

There is
NothingBritish
about the BNP

Britain under the BNP:

How a BNP government would impoverish,
divide and bankrupt Britain

An analysis of the consequences of the BNP's policies

By James Bethell and Jonathan Dupont

Foreword by Allister Heath



About Nothing British

Nothing British was founded by James Bethell and Tim Montgomerie in March 2009 to help protect Britain's fragile qualities of freedom, tolerance and fairness from the forces of extremism and racism sweeping Europe, represented by the British National Party, its surrogates and other neo-fascist splinter groups.

Our approach is to try to understand the causes of the anger and frustration which leads reasonable people to the popular nationalism that introduces intolerant and confrontational attitudes into the fabric of British society.

Through our news service at nothingbritish.com, seminars and publications, Nothing British seeks to analyse the policy failures that have led to these decisions and advocates brave solutions that sometimes challenge the liberal Establishment's orthodoxy.

And through our campaigning we oppose the BNP by appealing to Britain's inherently benign values and by mobilising traditional British institutions respected by the vast majority of this country.

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Contents

Contents.....	3
Foreword	4
1 Executive Summary.....	6
Part I Policies.....	8
2 Our approach.....	9
3 Public services	10
4 Tax.....	15
5 Industrial policy.....	18
6 Trade.....	22
7 Immigration	25
8 Law & order	28
9 Foreign policy: How the BNP would isolate Britain from the world.....	30
Part II The consequences of BNP government.....	32
10 The consequences of BNP government.....	33
Appendices.....	36
11 Why the BNP's policies matter	37
12 The Ideology of the BNP	42
13 The BNP's policies.....	48

Foreword

SUNLIGHT is always the best disinfectant, in politics as in everything else. The BNP's calling card, its rabid dislike of immigrants, is well-known – but the party's views on economics, which are equally pernicious, have until now barely been scrutinised. The authors of this paper are therefore to be congratulated for exposing the BNP's breathtaking economic illiteracy; there can be no doubt that its policies would ruin Britain, trigger a dramatic collapse in living standards and – paradoxically – hit the hardest the working class communities it claims to defend.

Not only is the BNP nationalist in the nastiest, narrowest sense of that word, but it is also collectivist in its economic policies, a disastrous mix which has always defined authoritarian, fascistic parties over the years and across the world. The BNP opposes free trade, supports protectionism and tariff barriers, hates the City and finance, wants to wage war on the supermarkets and believes that the state can recreate Britain's erstwhile manufacturing glory. It is an anti-capitalist, populist and illiberal party which specialises in tapping into the growing disenchantment among large groups of the population with the international liberal economic order.

Roughly 6m adults of working age are on out of work benefits in the UK today, a scandalous waste of human potential in a country as wealthy as Britain. The problem is not so much material poverty – the UK spends more than ever on benefits – but a moral and cultural poverty which has robbed a growing minority of the population of its dignity. Elevated levels of crime and social decay have ruined the lives of millions. The problem started because the transfer of labour from old industries – doomed in an age of rapid technological change and globalization – to industries in which the UK has a comparative advantage did not proceed smoothly; it was exacerbated by a faulty welfare system, insufficient entrepreneurialism, poor schooling and inadequate policing. Combine all of this with the recession, the financial crisis a growing sense of disgust at the political elites and it is no wonder that so many people – especially members of the old working class – are so disenchanted with the system.

But the answer to these severe problems is more, rather than less, capitalism; much better education; and a drastic reform of the tax and welfare system to incentivise people to work again and to stop discriminating against marriage. Protectionism, autarchy, state control and closed borders are not the answer. They would precipitate a financial and economic crisis that would make the Great Recession of 2008-09 feel like a tea party in comparison. Destroying the supermarkets, one of the BNP's most absurd ideas, would deal a devastating blow to the poor; large retailers have done more than any government department to improve the quality of life of Britain's poorest and least privileged citizens.

Yet it must be said that the mainstream political parties, all of which have become increasingly tempted by populist anti-capitalism, have inadvertently reinforced the BNP's credibility. Gordon Brown did the world a great disservice when he called for British jobs for British workers. Hysterical banker-bashing from all three political parties has fueled the public's inherent distrust and dislike of those who make money from money. Major reforms are needed to make the City a more robust and sustainable place; but a wanton demolition of Britain's financial services industry would be an act of collective suicide. The Tories' constant criticism of the supermarkets has also been deeply unhelpful; tirades against Chinese goods have helped legitimise protectionism and the wrong-headed idea that low-value added goods should once again be produced in Britain.

The list goes on and on; it is imperative that the mainstream ceases to pander to atavistic anti-market sentiment in this way. But merely rejecting or dismissing the BNP's appalling Mosleyite vision of the world is not enough. It is also important to fight a long-term war of ideas, an intellectual battle to try and explain to the public why capitalism, free markets and free trade are the only way forward. This must be accompanied by real reforms to tackle the poor's quality of life, make work pay again via welfare reform

and liberate the economy through supply-side tax cuts and deregulation to help kick-start growth and hence job creation.

As this excellent paper argues, the BNP's economic policies are a manifesto for Britain's economic destruction. They must be exposed, fought and defeated.

Allister Heath is Editor of City A.M.

1 Executive Summary

The BNP likes to portray itself as a party of the working class and the British people. When examined closer, it becomes clear that their policy programme would damage the poor worst and lead to the long term break up of British society.

With the BNP unlikely to be in power in the near future, it may seem academic to consider the impact of the implementation of a BNP manifesto. However, the BNP's policies matter. With the current backlash against free markets and multiculturalism, politicians across the political spectrum from David Cameron to Barack Obama are increasingly putting forward third way economic ideas. It is important to make sure that the BNP's ideology doesn't cross over into the mainstream and discredit historic British ideas of liberalism and free markets which have made us prosperous and safe.

The current combination of economic and political crises gives the BNP a golden opportunity to gain legitimacy in the eyes of voters disgusted with London's elites. For much of the BNP's target vote their community has been in long term economic decline and mainstream politicians seem to have few answers. The BNP claims to be the one party to really put British workers first.

It is vital and important that politicians and commentators spread the message that the BNP's policies are based on their racial and extremist nationalist ideology, not helping out the less fortunate. This leads to them proposing policies which would near double the shopping bill, propose the most regressive tax policy of any party in the UK and put many millions of jobs in danger.








Their views are reactionary, based on prejudice and the scapegoating foreigners rather than any real concern for the poor. They have no plan for the future, only a desire to return the country to the 1950s or a romanticised medieval system of cartels and guilds. Their harsh authoritarian streak leads them to propose the introduction of guns on our streets, a return to corporal punishment and the death penalty, and extensive censorship of the press.

While the party continues to alter its immigration policy in an attempt to appear more moderate, it continues to maintain the line that 'indigenous Britons' should be given special treatment, and that there should be bans on the media or education system from 'promoting racial integration'. A BNP government would not just lead to the mass expulsion of millions of British citizens, but incite tension, suspicion and segregation between those communities left behind.

Their policy platform is neither serious nor credible. The party has made no attempt to cost their policies, to give specifics or to place them together into any coherent platform. Their protectionist plans seem likely to begin a retaliatory trade war, and there is no recognition of the need to calm the international bond market. In past manifestos, the BNP has expressed a strong belief that if necessary all government spending problems can be dealt with by printing more money. It seems inevitable that the election of a BNP government would lead to sharp rise in the risk premium on British debt, with the corresponding subsequent rises in interest rates, inflation, and necessary cuts to the public sector.

Britain under the BNP would be a nightmare – a country of hyperinflation and closed shops, guns on the street and a press too frightened to criticise the government.

Thankfully, the BNP is unlikely to ever be in a position to implement its ideas. We should make sure it stays that way, by showing voters the true consequences of BNP ideas. The BNP remains a strongly authoritarian, economically illiterate, racially based party. It speaks for no one but its own extremist ideas.

<p>Economy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNP protections drives down GDP by 8% or £2,000 per person • Tariffs and long waiting lists for foreign goods such as clothes, medicines, electronics and furniture – costing £1,300 per person • Food only costs an extra £2,400 a year. • Big box retailers and supermarkets such as Tescos, Primark and Ikea banned. 	
<p>Tax</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most repressive tax policy of any political party in Britain. VAT could go up to 50%. • Rich get massive tax cut: income tax abolished, end to student fees, and inheritance tax paid only over £1 m. 	
<p>Public services</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two tier system for ‘indigenous Britons’ and ethnic minorities. • Spending commitments of £30bn and tax cuts of £50 bn. • No fiscal credibility and worries from overseas investors could see a return to the interest rates of 1970s and soaring inflation. • Massive public spending crisis. Schools and hospitals closed, staff fired. • Privatized utilities re-nationalised. 	
<p>Immigration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNP to expel between 2 – 6m of Britain’s population. • Global industries abandon Britain as unable to recruit best from across world. • Business and public services wrecked as lose key staff – 10% of soldiers are from ethnic minorities. • Section 28 style ban on promotion of racial integration in government or the media. 	
<p>Law & order</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obligatory assault rifles in the home of every adult who’s gone through compulsory national service. • Popular television shows such as Eastenders and Coronation Street censored to encourage a higher morality. • Press should be put back “under democratic control”, abolition of PCC, “meetings with the proprietors”, new criminal offence for the “deliberate dissemination of falsehoods”. • Restoration of death penalty and corporal punishment in schools. 	
<p>Foreign policy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BNP plans to withdraw from Aghanistan, NATO and EU. • This is based less on pacifism than sense that nations and races should keep apart. • All foreign aid to developing world ended. British people are to come first. • Britain loses crucial influence in crucial global negotiations over terror, global warming and trade deals. • End Britain’s historic legacy of being a force for good in the world. 	
<p>Climate change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The BNP’s recent conversion to global warming scepticism is little more than a stunt to gain attention. • As recently as February 2010, BNP website claimed "The BNP accepts that climate change, of whatever origin, is a threat to Britain. Current evidence suggests that some of it may be man-made". • In any case, the BNP believe in the dangers of “peak oil” – for which the policy implications are almost identical with higher energy taxes, caps etc. 	

Any questions? We can provide clarification and further information on whatever you need. Call us at 020 3397 0100 or email on election@nothingbritish.com

Part I Policies

2 Our approach

“Since the last general election [the Tories] have had 17 million quid just to fund their research department, so really if you want to get some sensible ideas on taxation it should be coming from them. ... Until such times that we are near political power so that we can afford proper research departments we have to work pretty much in just broad brush strokes.”

- Nick Griffin ¹

In this section, we have taken a fair list of what we believe to be the BNP's policies, and attempted a back of the envelope estimate of their effects on the economy, British society and the Government's fiscal position. With the lack of precise numbers given by the BNP and our own limited resources, it is impossible and probably pointless to attempt to cost each precisely. Instead we have tried to look at historical examples and similar policies suggested by other political parties in the past in order to get an order of magnitude estimate of the economic effects of the BNP.

We have divided these policies into seven broad areas : the public services, tax, the economy, trade, immigration, law and order, and foreign policy.

¹ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7aAtktgE6Cs>

3 Public services

Key Points

- The BNP has made spending commitments of over £30bn and tax cuts of £50bn
- Two classes of public services for 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' Britons
- New clause 28 prescription across public services against the promotion of racial integration
- Introduction of BNP government would likely lead a sky rocketing risk premium on Britain's debt payments
- The result of the BNP's disastrous industrial policies would be an enormous rise in unemployment and welfare payments
- Drastic cuts would need to be made to public services to restore fiscal credibility

As part of their 'third way', the BNP believes both that it is the duty of a strong central government to provide generous public services to all its citizens, and that taxation should be kept relatively low. In particular they have an ideological objection to income tax, and believe that it should be replaced instead by increased consumption taxes.

