tense time in European political history. I am not prepared to risk sending my children or grandchildren to another European war.

There is second reason for voting to Remain. Britain is heavily responsible for the market fundamentalism entrenched in the European Treaties. Our politicians and civil servants had a big hand in drafting these Treaties, and in introducing European legislation for enforcing what are in effect Anglo-American policies for deregulation, privatisation and labour market 'reforms'. It was Lord Cockfield (under the Thatcher Government) who led the drive for the single market including 'freedom' for financial services and capital, and it was a British civil servant who presided over the creation of the Euro –

even though we chose not to be a member of the Eurozone. Europe's social welfare model has been severely strained by Anglo-American policies for de-regulation, privatisation and 'structural' changes to labour markets, now alas more widely shared within the EU. Our responsibility for such policies requires that we act responsibly in helping to get them reversed.

We cannot now turn our backs on a European economic model that conforms so closely to British economic policies. The social democratic parties, in particular, need to change tack, to promote policies that challenge the neoliberal consensus. This is our task in the coming years.

My third reason is domestic – with honourable exceptions, the move to Brexit is led by the most reactionary forces in Britain such as climate change denier Lord Lawson – and it is they who would reap the benefits of an 'out vote'. They stand for market fundamentalism, not for the more progressive EU we seek. The EU's gains on social and labour standards, on environmental protection and climate change – themselves at risk – would be dismantled. I agree with Jeremy Corbyn – we should unite to vote to Remain, but for the opposite reasons from those of David Cameron and George Osborne.

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