In their manifesto, the BNP are quick to promise both more money and more tax cuts. They would build new schools, hospitals and railways, pay public sector staff more and massively increase the spending on border controls. At the same time, they would half council tax, end "nuisance taxes" such as the BBC licence fee and car tax disk and raise the income tax threshold to £15,000.

On top of this, there are larger spending implications for the BNP's plans to remodel the economy. The BNP wishes both to buy back all privatised utilities to return them to state control, but also to buy back all foreign owned companies in Britain. The cost of this could easily run into the hundreds of billions.

To square the circle of increased spending and decreased taxes, the BNP makes use of two strategies.

The first is their usual tactic of identifying scapegoats. If only so money wasn't taken by immigrants or welfare scroungers or foreign aid, the BNP claims, there would be more than enough money to go around for the "indigenous population."

The second is by being as deliberately vague as possible. The BNP is careful neither to cost their policies nor to give detail. As such, we have tried to provide figures for them – but necessarily as a back of an envelope estimates. Even though the detail may be uncertain, the overall trend is clear.

When the wider effects of a BNP manifesto on unemployment and Britain's international reputation are taken into effect, the inevitable outcome is clear.

With the risk premium, interest and welfare bills soaring, Britain would soon likely find itself in a new era of inflation and currency crisis. With few countries prepared to lend, the only way out would be harsh cuts to schools and hospitals, soldiers and policemen.

The BNP promise the earth with their spending commitments and tax cuts. The actual result of a BNP government would be to devastate the public services they claim to so treasure.

The BNP's policies

3.1 Indoctrinate public services with BNP values

The BNP plans to counter what it believes to be an establishment which is biased against its values.

As part of this, there will be a new "a Clause 28-style proscription against the promotion of racial integration in schools and the media", they would "abolish all politically-correct indoctrination of the

police, teachers, and other public employees” and “All staff at teacher training colleges will face compulsory re-evaluation and retraining.”²

It is unclear the extent to which this programme would operate, but it seems clear that it would have a chilling effect on communities relations in Britain and lead to a politicisation of the civil service. In addition, it seems inevitable that the country would suffer mass resignations by staff.

3.2 Give priority to the “aboriginal people”

The BNP wishes to “seek to emphasise the importance of the prior status of the aboriginal people. This would be a national extension of the ‘Sons and Daughters’ policy in priority on housing and school places lists which BNP councils seek to implement at local level.”³

Again, it is not clear exactly how this will work, but it seems clear that the BNP intend to create a more segregationist system of public services, in which the quality and speed of the care you receive depends on your ethnic background.

3.3 The deficit

The leading debate in British politics today is how and when to reduce the budget deficit. Our interest payments, already a significant part of the government’s expenditure, are set to soar, overtaking the education budget.

Any political party that wishes to be taken seriously needs to contribute to this debate. The BNP’s contribution is a six point plan: ⁴

- i. Ending the £9 billion foreign aid budget*
- ii. Ending the £4.5 billion a year wars in Iraq and Afghanistan*
- iii. Ending the untold billions spent subsidising the immigration swindle and all its ancillary costs (benefits, court and jail services, counter-terrorism measures, the “race relations” industry and a host of others)*
- iv. Ending the billions pumped into the EU swindle*
- v. Severely curtailing the tax-subsidised feeding frenzy at Westminster and other levels of government*
- vi. Cutting back all unnecessary layers of government which have been artificially created by years of politically correct Labour and Tory rule.*

None of these proposals seem new to the party post financial crisis. Some of the money, such as the proposal to end the foreign aid budget, has already had the money reallocated for further use.

The UK government’s structural deficit is currently running at around £90 billion per annum and yet the BNP’s budget cuts hardly account for just £25 bn, a quarter of the necessary amount and nowhere near the scale needed to close the deficit and support the BNP’s claim that afterward “there will be more than enough money to pay for essential services”. ⁵

3.4 Boost NHS staff numbers & pay

The BNP wishes to boost the staff numbers in the NHS, and to pay them better to encourage better workers.

² BNP manifesto, 2005

³ BNP manifesto, 2005

⁴ <http://bnp.org.uk/2008/08/brown%E2%80%99s-desperado-scheme-set-to-utterly-bankrupt-britain/>

⁵ <http://bnp.org.uk/2008/08/brown%E2%80%99s-desperado-scheme-set-to-utterly-bankrupt-britain/>

They wish to “replace 100,000 NHS bureaucrats with doctors, nurses and dentists” and “train and pay to retain British doctors, nurses and dentists instead of looting the Third World of staff who are desperately needed in their home countries.”⁶

The current wage bill for the NHS is £30bn a year. Let us estimate that the BNP wished to increase staff numbers in aggregate by 20% and pay by 10%, raising the wage bill to around £40 bn. The Government would receive around 30% of this back in taxes, so the total cost would be closer to £7 bn.

3.5 Massive increase of anti-pandemic research

The BNP believes that “medical research facilities researching the potential for global pandemics ... must receive immediate and massive increases in funding.”⁷

The Medical Research Council currently has a budget of £700 million a year⁸. If the BNP, did not wish to reduce the research budget for other priorities, it would probably require an extra £100 million a year of funding.

3.6 Reopen every old grammar school

The BNP wishes to “reopen every closed grammar school, and... allow every community that wants such a school to open one.”⁹

There are currently 164 grammar schools open. The number of grammar schools peaked in 1964 at 1,298.¹⁰

There are currently around 3,000 secondary schools in the UK.¹¹ To replace or rebuild 1000 of them would be a considerable expense. The government’s recent Building Schools for the Future programme intended to rebuild or remodel every secondary school in the country and cost £55 bn.¹² It seems a fair estimate that even if no new facilities were built, to restructure 2000 new schools (both the grammars and new secondary moderns) would cost at least at least in the order of a quarter of this, or £15bn.

3.7 Build new high speed railways

The BNP wishes to “invest in a high speed, magnetic levitation, inter-city rail network.”¹³

Network Rail has estimated that a new high railway system would cost around £35bn to build. However, they also argue that it would bring about £60bn of benefits to the country.

3.8 Develop alternate fuels such as bio-diesel and hydrogen

The BNP wishes to “develop alternative transport fuels such as bio-diesel and hydrogen ... [and] develop renewable energy sources such as off-shore wind farms, wave, tidal and solar energy.”¹⁴

⁶ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

⁷ BNP Manifesto, 2005

⁸ <http://www.mrc.ac.uk/About/Factsfigures/index.htm>

⁹ BNP Manifesto, 2005

¹⁰ <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/briefings/snsg-01398.pdf>

¹¹ <http://www.hse.org.uk/ssp/downloads/secondary-school-sizes.pdf>

¹² <http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2009/aug/30/building-schools-future-planning-costs>

¹³ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

¹⁴ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

3.9 Renationalise public utilities

The BNP wishes to “renationalise monopoly utilities, compensating only individual investors and pension funds.”¹⁵

As part of its nationalist ideology, the BNP would reverse the government policy of the last fifty years and renationalise utilities and natural monopolies such as the water, electricity and railway companies.

Privatisations have not always been the most popular of government policy, and have varied in their rate of success. However, there have been genuine benefits to consumers. Empirical evidence shows that on the whole privatization increases profitability and efficiency.¹⁶

Benefits that could be lost include: ¹⁷

- Price cuts in telecoms
- Price cuts in electricity and gas prices (until increase in wholesale prices in 2003)
- Better customer service
- Increased customer choice
- Major investment in power plants, water and sewerage, railways, airports
- Greater environmental standards

The danger is that with no one in the political mainstream prepared to stand up for the privatised companies, this BNP policy will prove popular.

Further, the cost of renationalising the telecoms, energy, transport and water industries would also be enormous, on the scale of say £300 bn.

3.10 Reduce benefit fraud

The BNP argue that they can save money through reducing benefit fraud.

The DWP has estimated that total benefit fraud and overpayments costs £3bn a year. Let us be generous, and assume the BNP eradicate it all.

3.11 Reduce politician's benefits

The BNP argues that significant money can be saved through reducing politician's benefits.

The Conservatives recently put forward plans for “Cutting the Cost of Politics.”¹⁸ These were expected to save around £120 million a year.

Let us be generous and say that with drastic changes the BNP could save three times that level, or in the order of £350 million a year.

3.12 Avoid unnecessary layers of government

The BNP argues that money can be saved through reducing unnecessary layers of government.

¹⁵ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

¹⁶ Privatization and Its Benefits: Theory and Evidence Eytan Sheshinski and Luis F. López-Calva*

¹⁷ http://www.adamsmith.org/images/pdf/privatization_reviving_the_momentum.pdf

¹⁸ http://www.conservatives.com/News/News_stories/2009/09/Cutting_the_cost_of_politics.aspx

However, it is unclear they wish to remove. Indeed, they in addition propose to “introduce an English parliament within the United Kingdom.”¹⁹ The Scottish Parliament costs around £70 m a year to run. The population of England is ten times the population of Scotland, so it seems fair to assume that the cost of an English Parliament would be in the order of £700m to run.

One estimate is around £6.9 bn, the amount a recent Tax Payers Alliance report concluded could be saved through reduction in government.

3.13 Restore Britain’s old fishing grounds

The BNP argues that “Britain must withdraw from the Common Fisheries Policy”.²⁰

The Tax Payers Alliance has estimated that the Common Fishing Policy costs Britain around £2.8bn a year.²¹

Tax take as a proportion of GDP is around 40%, so we can imagine this boosting the government’s finances in the order of around £1bn.

3.14 CAP phased out

The BNP argues that “Britain must withdraw from the Common Agricultural Policy.”²²

The Tax Payers Alliance gave an estimate that CAP costs us £10.3bn a year.²³

This would boost government finances in the order of £4 bn.

¹⁹ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

²⁰ BNP Europe Manifesto 2009

²¹ <http://www.taxpayersalliance.com/CFP.pdf>

²² BNP Europe Manifesto 2009

²³ <http://www.taxpayersalliance.com/cap.pdf>

4 Tax

For the BNP, tax is a deeply ideological issue, and this ideology had lead them to surprisingly counterintuitive priorities in their tax policy.

While they accept the current level of government spending in the economy they do object to income tax, claiming that “there is actually very little difference between the feudal mediaeval serf ... and the position of the modern wage slave who must work half the entire year before reaching his ‘tax freedom day’.”²⁴

While this rhetoric might suggest they believe in a monarchist position, or as low tax rates possible, their proposal is to instead replace income tax with increased consumption taxes. It is not clear how this is ideologically different from being taxed directly on income, although they do argue that it would encourage a greater culture of saving.

For the large part however it is the wealthy who can afford to save, and as such they spend a far lower proportion of their income. Any move from an income to consumption tax is massively regressive, removing many of the redistributive elements of the current tax system.

Indeed, the BNP have pledged to yet more tax breaks for the relatively well off: the raising of the inheritance tax threshold to £1 million, the abolition of student fees, and a new married man’s allowance. On top of this they throw in a few populist cuts for which it is not sure how they would pay: a halving of council tax, the abolition of the car tax disc and an end to the BBC licence fee.

The people who would lose out most from a BNP government tax policy are the working classes, and those on lower incomes. They would see a massive increase in their overall tax bill, and very few corresponding benefits or improvements in the public services.

The BNP’s policies

4.1 Raise income tax threshold to £15,000

As a first step, the BNP would “raise the threshold for paying income tax to £15,000”.²⁵ In 2008, the Adam Smith Institute calculated that the cost of raising the threshold from around £6000 to £12,000 would be £18.9 billion.²⁶ Let us assume then that the cost of raising to £15,000 would be in the order of £25 billion.

4.2 Increase VAT rate

In order to pay for their eventual abolition of income tax, the BNP freely admit that they will need to raise consumption taxes such as VAT and tariffs.

Income tax currently brings in around £150 bn²⁷ while VAT brings in around £80-100 billion²⁸.

²⁴ BNP manifesto 2005

²⁵ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

²⁶ <http://www.adamsmith.org/publications/economy/why-alistair-darling-should-raise-the-personal-allowance-200811242484/>

²⁷ www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/5651825/Benefit-payouts-will-exceed-income-tax-revenue.html

²⁸ en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taxation_in_the_United_Kingdom

While it is not clear the exact balance that will be made between VAT and tariffs, if £150 was attempted to be recovered on VAT alone it is clear we would need to see at least 2.5 times increase in the rate.²⁹

This would take us to a VAT rate of around 50%.

4.3 Reintroduce married man's allowance

The BNP wishes to “reintroduce the married man’s allowance.”³⁰ It is unclear how this would interact with their above proposal to significantly raise personal allowances. As a first approximation, we can instead use the figure the Centre for Social Justice used in their calls for the government to reincentivise marriage. They estimated this would cost in the order of £3.2 bn.

4.4 Raise inheritance tax to £1,000,000

The BNP wishes to “raise the inheritance tax threshold to £1 million”³¹. This is the same as the Conservative Party policy, which has been costed at £3.1bn a year.³²

4.5 Abolish student fees & return to grants

The BNP wishes to “abolish fees and restore full grants to university students studying proper subjects”.

³³

CentreForum has estimated that abolishing tuition fees would cost the Chancellor £2bn a year.³⁴

Beyond this, this policy would reduce the abilities of universities to raise extra revenue in future, and they would be likely to fall ever further behind the leading world universities. It is difficult to see how this corresponds with the BNP’s wish to turn Britain into a world leader for research and development.

4.6 Halve council tax

The BNP has put forward an aspiration to “halve council tax [through] centralising education costs ... eliminating multiculturalism spending and unnecessary bureaucracy”³⁵

Council tax raised £21.9bn in 2009³⁶. In 2000, William Hague argued that LEAs should be abolished and that this would save £4 bn.³⁷ Since then, spending on education has doubled, and so it is arguable that this could save £8 bn. It isn’t clear what the BNP mean by “unnecessary bureaucracy”, but these proposals seem at least to be of the right order of magnitude.

²⁹ This does not take into account elasticity of demand, which would increase the rate still further. However, on the other hand, the BNP should be able to recover significant amounts of income from their tax policy.

³⁰ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

³¹ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

³² <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1564767/Tories-to-hike-inheritance-tax-threshold-to-1m.html>

³³ BNP Mini Manifesto, 2007

³⁴ <http://www.centreforum.org/assets/pubs/times-up.pdf>

³⁵ British National Party Summary Manifesto, 2007

³⁶ <http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/news/2733428/Council-tax-has-doubled-in-10-years.html>

³⁷ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/tories-would-end-education-authorities-701968.html>

4.7 Abolish BBC licence fee

The BNP wish to abolish the “nuisance”³⁸ licence fee. Their nationalist ideology suggests that they would not wish to privatise the BBC, and neither do they seem to wish to abolish it. As such they would have to raise the cost of the licence fee through general taxation. This is currently around £3.5bn a year.³⁹

4.8 Abolish car tax discs

The BNP also wish to abolish Vehicle Excise Duty which they see as an “over-bureaucratic and unnecessary method of tax collection”⁴⁰.

There have been proposals by other groups in the past to do so, and increase raise the tax on fuel. However, the BNP have explicitly ruled out raising any further the tax on petrol. As such, they will have to meet this out of general taxation. The annual income from Vehicle Excise Duty is currently around £5.5 bn.

4.9 Introduce tax on junk food

The BNP wish to introduce a tax on junk food to encourage healthy eating.

Many similar proposals have been made over the last few years, and it is normally suggested that the easiest method would be to remove the zero rate of VAT on unhealthy foods.

According to the ONS, the average household spends around £48 a week on food. If we assume that a quarter of this is unhealthy and would suffer the new junk food tax, then the average household would see an increased weekly shopping bill of £2, or annually around £100. There are around 25 million households in the UK, so this could be expected to annually raise for the Government in the order of £2.5 bn.

³⁸ BNP Manifesto 2005

³⁹ BBC's 2008–2009 Annual Report

⁴⁰ BNP Manifesto 2005

5 Industrial policy

Key Points

- Return Britain to a strong state directed manufacturing economy in the style of Japan or South Korea
- Break up big box stores or supermarkets such as Tesco, Primark and Ikea
- 5 new taxes on the cost of food
- Significantly increase regulation in financial services industry

Besides their basic populism, there are strong two threads that run through the BNP's vision of the economy.

The first is a belief that Britain needs a strong manufacturing sector in order to produce true national wealth and well paid jobs, and that this can only be produced by a combination of strong government leadership and tariffs on foreign imports.

The second belief, somewhat conversely, is that big industry is inherently alienating, turning workers into little more than 'cogs in a machine.' When the capital requirements are low enough in the BNP's opinion to make it practical, they believe that larger companies should be broken up. Their distributist ideas believe that whenever possible, workers should be in control of their own capital, allowing them to have pride and control in their work.

As such, the BNP propose a dual program. On the one side large manufacturing industries and newly renationalised public utilities will work hand in hand with the government in a continental style corporatist system. Investment would be back in the control of the government, rather than the chaos and the corruption of the City. On the other large consumer firms such as Tesco, Primark and Ikea will be broken up, and control handed back to those who work within them.

Unfortunately government policies of 'picking winners' have a poor track record of successfully identifying infant industries to give additional trade protection and investment. Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry originally backed the steel and chemical industries, not cars or electronics. The growth of the Asian Tigers, the BNP's chosen role models, was more likely due to a combination of their population's high savings rate and 'catch up' growth from starting such a long way behind the west. Neither case holds in Britain.

The balance of sectors and industries in an economy are based on long running and economic political forces. It depends on the march of technology, on a country's comparative advantage, the productivity of its workforce and institutions and the constant evolution of consumers' desires and demands.

While manufacturing productivity continues to improve, consumers desires increasing are dominated by service industries : healthcare, communications and so on. While Britain suffers in manufacturing from a shortage of cheap land, labour and natural resources, in contrast as a highly educated, creative English speaking country with cultural links across the globe the UK has a strong comparative advantage in services, and there is no reason for it not to flourish in the coming century.

Throughout the last hundred years we have seen the economic turmoil that can result when an industry ceases to be economic, and is forced to close. In many cases, long term trends mean change is unavoidable and has to be adapted to as best as possible. The BNP on the other hand seems to wish non forced cutbacks in many of the UK's key service industries. Even if this is possible, the bill will be enormous : soaring unemployment, increased social tension and rocketing welfare bills.

Neither is the BNP's plan to break up large retail firms workable or fair. A combination of globalisation, increased economies of scale and a highly competitive retail sector has lead to ever decreasing costs. The

chief benefactors of this have been the poorest in our society, who have enjoyed an enhanced standard of living, diversity and quality of goods that previously only the wealthy could enjoy.

The BNP's plans would reverse this trend. The downside of attempting to return the economy to its structure from the 1950s, that it is possible to turn the standard of living back too.

Worst hit would be the most basic purchase for any family: food. No less than five policies from the BNP would combine to make food more expensive. There would be increased VAT, increased tariffs, the breakup of the supermarkets, the introduction of a new bulk transport tax on food and new taxes on junk food to encourage healthy living. The total result could be a doubling of the average family's food bill.

The BNP's policies

5.1 Return Britain to a manufacturing economy

The BNP believe that their system of trade barriers will turn Britain back into a manufacturing economy.

In the 1960s 39.4% of employment was in manufacturing, whereas in 2007 this has dropped to only 13%. Let us suppose that the BNP wished to return to this level.

This would require around 25% of the working age population to move industries. The labour force of the UK is currently around 31 million so in effect this would mean that somewhere in the order of 8 million workers would need to begin jobs in the manufacturing industry. Unemployment is currently 7.5% and economic inactivity 22 % - unless near everyone currently not in work, including the ill and disabled, began to work in manufacturing this would have to require massive transitional unemployment as people moved between industries.

It is also worth noting that as part of their distributist ethos, the BNP seeks after meaningful work. Services work, whether through its high level of personal interaction or high reliance on creativity and analysis, can often be more varied and interesting than manufacturing work. Mining towns often had a strong community spirit, and it is a shame that this has been lost; it is not so clear that we should be so keen to send people back to the pits.

5.2 Encourage workers co-operatives

The BNP wishes to "encourage ... worker-share ownership and profit sharing."⁴¹

While there is nothing wrong with companies like John Lewis, Waitrose or other workers co-operatives per se, the impact of this policy will depend greatly on its implementation. If, as is suggested by the BNP's ideology, other forms of ownership are outright prohibited for certain size firms, then there is a distinct danger of this acting as a disincentive to risk taking entrepreneurs. Without entrepreneurs starting new businesses, the growth rate of the economy would be severely reduced.

5.3 Break up retail parks & supermarkets

As part of their distributist ideology, Griffin and the BNP disapprove of "economically and politically damaging" supermarkets and retail parks. Their 2005 manifesto argues that they are guilty of "exploiting British consumers and farmers ... [and] financing political parties and unhealthy technologies ... They encourage car dependence and socially disadvantage pensioners, single mothers and non-car (poorer) families.

⁴¹ BNP Mini Manifesto, 2007

Their solution is for the supermarkets to be broken up and replaced by worker controlled co-operatives with “fresh food sections of supermarkets ... a prime target for conversion into owner-run ‘urban markets’.” In addition, they would impose “a general ban on out-of town retail/leisure developments”⁴² and “facilitate a massive and irreversible long-term shift away from giant, mono-cultural agribusiness land-holdings”.⁴³

Large retailers have never been popular with fascists. As far back as 1920, plank 16 of the Nazi’s platform was “We demand the creation of a healthy middle class and its conservation, immediate communalization of the great [department stores] and their being leased at low cost to small firms, the utmost consideration of all small firms in contracts with the State, county or municipality.”⁴⁴ By 1933, “chain stores were forbidden to expand or open new branches ... [and] offering a discount of more than three per cent on prices.”⁴⁵

In reality, big box retailers have actually helped keep food and basic consumer items cheap and available to the poor.

Supermarkets have been extensively investigated by the Office of Fair Trading and the Competition Commission. The OFT estimated that price levels showed a real decrease of 7% between 2000 and 2005, saving consumers £3 billion per annum. Product range increased by 40% over five years. Tesco claims that 85% of its customers regard their service as good or excellent, and as improving over the last five years.

In the markets in which they compete, supermarkets tend to be fiercely competitive – supermarkets may drive out the single monopoly village shop of the past, but then continue to contest with each other.

Without the supermarket chains, we could expect the reversal of these trends and prices to instead increase by 7% every year. Households would be worse off by £175 a year. In ten years, the weekly shop would cost twice as much.

5.4 Create a bulk transport tax

The BNP wish to introduce a bulk transport tax in order to encourage supermarkets to source more food locally and when it’s in season.

In order for this to work, it would need to raise the cost of all food so as to make local food more price competitive.

Let us assume that it added 20% to the average food bill or around £10 a week for the average household, and an extra £12.5bn in revenue for the Government.

5.5 Increase regulation in financial services industry

The BNP argues that regulation should be significantly increased in the financial services sector.

In particular they state that:

“Under a future British Nationalist government, a specific statutory framework would be developed to dictate not only the banks’ minimum capital requirements, but also the specific instruments permitted to be sold. Furthermore, a British Nationalist government would maintain proprietary shareholder stakes in all the major banks, and appoint Compliance Directors to the banks’ Audit & Risk Committees, to ensure both that effective internal controls are in place, and that the statutory regulations are being observed.”

⁴² http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/BNP_uk_manifesto.pdf

⁴³ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/BNP_uk_manifesto.pdf

⁴⁴ Liberal Fascism, Jonah Goldberg, pg 304

⁴⁵ *The Third Reich in Power*, Ricard J Evans, Penguin, 2005 (via Spiked Online)

Nationalism has a long history of antagonism against the financial services industry.

In the 1930s, the attack was often on the Jewish capitalist. Today, the BNP uses what it calls 'banksters' as a convenient scapegoat, and has increased its rhetoric on a significant and historic element of the British economy, arguing that they "cannot be let off the hook".

The financial services industry contribute around 7.5-10.8% of GDP in Britain, paying £67.8bn in taxes in the financial year ending 31 March 2007 alone, 13.9% of the UK total. Is one of the few service sectors where Britain remains strongly competitive.

London has many international rivals in the financial services industry, and its labour is highly mobile. If the business environment were to become significantly less friendly, than many employers and employees would feel no hesitation in emigrating, leaving a huge hole in the British economy and fiscal outlook.

As a rough measure, suppose that financial services were reduced to the level they are at in Germany, at 3.8% of the economy ⁴⁶ or half their current size. The treasury would then find itself short of £34bn of revenue.

⁴⁶ Economic Contribution of the UK Financial Services 2009, IFSL Reseach

6 Trade

Key points

- BNP protectionism could cost 8% of GDP, or £2000 for every person in the country
- Price rises and long waiting lists for vital foreign goods such as clothes, medicines, electronics and furniture
- Economy becomes less dynamic, and growth rate dwindles

The BNP wishes to “help nurture and encourage new and existing British industries to be successful” and “protect British companies from unfair foreign imports” through a system of tariffs, “buy British” policies and other non-tariff barriers to trade. ⁴⁷

They believe that globalisation is a threat to the stability and wealth of the British economy, and that the only way to return Britain to a secure, prosperous, manufacturing dominated nation is through enacting a system of tariffs and quotas. Their role models again are the East Asian tigers, who they believe effectively protected their country’s infant industries until they were ready to become world leaders.

A better comparison, however, would be to look at the examples of Australia and Ireland, countries much more similar to Britain economically culturally and economically, and both of which that followed policies of effective autarky through much of the twentieth century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Australia was the highest income country in the world. By 1999, it was down to twenty sixth. Only as tariffs began to fall did Australia’s economy re-emerge, and in the 1990s it was the strongest advanced economy other than Ireland and Norway.

Whilst much of Western Europe saw strong growth of near 6% a year across the 1950s, protectionist Ireland grew by only 2% and employment by 1%, its economy stagnating.

While the theoretical case for free trade is endorsed by economists from across the political spectrum, it is neither rare nor impossible to conceive of supposed theoretical exceptions to create an optimal tariff or protect infant industries. In practice, however, the benefits of free trade have empirically proved clear to see. Countries which have opened their borders have flourished whilst those who have cowered behind tariffs and quotas have stagnated.

The last thirty years have seen the ever increasing rise of globalization. Although the global reduction in trade barriers has played a huge part, the story is as much technological as political. Ever decreasing transport and communication costs due to the rise of the internet, air travel and the containerization revolution have helped accelerate global integration to a new level.

Increased trade brings increased market size and allows consumers to enjoy lower prices, greater variety and better quality, and companies greater innovation, specialization and economies of scale. Shutting off Britain would be to reverse much of this. It has been estimated that a one percent gain in share of trade corresponds to a one percent increase in income.⁴⁸

In 1808 the United States congress imposed an embargo on shipping that effectively turned the country into an autarky. In 1809 the policy was abandoned due to the harm it was doing to the economy, but the data allows us to see that in a time when the trade share was only 13% GNP fell by about 5%. Similarly, it is estimated that when Japan left autarky after 1858 they earned a static gain from trade in the order of 8% of GDP.

A static drop in UK GDP today of 8% would make every person in the country £2000 worse off.

⁴⁷ BNP Mini Manifesto, 2007

⁴⁸ Noguera, Siscart

In addition, consumer welfare is based on more than simple cost of goods. The quality and variety matter enormously too, and perhaps the worst legacy of a protectionist system would be a decrease in the variety of goods available. It has been estimated that American consumers are better off by 2.8% of GDP or \$300 billion due to the variety received from imports⁴⁹. In the UK, that would be the equivalent of every person being another £700 worse off each year.

Although these static losses are important and hit the poor especially hard, they are likely not the main reason that Australia and Ireland fell behind. Arguably far more important than the general loss in welfare is the ongoing cut in growth. Ironically in a world of perfect free markets and free competition this might be less important, but in the real world trade barriers can act as a shelter for inefficient industries. Protected from effective international competition domestic companies have little incentive to innovate, cut costs or improve value for money and the end result is a long term decline in the competitiveness and productivity of a nation.

It is for the same reason that foreign direct investment can be so important to a country. Beyond the direct infusion of jobs and capitals, the entrance of foreign companies helps to spread new practices, technologies and training. Inevitably these leak out as workers change jobs and domestic companies are forced to up their game, and the end result is a general improvement in the economy.

Beyond its economic effects, protectionism can have a severe impact on the long term dynamism and power of a nation. Throughout history, countries that have tried to shut themselves from the world have found their technology, ideas and goods falling slowly behind. Medieval China was the economic and scientific powerhouse of the historical world until its emperors made a conscious decision to seek isolation. China is only now just recovering from this mistake, once it has again started to open its markets.

BNP Policies

6.1 Introduce tariffs on manufactured goods

The BNP have not given specifics on the exact level of tariffs they plan to impose, or which sectors will be worst hit.

In the past, countries that have followed economic nationalist principles have adopted a range of measures to try and support their industries, which we can imagine the BNP adopting. These include tariffs, quotas, special tax arrangements, cheap loans, and currency undervaluation.

If the BNP were to follow a moderately aggressive tariff strategy, we could expect to see an average effective rate of protection of around 40%. Imports are around \$640bn or £400 bn.⁵⁰ A 40% tariff would therefore initially raise around £160bn in taxation. If this were not redistributed, the average person in Britain would be £2,667 worse off. As the poor consume a far larger proportion of their income, the results of this move would be highly regressive.

In the medium term, if the policy were to achieve its aims, consumers would switch their consumption away from foreign imports to domestic goods. While it is difficult to say what the elasticity of demand for imports is, as a rough measure let us say that if imports are reduced by 50%, reducing the tax take to £80 bn.

It should also be noted that tariffs hurt more than consumers, and it is a mistake to consider imports separately from exports. Exports are simply the price we must pay for imports, and as such any tax on imports is ultimately equivalent to a tax on exports. Empirically we see across time and across countries a

⁴⁹ Broda, Weinstein

⁵⁰ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/uk.html>

near one to one correspondence between a country's share of GDP in imports and its share in exports. It is for this reason that the employment effects of trade restrictions tend to cancel out – any gains in employment from decreased imports are balanced by job losses from reduced exports. While imports tend to originate from low productivity industries exports industries tend to show relatively high productivity, and so the end result of decreasing exports is to reduce productivity and therefore average wages.

Many imported goods are used as inputs to other downstream domestic industries, which would not always be able to pass on the cost of their increased inputs. The end result is that tariffs can actually lose more jobs than they save. For example, in the US in 1998 the 40-to-1 coalition estimated that the steel industry's anti-dumping suits aimed at protecting just 200,000 workers in the steel industry would hurt 8,000,000 workers in steel-using industries.

Tariffs are significantly redistributive, moving income from consumers to government and domestic producers through taxes and higher prices. This redistribution is not perfectly efficient however and by distorting prices and incentives, trade restrictions create deadweight losses in the economy.

Other policies as an alternative to tariffs are not necessarily any better. While quotas may be less visible to the end consumer, while tariffs are at least retained by domestic governments, the induced artificial scarcity of quota creates economic rents, which are captured by overseas producers and lost to the domestic economy forever.

In short, tariffs would likely cost each person in Britain £1300 directly, reduce diversity and quality in the economy and endanger long term growth.

6.2 End foreign domestic investment

In November 2009, Nick Griffin was quoted on the BNP website saying “We have to bring all British industry back under British ownership and we need make protecting existing manufacturing jobs and investing in new manufacturing jobs our priority.”

However, their last general election manifesto claimed that “since we are not egalitarian socialists, it is not our intention to run around expropriating existing businesses”.

Putting these two claims together it seems reasonable to assume that the BNP would purchase foreign companies that have facilities in Britain, with costs that could run into the hundreds of billions of pounds.

6.3 Create new supertax on outsourcing

The BNP wishes to “increase taxes on companies which out-source work abroad.”⁵¹

There are two dangers to this policy. Firstly, many companies may choose to leave the country entirely rather than suffer punitive taxes.

Secondly, it would make goods more expensive, and these costs would get passed onto consumers, making everyone worse off.

⁵¹ BNP Mini Manifesto, 2007

7 Immigration

Key Points

- The BNP promises to end all further immigration, expel all illegal immigrants and encourage Britons of other ethnicities to emigrate through a new system of grants
- Britain loses between two to six million of its population
- Cosmopolitan and global companies flee to New York or Singapore
- Business and public services wrecked as lose significant numbers of staff
- New border control adds massive red tape to business

The BNP's signature policy is to limit and eventually reverse immigration. They would "deport all the two million plus who are here illegally", "offer generous grants to those of foreign descent resident here who wish to leave permanently" and finally "stop all new immigration except for exceptional cases."⁵²

The economic effect of immigration on the UK is controversial and difficult to measure, both in its effect on the economy as a whole and the UK government's fiscal situation. Both the benefits and costs of greater immigration are hard to quantify; it is difficult to put a monetary value on cultural diversity, or on the flip side, the dangers of failing social cohesion.

However, it is fair to say that much of the BNP's policy on immigration is based on four ideas that are at best highly economically dubious.

There is little evidence that immigrants take jobs from native British workers. Immigrants not only take jobs, but create them too. In the twentieth century there was a massive influx of new employees as women entered the workforce, but in the medium this did not cause unemployment. It is an economic fallacy to believe that there are a fixed number of jobs in the world. In reality immigrants can be a complement to British workers, not a substitute. Polish plumbers, Filipino nannies and Afro Caribbean nurses provide jobs that there simply aren't enough British people who can or want to do.

Neither is there evidence that immigration lowers unskilled wages. In the long run, wages are based on the productivity of the workforce, not its size. By making the British economy more efficient, immigration can actually increase productivity and therefore wages. A recent study found in the US that a 1% increase in immigrant employment corresponded to a 0.5% increase in income for all workers.⁵³

Neither do immigrants travel to Britain for its benefits system, or make a drain on public finances. Immigrants tend to be young, hard working, without dependents and past the age of education. Most new residents are not entitled to any benefits. It is controversial and hard to judge the fiscal consequences of immigration, but the recent House of Lords Report concluded that they were best estimated at zero.

Finally, it is important not to accept the soft racism at the heart of the BNP's economic analysis and count the welfare of the immigrants themselves for nought. It is uncontroversial that immigration raises the welfare of the immigrants themselves, and that the immigrants in the large tend to be poor. A recent study estimated that immigrants to the US ended up \$20,000 better off⁵⁴. Remittances from migrants to their native countries total at least \$200 billion, more than double the level of official government aid. According to the World Bank, remittances can act as a significant contribution to third world countries – in some cases, reducing the poverty rate by as much as a third. Immigration has acted as one of the greatest anti poverty schemes in history, and this should not easily be overlooked.

⁵² BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

⁵³ Peri, *The Effect of Immigration on Productivity*

⁵⁴ http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR854/

Moreover, immigration helps an economy in multiple ways through increasing its productivity, flexibility and diversity. Immigrants are highly welcomed by business – in a recent survey, three quarters of members of the Institute of Directors supported the view that “migrant workers make a significant positive contribution to the UK economy.” Historically speaking, it is difficult to find any examples of countries harmed by immigration. On the other hand, the United States pursued a policy of open borders until the early twentieth century, and in the process became the richest country in the world.

One of the defining features of globalisation has been that now firms can easily serve customers across the globe, ironically the importance of localness between firms has only increased. Industries have increasingly tended to cluster in one place, where the best and the brightest can meet to share ideas, network and start new companies. Such clusters rely on their ability to attract the best from across the world, and their creative, cosmopolitan atmosphere. In the US, Hollywood is the home of the entertainment industry, where Asian Directors, Australian stars and British writers can work together to produce films enjoyed all over the world. In Silicon Valley, the home of technology, the leaders of the web revolution Google, eBay and Yahoo were all co-founded by immigrants. London in turn is a global centre of finance, of media, of art and of fashion, relying on the skills and new ideas of its international population.

Further, there would be real military costs to a reduced population and thus GDP. The military power that a nation can afford is closely related to its absolute GDP, not GDP per capita. The Taiwanese population is much richer than their Chinese neighbours; Taiwan would have little chance in a war with China. Beyond this, there are currently 11,300 ethnic minorities serving in the British Armed Forces.⁵⁵ Without them, Britain would lose 10% of its military manpower.

In any case in order to succeed in ending further immigration, Britain would have to be turned into a fortress with every bag, ship and container checked, the seas patrolled regularly by the navy, an end to student and tourist visas and business visas only for the rich. The costs and disruption to business would be enormous.

7.1 End and then reverse immigration

The BNP’s signature policy is to limit and eventually reverse immigration. They would “deport all the two million plus who are here illegally”, “offer generous grants to those of foreign descent resident here who wish to leave permanently” and finally “stop all new immigration except for exceptional cases.”⁵⁶

The UK currently receives around 590,000 immigrants a year. There are estimated to be around 2,000,000 illegal immigrants a year. Around 11% of the residents in the country are currently not UK born.

If we take a moderate view on the BNP’s migration policy, we can assume that they would prevent future immigration and repatriate all illegal immigrants. In ten years therefore the UK’s population would be about 8,000,000 lower than it otherwise is. GDP per capita is currently around £25,000 – if we assume a constant growth rate of 2%, in ten years it would be around £30,000 so that 8,000,000 people would be worth something in the order of £240bn to the economy.

If we take an extreme view and assume that the BNP wishes to repatriate the entire non native 11% of the population as would seem consistent with their ideology, then GDP would shrink by a further £150 bn.

Moreover, the impact on both the public sector and the private sector would be immense. Foreign workers are disproportionately employed in sectors such as care, catering and cleaning, all sectors that are

⁵⁵<http://www.mod.uk/DefenceInternet/DefenceNews/DefencePolicyAndBusiness/UkArmedForceAt972PerCentFulltimeStrength.htm>

⁵⁶ BNP Mini Manifesto 2007

likely to expand in the future with an aging population. 70% of catering jobs are currently carried out by migrants. The NHS would be devastated without its foreign staff; more than half the newly registered doctors between 1992-2002 qualified outside Britain.⁵⁷

Perhaps these jobs could be taken by British workers, but it seems unlikely that those laid off from a factory would find it desirable work. In order to compensate them for the frankly often unpleasant nature of the work, British workers would have to be paid more, pushing up both prices and taxes.

The economic impact of a restriction on immigration would be to leave a huge hole in the economy and the Government's fiscal position. The cost of services would go up, and the enhanced productivity immigration brings to the economy would be lost.

7.2 Increase funding of border controls by 500%

The BNP wishes to “[increase] the funding of existing border controls by 500%” in an attempt to significantly raise the number of border guards and prevent all illegal immigration.⁵⁸

In 2007/2008 the annual budget of border control was £1.46 bn. The BNP wishes to raise this figure by 500%. This means that we would need to find an additional £5.84 bn.

7.3 Double foreign aid budget and use for resettlement grants

The BNP wishes to double the foreign aid budget and then use this money as resettlement grants to encourage recent immigrants to return back to their former countries.

The BNP argues that the foreign aid budget is £9 bn. It follows that they would need to fund another £9 bn. Further, whereas the foreign aid budget brings us certain trade advantages and international good will, any money from resettlement grants would be simply lost to the economy.

7.4 Measure national welfare by GDP per capita

The BNP argues that GDP is a misleading measure of the welfare of the economy and that a better measure is GDP per capita.

Immigration is one of the greatest anti poverty measures currently present in the world today. It allows millions of hard working, ambitious people to better themselves and the lives of their children. By only looking at the effect on GDP per capita, we effectively say that their increased welfare is worthless.

It is important to look at whether immigration helps or harms the lives of the existing population. But too often the BNP's line on this has been followed in the mainstream debate, and the lives of the immigrants themselves are ignored.

⁵⁷ Legrain

⁵⁸ BNP Manifesto 2005

8 Law & order

Key Points

- The BNP would bring back the death penalty, national service and corporate punishment in schools
- Compulsory assault rifles in every household
- Press put under “greater democratic control”
- Popular television shows such as Easters and Coronation Street would be censored

The BNP believes that British society has been in decline for the last fifty years – and that the only way to restore it is through a new culture of discipline and order. Corporal punishment will be brought back to a new system of grammar schools, and popular television shows will be carefully moderated so as not to encourage bad behaviour. Crime will be tackled by the government with new, tougher sentences (including the restoration of the death penalty) and by citizens, each of which on completion of national service, will be legally obliged to keep an assault rifle in their homes.

The BNP has liberalised in recent years to some extent in line with the rest of society (it no longer wishes to criminalise homosexuality), but much of its law and order and social policy remains based on little more than reactionary nostalgia. The BNP wishes that the country could return to a 50s Britain where crime was low, there was plenty of well paid manufacturing jobs – and the country was white.

There is little understanding in the BNP’s agenda of the complexity of social problems, how to deal with entrenched poverty and social deprivation. There is little concern for civil liberties, or protection against an over powerful central state. Instead, the BNP wishes to import wholesale a Swizz style gun culture with little understanding of how foreign this is to British culture.

When combined with the BNP’s authoritarian immigration policy, the result is likely to be a divided, violent and fearful society, policed by a central state that nobody can stand up to.

BNP Policies

8.1 More authoritarian crime policy

The BNP plans “the re-introduction of corporal punishment for petty criminals and vandals, and the restoration of capital punishment for paedophiles, terrorists and murderers”, “Criminals should be made to serve their full sentences, with time added for bad behaviour”⁵⁹ and that prisons should be made “more austere.”⁶⁰

In effect, this would be a severe authoritarian shock to the British justice system, reversing a long time trend to focus more on rehabilitation and less on punishment. Whether this highly populist move might endear the BNP to some, it seems unclear that it would truly be effective in reducing crime and reoffending rates seems debatable.

8.2 Censorship of television

The BNP believes that “return to traditional standards of civility and politeness in British life. Standards of politeness must be taught in school, demanded of government employees in their interactions with the public and exemplified on the BBC. Soap operas, for instance, should seek to portray slightly ‘higher’ than real-life behaviour as the norm, rather than setting out to show ordinary people – in particular the white working class - in the most negative and unattractive light possible.”⁶¹

⁵⁹ BNP manifesto 2005

⁶⁰ bnp.org.uk/policies/law-and-order/

⁶¹ BNP manifesto, 2005

While the end goal of a more polite society may seem a laudable one, it is unclear how much a government can truly alter a country's culture. If the BNP were serious about implementing this, it would seem to require mass censorship of British television, books, plays, the Internet and more. When combined with a highly controversial government, the danger of suppressing criticism of the government seems very real.

8.3 Censorship of press

The BNP believes that the media "is at present not subject to any democratic check or control... On the assumption of power we would therefore hold meetings with the proprietors in question in an effort to thrash out ways in which they would agree to ending any possibility of abuse of their power... We will replace the PCC – an organisation dominated by those upon whom it is supposed to sit in judgement – with a truly independent body with the power to grant the victims of media falsehood the Right of Reply with equal prominence, plus financial compensation. For particularly bad cases, we will create a new criminal offence of "The deliberate dissemination of falsehoods about an individual or organisation for financial or political gain" by any media outlet."⁶²

The BNP seems to believe that the media needs to be under greater control of the Government, in order to ensure that only 'truth' is printed. The dangers to transparent government and free speech seem all too clear.

8.4 Compulsory national service

The BNP plans to restore a system of compulsory national service, beginning with "a period of basic training in the army."

While there are real benefits to schemes that allow young people of all background to mix and interact, by creating a compulsory system the BNP is in effect 'enslaving' young people for a year of their lives. Aside from the freedom and civil liberties concerns, this will also have real economic consequences, removing a significant proportion of the workforce.

8.5 Assault rifles in every home

On completion of their national service, the BNP would insist that every citizen maintains in their home "a standard-issue military assault rifle and ammunition." This is intended as a balance against an "all mighty state", as well as "defence against violent criminals and some atpresent unforeseen potential foreign aggression."⁶³

There seem many problems with trying to import wholesale a Swizz or American style gun culture into Britain. The impact of legal firearms depends very much on the rest of a country's culture; any introduction into Britain would be necessarily an experiment. It is worrying that the BNP believes that their plans would centralise the state to such an extent that the only way to counterbalance it is through handing out guns to the citizenry.

When considered alongside the BNP's other apartheid style policies to create two classes of citizens, the dangers seem worse. In already fragmented communities which had been taught not to trust each other, the Government would be passing out arms. The possibilities for inter community war seem severe.

⁶² BNP manifesto, 2005

⁶³ BNP manifesto, 2005

9 Foreign policy: How the BNP would isolate Britain from the world

Key Points

- The BNP institutes a new era of isolationism
- Britain withdraws from the EU and NATO
- Commitments in Afghanistan and Iraq abandoned
- All foreign aid donations ended
- Enormous damage to international reputation

At the heart of the BNP's ideology is a belief in the unity of the nation and the race. Anything else is seen as best as an irrelevance, and more likely a threat, damaging our wealth and stability. Britain is strongest when it is on its own, free of foreign entanglements, governments or companies.

To the BNP, much that goes on in the world is a zero sum game. Foreign companies and workers take British jobs unless they are protected behind high trade barriers. Foreign institutions take away from British democracy and choice. And foreign wars or poverty are none of Britain's business or concern.

In consequence, the BNP would institute a new era of isolationism. Britain would leave not just the EU and NATO, be kicked out of the WTO, become a pariah state in the UN. All our troops would be withdrawn from foreign wars, and all aid to developing countries stopped.

There are two large problems with this approach.

The first is, that while it is important to maintain democratic sovereignty, it is also nevertheless true that increasingly the issues of today, whether they be related to terror, climate change or trade, cross all national boundaries.

The second is less concrete, but nevertheless important. Britain doesn't have a culture of isolationism. For better or for worse, for hundreds of years Britain has had a place at the heart of international affairs. It is not in the British culture to stand by while foreign dictators bully and invade weaker countries.

Neither does the compassion of ordinary Britons end at the limits of our borders. British people care passionately about the poor and dispossessed in our world, and want to help. Britain has big problems of its own, yes, but it is also a fabulously rich country, and with 1 billion people in the world living on less than a dollar a day, it is right and proper that we help.

BNP Policies

9.1 Leave the European Union

The BNP argue that they can save money through leaving the European Union.

The exact cost of the EU to Britain is controversial, but the BNP themselves use the direct net cost figure of £6.4bn a year.

At the other end of the scale, the Tax Payers Alliance have claimed that membership of the European Union costs over £100 billion through indirect costs from its policies and regulation. The BNP seems to have some sympathy with this view, having complained of the "strangling statism of Euro-regulations"⁶⁴, but do not seem to be taking such costs into account in their fiscal calculations.

⁶⁴ BNP Manifesto 2005

9.2 End the foreign aid budget

The BNP will end all foreign aid which it believes is used only to subsidise the “incompetence and corruption of Third World.”

As the home of the Commonwealth, Live 8 and Comic Relief, Britain has a long tradition of working with and helping out countries abroad. While there still remain main severe problems in Britain, by any objective standards it remains an immensely wealthy country, while 1 billion people in the world live on less than a \$1 a day. There are real problems and concerns with insuring that aid is productive and does not simply fund corruption, but the BNP’s ‘cold turkey’ approach would likely lead to chaos, the damaging of Britain’s reputation and many deaths that could have been avoided.

In addition, while the BNP often in a highly cynical manner often complains on its website of money being sent abroad while pensioners suffer in the cold, it is important to note that the BNP have already pledged the money away (twice over) to be spent on their reparation programme. They save no money to be spent the winter fuel allowance, hospitals, schools or any other of the many causes the BNP usually insist the money could be better spent on.

9.3 Withdraw from Afghanistan and Iraq

The BNP believes that we should withdraw entirely from Afghanistan and Iraq.

It is important to note that their motive for this is less any particular sense of pacifism or injustice, and more a belief that countries of different races should never interfere with each other.

Indeed, they explicitly and somewhat fantastically note that we should “reach an accord with the Muslim world whereby they will agree to take back their excess population which is currently colonising this country, in exchange for an ironclad guarantee that Britain will never again interfere in the political affairs of the Middle East or try to dictate to any Arab or Muslim country as to what their internal government form should be”.

9.4 Leave NATO

The BNP believes that we should “bring our troops back from Germany and withdraw from NATO, since political developments make both commitments obsolete”.⁶⁵

It is not quite clear what political developments have made our closest allies ‘obsolete.’ Indeed, the BNP still believes that we need to maintain “a genuinely independent nuclear deterrent”, which suggests that they too agree that the future world and dangers is uncertain.

Leaving both the NATO and EU would leave Britain without friends and allies. It is still not clear whether we will remain in a unipolar world in fifty years time or how the threat from terrorism will develop.

Britain can stand alone if needed, but choosing that path as a deliberate policy path seems rash.

Part II

The consequences of BNP government

10 The consequences of BNP government

10.1 To Britain's hard working families

The implantation of a BNP manifesto would be a disaster for ordinary British voters, but most of all to those Nick Griffin claims to represent, the working class.

To begin with, the BNP has the most regressive tax policy of any party in Britain. He had pledged in the long term to move to a complete abolition of income tax, replacing the income lost with increased consumption taxes such as VAT and tariffs. This will hit hardest by far the poorest who spend a much greater proportion of the rich, who can afford to save.

The BNP's trade policies will put in reverse all the positive benefits globalisation has brought us. Once again it will be hard for ordinary people to find a wide range of good quality, low cost furniture, electronics, food, clothes and medicine. While the rich will be able to afford to maintain the same lifestyle they have always had, life will become much duller and poorer for the majority.

Even though their tax bill would have drastically risen, the lack of fiscal credibility would lead to rises in inflation (eroding away the real value of their wages) and extensive cuts and shortages in the public services that ordinary families depend on most of all.

10.2 To Britain's society

The arrival of a BNP government in power would tear British society apart.

Beyond the increased tension between ethnic communities, the BNP government would systematically work to implement segregationist system with two classes of citizens – the “indigenous British” and immigrants.

Ethnic minorities would be put to the back of the queue for public services and housing. Schools would have a new clause 28 style restriction, banning them from teaching that racial harmony was acceptable. Every teacher would be put through a new training regime, and forced to spread the BNP's ideas.

There would be a new culture of fear in British society, with a return to capital punishment and guns on the streets. Chillingly, the BNP plan to “hold meetings with the proprietors” of all the major newspapers, the Press Complaints Commission is to be abolished and a new offence created for the “deliberate dissemination of falsehoods.”

Worst of all, the worst elements of British society, the small minority of racists and hooligans, would feel encouraged and sanctioned by the government's new policies. And now the bigots who used to throw bricks would be armed with assault rifles.

10.3 To Britain's economy

The BNP's plans for a massive transformation for a structural change in the economy would cause massive disruption in every area of the British economy.

Britain's service sector would face a BNP government actively hostile to it, and believing that it didn't represent real work. The most innovative and dynamic companies which rely on attracting the best and brightest from across the world would soon relocate to New York or Tokyo. Big retailers such as Tesco or Primark would face a grim future, with hanging over them the BNP's stated aim to break them apart.

In order to achieve the BNP's ambitions and restore British manufacturing over 8 million people would have to change jobs. The increased costs from this transitional employment would not just be felt by the workers themselves, but by an increased welfare bill.

Inflation could rapidly get out of control as the BNP attempted to deal with the growing debt problem caused by its heightened risk premium and the increased deficit. Without globalisation to hold down the prices of goods, the cost of living would continue to grow. Taxes would rise and public spending be cut as the BNP attempted to close the deficit in a world where it would find it difficult to borrow money. The interest rate could easily rise to the levels of the 1970s, regularly over 10%.

In the long run, one of the biggest effects would be the effect a BNP government would have on productivity and growth. With some of Britain's most successful companies shut down or scared away, the returns from investment so unsure in a world of unstable government and high interest rates and without the innovative spark created by the presence of visitors from all across the world, Britain's long term productivity and growth would tumble. Protected behind trade barriers and government subsidies, British companies would have little incentive to innovate.

It is not impossible to destroy a country's economy. Both Argentina and Zimbabwe used to be among the wealthiest countries in their region, approaching first world standards. Disastrous policy choices led to them falling far behind, their peoples cast into poverty. Britain's economy could very easily be broken.

10.4 To Britain's public services

Britain's public services would face severe difficulties under a BNP government.

First, and most seriously, their mission to serve everyone in our society would be severely compromised under a BNP government. The BNP's plans for a two class society would lead to different standards of care, wrecking the public sector ethos. Schools in particular would find themselves compromised by the BNP's demands that they teach core BNP ideology about race.

Even if this didn't lead to mass resignations in protest, there would still be an enormous staffing problem. Immigrants make up a huge proportion of the workforce in the public services, from nurses to soldiers to cleaners. As much as 10% of the manpower in the armed forces would have to be replaced.

Beyond all this, there would be the severe budget cuts the BNP government would inflict to deal with their growing deficit. Under their protectionist system, costs of goods and labour would both have massively risen, but the budget coming in would have to go down. The inevitable result would be deterioration in standards, long waiting times and people dying who didn't need to.

10.5 To Britain's reputation in the world

Needless to say, the election of a BNP government would destroy Britain's reputation in the world. The country that had once stood alone against Hitler, had fallen so low as to appoint his acolyte to power. It is difficult to see the rest of the world being much appeased by the idea that the BNP 'are no longer fascist.'

Beyond this core fact, the BNP's policies would have a further impact. There would be fury and disbelief as Britain sequentially quit international institutions, abandoned his military responsibilities and cut off aid to the developing world. The resulting chaos and precedent would likely give cover to many of the world's worst regimes to cut loose of their own international responsibilities.

Although the loss of international good will and pride would be bad enough, there would be real economic consequences too. Tourism – the 5th largest industry in the UK, and worth £115bn to the economy a year⁶⁶ - would be virtually wiped out. British companies would find it difficult or nearly

⁶⁶ <http://www.visitbritain.org/britaintourismindustry/introbritainstourism/tourismmatters/index.aspx>

impossible to trade or do business overseas, and the resulting trade war from Britain's leaving the WTO would rapidly annihilate our exporting industries. Britain would have no say or influence over the big decisions on global warming, terrorism or trade, and in the long run this could mean being forced to follow rules that we had no say in.

Appendices

11 Why the BNP's policies matter

11.1 Introduction

The first age of globalisation was brought to a sudden, sharp end by the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The end result was devastating, both economically and politically, as the world increasingly turned to authoritarian nationalism and retreated away from free trade.

In America the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act was passed, leading to damaging trade war. Roosevelt's America took over control over much of American industry, setting prices and creating monopolies in an attempt to put industry back on its feet. Even Britain, the once proud country that had abolished the Corn Laws and seen off Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform League, returned to a system of tariffs.

Worse was to occur on the continent. Fascist Italy, already working under a heavily corporatist system, moved to a policy of attempting full autarky. In the troubled political system of Germany, the Nazis began to gain an ever increasing share of the vote that would eventually lead to their election and all that followed.

Thankfully, the current global economic crisis has produced such dramatic effects. For the most part world leaders have been careful to avoid a return to protectionism. In November 2009 the leaders of G20 leaders signed a joint statement that "We underscore the critical importance of rejecting protectionism and not turning inward in times of financial uncertainty."⁶⁷ Similarly, no country looks in danger to succumbing to fascism.

However, there are reasons not to grow complacent. Whilst the gains of the post war trading regime have not yet been lost, there has been a rise in popular anger against capitalism and free markets. Whilst global leaders such as Gordon Brown and Barack Obama frequently signal their support for free trade, their other calls to "Buy American" or for "British Workers for British Jobs" seem like dog whistles to their voter base. Free markets have never been popular or intuitive, and have always had to struggle for support. Such rhetoric has real dangers in economically troubled times.

Furthermore, while most European countries are thankfully still doing well enough that fascism lacks appeal, there are segments of the population whose civilisation does feel in real decline.

The recent economic troubles have only been the latest problem in a long trend of economic and community decline for the manufacturing heartland of the British National Party. With little hope in the future and a mainstream political system discredited in the wake of the expenses scandal, it is little surprise that voters are increasingly turning to Nick Griffin and the BNP.

11.2 Searching for a Third Way

David Cameron endorses the idea of talking more about Gross Well Being and less about Gross Domestic Product. Philip Blonde argues for a new distributist ethic and to break up the supermarket giants. Will Hutton calls for protection of British industries such as Cadbury's from foreign take over. Across the spectrum, thinkers make use of outdated happiness research to question the idea of growth itself and attack the greed and recklessness of bankers.

In an attempt to search for new ideas, commentators across the political spectrum are increasingly looking for ways beyond stale debates, a new economic third way.

It is an attractive economic vision :

⁶⁷ <http://www.cfr.org/publication/17778/>

A country which cares more about the welfare and the purpose of its people than simple dry GDP statistics. A return to a more balanced economy, with a new era of manufacturing investing heavily in green technologies to solve the upcoming energy crisis. An end to big agriculture and big supermarkets, and a return to local food, family farms and the corner shop. New forms of corporate ownership in which the workers are in charge and economic power is decentralised, rather than concentrated in the hands of over large, unresponsive and alienating corporations.

Unfortunately, it happens to be the economic vision of the British National Party.

The BNP is currently in the middle of a ten year attempt to appear more moderate, and move into the political mainstream. Older, more extreme policies have been abandoned – at least to the public – and the party has attempted to focus on a broader range of issues than immigration alone.

Now, just because the BNP supports a policy, does not mean it is necessary wrong or dangerous. Neither does their past association with fascism mean that it is wrong for the mainstream to explore mutualist, corporatist and distributist ideas. The attempt to move beyond capitalism and socialism and find an economic third way has been a constant political theme of the last hundred years.

However, with the mainstream looking to move beyond free markets, there is a danger that the BNP's ideas will gain a broader intellectual credibility. The BNP can credibly argue that they and their forebear have been making these points for a long time. It will become increasingly difficult for the mainstream parties to criticise the party's ideas when so many are echoed in their own manifestos. Finally, there is perhaps some danger that talking about moderate third way ideas will act as a gateway to see a resurgence in extreme nationalist ideas across the political parties.

Even more important than the failing intellectual confidence in free markets however has been their long run discrediting among the BNP's core vote.

11.3 The Decline of Manufacturing

Not everyone has benefitted from the global economy of the last thirty years.

Ever since the high point of the industrial revolution, Britain's manufacturing heartland has been in decline. One by one the great British firms, mines, and factories have shut down or moved abroad, leaving behind in their wake a generation of people without work. Eventually given up upon, and labelled as 'Inactive', there seems little hope for the future. The new economy of call centres and supermarkets simply isn't for them.

Their community is increasingly broken with an increase in violence, drugs and a break down in social cohesion. The old corner shop and post office is gone, the local church replaced by mosques. The young and talented who can have long since fled. The political elite in London are more interested in appeasing swing metropolitan votes than their old working class core vote.

It is in this political vacuum that the BNP has risen, ready with their own narrative to explain what has happened.

For them it is easy to identify the villains who have betrayed the working class :

- **The 'Pigs':** The BNP's voters overwhelmingly used to vote for Labour, and it is clear that the New Labour project has alienated many of them. The recent expenses crisis has only helped to build a sense of a political elite that lack legitimacy, that long ago sold out their own voters.
- **The 'Banksters' :** The other half of the urban elite, the financial services are the representatives of turbo charged capitalism, more interested in making a fast buck than serving the long term

interests of British manufacturing. British manufacturing jobs are allowed to be lost; when a bank is in danger, its political friends are only too quick to save it.

- **Foreign workers** : As part of their short term thinking, the elites have only been too happy to sell out British workers, outsourcing anything they can to the lowest bidder, undermining the minimum wage, environmental and health standards. While British firms are an easy target, other countries like the French or the Chinese seem to have no compunction about saving their companies when they're in trouble – it is not a fair playing ground.
- **Immigrants** : What can't be outsourced is increasingly being taken over by a wave of Muslim and East European workers, bidding down low skilled wages and stealing British jobs.

The BNP's remedy to the long term crisis of the manufacturing base is to reverse the trends they see responsible, and to once again restore pride, status and purpose to their voter base :

- **Protect British industries** : Raise a series of tariff barriers to protect British manufacturing. Invest in new industries and research and development. Begin a long term trend away from services and back towards manufacturing. Reregulate the financial services industry and make finance the servant of manufacturing, not its master. Renationalise public utilities.
- **Protect British workers** : End all further immigration, and gradually remove those who have stolen British jobs. Inflict heavy taxes on companies that outsource.
- **Restore community pride** : End multiculturalism, and restore Britain as a Christian culture. Society is more important than economics – worth sacrificing some wealth to ensure all other workers have jobs. Invest heavily in drug rehabilitation places, reintroduce the married man's allowance and restore a system of grammar schools.
- **Restrain the elite** : End the corruption of politician's expenses. Leave the European Union. Make bankers liable for their actions. Explore new forms of ownership such as workers co-operatives.

Manufacturing jobs provided often relatively well paid and high status jobs for unskilled workers. Without appropriate qualifications or experience, many have struggled to find jobs in the service industry. Instead, with their sense of pride and purpose harmed, and their community in seeming terminal decline, it is not surprising that often they turn to extreme politicians who promise the return of a golden age.

11.4 The Real Reasons Behind the Decline of Manufacturing

The BNP's analysis is both seductive and wrong in its analysis of the problem and the needed solution. Its diagnosis relies on little more than scapegoating and building a system of victimhood.

The truth is both more complex and more impersonal, with no easy villains. The world economy in general and the British economy in particular are in the middle of a long term transition to a knowledge and services economy, and to some extent elements of the British working class have been left behind by this.

Four chief effects seem to have combined and fed off each other :

- i. *With improved technology, manufacturing productivity has increased at about 5-6% a year. Demand growth has only been around 2-3%. Inevitably worldwide less labour is needed in manufacturing jobs.*
- ii. *Globalisation has increasingly made it possible for capital to move to where cheaper labour and land are available. This caused the largest drop in poverty in history, lifting hundreds of millions of people away from starvation. However, it has also lead to an even lower number of manufacturing jobs in Britain.*

- iii. *There is an increasing return to technology and education. Globalisation and the new knowledge economy has meant that the economy is ever more in search of highly skilled workers, and the result has been a rise in wage inequality.*
- iv. *The centre of economic geography in Britain has moved South East. Proximity to Europe and the continent has become far more important than access to the Atlantic, making industries on the west of the country less economic.*

A combination of geography, skills mismatch and benefits traps have caught much of the old working class in a declining sector of the economy, and removed the economic flexibility that would allow them to retrain and take advantage of the new jobs that are still continually being created in the economy.

While it may be theoretically possible to learn new crafts, the resulting loss of pride and destruction of old communities makes this impractical.

However, there are real economic reasons why the manufacturing class is now facing such problems. There are no easy solutions.

As the furore over Policy Exchange's 2008 Cities Unlimited report revealed, we are not ready to abandon the cities that grew up in the manufacturing industrial revolution. But neither do we know how to repair them.

11.5 Why the BNP's ideas matter

The BNP is increasingly gaining votes and entering into the political mainstream.

Extremist nationalist groups have always gained in countries where community cohesion has broken, the economy is in crisis and the political system lacks legitimacy. In interwar Italy and Germany the after effects of the First World and the Great Depression saw the rise of the first two fascist regimes.

Britain is not about to become a fascist country. However, there is a subsection of the country whose community seems in long term decline, whose economic prospects are bleak and where the scandal of the expenses crisis still reverberates.

As we have seen, the BNP's analysis is fundamentally political and ignores the long term economic trend. However, it is important neither to be complacent nor ignore the attraction of their ideas.

While the BNP seeks to use the current troubles of the working class, it is important to note that for the activists and the leaders their goal has never been about policy. In this report we will show that their ideology and endgame is based more on esoteric and racist ideology rather than any attempt to truly help the working classes.

We will look at their current policies and show that while on the surface their ideas may appear in recent years more moderate, underneath their political project remains a reactive attempt to the turn the clock back to the 1950s.

Finally, we will explore the serious consequences if those policies were enacted. These policies are not only incorrect in their analysis of the problem, but that they would also make the problem worse and make life difficult. Goods would be more expensive, jobs harder to find, the public services run down and taxes high. Tension between the communities in our country would be explosive, our media censored, our international reputation in shreds.

To some extent, the rich would be able to buy their way out of this. There would still be some well paid jobs for the truly high skilled. They'd still be able to afford to buy exotic foreign goods, to send their kids

to private schools and to enjoy some luxuries in life. It would be the working class who'd find their standard of living sacrificed on the altar of the BNP's racist ideology.

The BNP likes to think of itself as the one true patriotic party, unashamed to stand up for Britain and its historic values. Its policy ideas shows clearly the falsehood in this.

It was British ideas that overcame economic nationalism. Between them Smith, Ricardo and Hume helped to create the intellectual backing behind the first age of free markets and the long time rise of humanity away from poverty.

Britain is the home of free markets and laissez faire, political liberalism and free trade. It is one of our proudest legacies to the world.

There is nothing British about the BNP's ideas.

12 The Ideology of the BNP

The BNP argues that they are the only party on the side of the white working class. There is a distinct populist edge to many of their policies, but their overall economic vision descends from their fascist predecessors. They have little understand of economics, instead committing basic economic fallacies. Their third way policies are supposed to act as a half way point between capitalism and socialism; in reality they are a mix of protectionism, racism and nostalgia. The BNP believe in a manufacturing economy, protected from global economic trade, with property as widely distributed as possible. For Griffin, capitalism is an old problem – British economics and freedom has been on the decline he claims ever since Henry VIII appropriated the monasteries.

All political movements have their ideologies, and fascism is no exception. Many of the same political ideas we saw in Mussolini's Italy are still supported by Griffin's BNP. Even older than this, the default political view for much of human history has been anti-market, and Europe has a long history of mercantilism and protectionism to draw on.

At the same time, there has always been a left/right divide in fascist movements between those who lean more towards its nationalism and those who lean towards socialism. Like many supposed 'third ways', the exact balance has not always been easy to find. The BNP is no exception : it contains both elements that are strongly suspicious of big government, and those who believe government control is superior to the chaos of the market.

We can divide the BNP's economic ideology into eight distinct strands, reflecting the variety of their economic influences, their underlying xenophobia and the particular interests of current leader Nick Griffin.

12.1 Nationalism

Nationalist parties believe in creating a stronger nation. Not trusting the free market to achieve this, they believe that economic growth must be government led. Industries of the future can be identified by government, and then nurtured with subsidies, monopolies and trade barriers.

These ideas are of course not unique to fascism, and the BNP makes much of the East Asian tigers such as Korea, Taiwan and Japan, holding them up as role models to be followed. They claim that these government led policies lead to spectacular growth and world leading consumer electronics industries, even while British companies faltered.

12.2 Socialism

The socialist side of fascism has always been as economically important as its nationalism. The early manifestos of Mussolini and Hitler called for new workers rights, a minimum wage and a limit to working hours.

As discussed in the foreword, the BNP remains a party of the working class, and much of its policy seems aimed at restoring status and dignity to the manufacturing working class. The BNP believes in reversing privatisation and restoring manufacturing as the heart of the economic life of the nation.

12.3 Racism

Although extreme nationalism can (and arguably did in Italy) rest on a civic idea of the nation, it has just as often and more infamously been based on a racial idea of the people, leading to xenophobia, racism and anti-Semitism.

Although the BNP disapprove of the free movement of goods and services, their far larger objection is the free movement of people, especially those of a different race. Whilst their immigration policy has deeper roots than economic ideology, an end to further immigration and any repatriation of ethnic minorities would have large direct and indirect economic effects.

On a broader historical point, anti-Semites throughout history have associated Judaism and money lending. Finance and the city were often seen by Nazis as a major source of Jewish world power, and distrusted as such.

Anti-Semitism remains a strong influence amongst other European extreme nationalist parties that the BNP is increasingly attempting to ally.

For example in October 2008 at Jobbik's commemoration ceremony, Roberto Fiori, a long term ally and friend of Nick Griffin gave a speech, attacking free markets :

"This is the same capitalism that is pushing thousands and millions towards poverty. But it is lead from the same people who put Christ on the cross!"

Although the BNP itself is increasingly trying to pull away in public from its previous anti-semitism, much of its current anti 'banker' rhetoric remains strongly reminiscent of older attacks,

12.4 Protectionism

Nationalist parties have always contained leanings towards autarky. Although there is perhaps some ideological reasons for this, a larger cause seems to be pragmatic.

Nationalist parties believe in making the country military strong, and a core contribution to this is self sufficiency in the event of war. Fascist Italy and Germany were understandably paranoid about losing their trade partners in the event of conflict, and did not wish to have to rely on other nations either to feed their people or fuel their industries. We see the same effect in North Korea today – while life for its citizens may be monotonous, dull and hard, the reward is that the country is not easily blackmailed through trade sanctions by other nations.

Although it would be paranoid to suggest that the BNP were planning for war, they remain interested in self sufficiency, and seem to see this as larger issue of national pride.

12.5 Anti-Materialism

Socialism believes in total government planned control of the economy. Liberalism believes in trusting the price mechanism and free markets to allocate capital. Both largely see the world through an economic lens. Nationalism, by contrast, sees the market as but one thread in the organic whole of the nation.

In many ways nationalism was a deliberate attempt to re-establish meaning and purpose in the nihilistic wake of religion's decline and later the First World War. Mussolini, who began his political journey as a Socialist, discovered in the trenches that a militarist nationalism could give men just as much purpose as any Communist utopia.

The influence of this in many ways still exists in Nationalist movements, and has had two important effects in particular. With their ultimate ideology focussed more on national unity than economics, they are free to be more pragmatic in their economic policy. Mussolini's Italy at times pursued free market policies, at other times a more Keynesian line and ended on a drive for full autarky. On economics, broad spectrums of opinion can exist in nationalist parties. Even Hitler for a long time allowed the near socialist views of Otto Strasser to reside in the Nazi Party.

The second effect is that nationalist parties are willing to sacrifice economic welfare in order to pursue their larger goals. At times, the BNP has even acknowledged that free trade would brings cheaper goods, and they believe that national unity and giving men meaningful work is more important.

The overall impact of this is that the BNP regards economic policy as less important than other issues. The party's line can safely remain vague, contradictory and uncosted, as both its supporters and its opponents remain focussed on immigration.

12.6 Populism

Although many of the BNP's ideas originate in their extreme nationalist and racist ideology, there is also a large strand of populism in their policy. Distrusting of elites, the BNP are far more likely to side with the ordinary man and 'common sense.'

The most obvious result of this is their frequent call for the abolition of unpopular nuisance taxes, even those which fit well with their ideology. The BNP claim to be against privatisation and for nationalised industries, and yet they also wish to abolish the BBC's license fee. Similarly, they claim to be for renewable fuels and strongly worried about peak oil, and yet reject any suggestion of raising the duty on petrol.

More broadly however the BNP's ideas reflect a bias against markets always present in much of the population. Regrettably for its wider popularity economics and free markets are not always intuitive, and common sense often can lead us astray.

In particular we can identify four central biases: anti-market, anti-foreign, pessimism and make work.

The anti-market bias sees markets as random, uncoordinated and an expression of greed. Competition, advertising and choice are a worrying source of inefficiency. A more efficient nation relies on a meritocratic elite deciding where resources can be best used to produce quality for everyone. The only real work is production – traders and merchants are little more than profiteers, stealing from other people's hard grind.

The make work bias believes that there is only a set amount of work to be done, and as such a set amount of jobs to be carefully preserved. Whereas in our everyday household we might seek to minimise the time to spent on our chores, such a drive for efficiency in the wider economy will leave some workers in permanent leisure : unemployment.

Perhaps the worst source of competition for jobs are foreign workers. Through outsourcing or simply immigrating into the country they can undercut the native labour market and drive down wages. Foreign trade is a zero sum game and when one country grows stronger, another must grow weaker.

Finally, the country is always seen in decline not just economically but culturally and spiritually. In the past, society was better behaved, more secure and workers had purpose and respect in life.

Although these ideas ignore such economic basics as spontaneous order, infinite desires, comparative advantage and the new age of persistent economic growth, they remain at the very heart of the BNP's ideas.

The BNP believes that markets are best controlled by a wise government. That financial trade – in particular the city – is damaging and parasitical on the real wealth of the city. Britain should be protected from foreign trade behind trade barriers, the better so as to ensure the safety of jobs. Britain has been in decline since at least its manufacturing heyday and more likely the medieval world where workers were identified by guild.

	Belief	BNP Policy
Anti-market	<i>Markets are inefficient and random. Traders bring no real value to the economy - they are little more than profiteers</i>	<i>Markets need to be guided by a BNP government. It is best to have a planned economy</i>
Anti-foreign	<i>The world as a zero sum competition between countries. Foreigners are a danger to our economic strength, whether through immigration, outsourcing or unfair trade practises</i>	<i>Trade and immigration should be limited so as to protect British jobs.</i>
Make-work	<i>Jobs and production are more important than goods and consumption. There is a limit to the number of jobs to go around</i>	<i>Only manufacturing is real work. Employment is more important than inefficiency. Immigrants 'steal' jobs</i>
Pessimism	<i>The past is better than the present. The world is going downhill</i>	<i>We should return Britain to either a) Victorian manufacturing economy or b) medieval guild economy</i>

12.7 Third Way Economics

As part of their attempt to combine nationalist and socialist ideas in a new third way, fascists throughout the twentieth century have embraced a dizzying array of economic ideologies : corporatism and distributism, Strasserism, National Syndicalism and National Socialism, even National Bolshevism.

The first two of these have influenced most the current BNP, and in many ways represent two extremes of big government and small government fascism.

Unlike socialism, corporatism accepts the existence of different classes and interests in a nation, but following a functionalist sociology believes that these each serve their own purpose in the economy, and that the nation will act strongest when they work together. The government works as an intermediary third party to help mediate between capital and labour, leading discussions between big industry and big labour.

Corporatism has a long history in continental Europe rising in response to Marxism in the nineteenth century, and subsequently backed by the Roman Catholic Church. It was especially influential on Mussolini, and corporatism was to become a key element in fascist and national socialist ideology, although there were also corporatist elements to New Deal and Keynesian thought.

In contrast to the above, distributism believes that both big industry and big government are inherently alienating and should be avoided whenever possible. Developed in the early twentieth century by English writers G K Chesterton and Hillaire Belloc, distributism believes in the value of private property, but that such property should be as widely spread as possible so that the workers remain in control of their own capital.

Unlike the big business hierarchical approach of corporatism, distributism veers much closer to an egalitarian idea of worker control, harking back to a romantic medieval ideal of small scale industry arranged in cartel industry guilds.

Although these ideas at first might seem contradictory, the BNP's current ideology attempts to unify them into a coherent vision. Whenever possible, companies are to be broken up into smaller worker co-operatives, although the process of doing this is left somewhat vague. When the capital requirements of

industries are simply too large – not every worker can own his own assembly line – the BNP believes that government should take a significant role in their control.

12.8 The Influence of Nick Griffin

Finally, the arrival of Nick Griffin as leader has helped add some new elements to BNP ideology which do not seem prefigured by earlier fascist ideas, and a renewed focus on a romantic version of distributism.

To begin with the party has found its own distinctive environmental policy, calling attention to the dangers of a peak oil crisis. Although its romantic origins have meant that there has always been an environmentalist edge to fascism (the Nazis infamously were strong on animal rights), the BNP at the same time have begun to advocate a trenchant global warming scepticism. There is some suspicion that part of the attraction of peak oil is its apocalyptic visions of breakdown of civil society, a new great depression in which extremist parties can find a mandate.

Secondly, the party has a new found aspiration to abolish income tax and replace it with increased consumption taxes. While the BNP claims that they have ideological issues with taxing a man's labour, the party also claims that the policy will save significant bureaucracy and paperwork at HMRC. It should be noted that in the past Griffin had problems with the HRMC and his tax claims.

Nick Griffin is also a strong believer in distributism, and the Third Position ideas of Roberto Fiori. In the early 1990s he penned an essay which in updated form was up on the BNP's website until 2005. It gives a clear overview of the gist of his economic ideas.

He is scathing of both capitalism and socialism, which both see humans only as "single dimensional beings moulded exclusively by economic factors." Capitalism is seen as alienating, leaving the ordinary man as a "mere cog in a giant impersonal machine" where "the enemy is greed ... stimulated in all of us by subtle and manipulative advertising ... [reducing] the nations of the West to a rootless mass of Americanised consumers, without identity, without pride and without a future." It creates little more than "Spiritual filth, such as abortion on demand and genocide through integration; cultural filth, like MTV; intellectual filth, like the claim that parliament is sovereign in a land where banks create credit and the mass media create governments; physical filth, like fast foods which have no nutritional value whatsoever."

Griffin believes that matters were better in the medieval past, when the country was made up of "independent yeoman farmers" and "guilds [who] safeguarded the division of property, so that there should be formed within their ranks no proletariat on one side, and no monopolising capitalist on the other." This idyllic system was disturbed by Henry VIII's expropriation of the monarchies, the church lands redistributed to an oligarchic elite who would use their newly acquired capital to secure dominance over the country.

The solution is to return the country as much as possible to this prior utopia, reinstating guilds and worker ownership of capital. Griffin argues that this can be done "by physically breaking up large concerns into a greater number of smaller ones" and that while in some cases this might contradict "fundamental 'economic laws'" there remains "the question of the materially unquantifiable factors, including job satisfaction and self esteem among the workforce. How much material benefit do we need to justify condemning men and women to put the same bolt in the same piece of equipment as the conveyor belt brings the same unfinished item in front of them for the same few seconds, the same number of times a day? What price a lifetime of drudgery and boredom?"

12.9 Summary of what the BNP believes

Tradition	Specific policy examples
Nationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government lead economic growth• Trade restrictions
Socialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Support for trade unions• Importance of manufacturing
Racism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Thinly-veiled attacks on Jewish ownerships in the finance and retail industry• Repatriation of workers• Two-tier employment practices, etc.
Protectionism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Britain should become more of an autarkic state• Domestic ownership of key industries• Heavy tariffs on imports
Anti-materialism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Return 'meaningful work' to all• Immigration is party's largest priority• Sacrifice cheap goods from free trade
Populism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• End 'nuisance' taxes such as the BBC licence fee and car tax discs.• Increase inheritance tax threshold to £1 million.• Return a working man's marriage allowance
Third Way economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• As many small industries as possible should be run as workers co-operative.• Supermarkets should be broken up and local shops encouraged• Large industry should work with government.
Griffin's pet causes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Income tax should be abolished, and replaced with a new consumption tax.• Britain needs to prepare for the onset of Peak Oil

13 The BNP's policies

These policies have been sourced from a combination of bnp.org.uk and the 2005 manifesto. We have left them in the BNP's own language.

Immigration

- Deport all the two million plus who are here illegally;
- Deport all those who commit crimes and whose original nationality was not British;
- Review all recent grants of residence or citizenship to ensure they are still appropriate;
- Offer generous grants to those of foreign descent resident here who wish to leave permanently;
- Stop all new immigration except for exceptional cases;
- Reject all asylum seekers who passed safe countries on their way to Britain.

Crime

Free the police and courts from the politically correct straitjacket which is stopping them from doing their jobs properly;

- End the liberal fixation with the "rights" of criminals and replace it with concern for the rights of victims – and the right of innocent people not to become victims;
 - Re-introduce corporal punishment for petty criminals and vandals;
 - Restore capital punishment for paedophiles, terrorists and murderers as an option for judges in cases where their guilt is proven beyond dispute (such as with DNA or other compelling evidence).
 - Social reform is therefore also required. Workfare, not welfare, except to the neediest, should be the norm. Only in this way can the cycle of social deprivation, which is the primary cause of indigenous criminality, be broken.
- To this end, the BNP will introduce a system of workfare for those in unemployment benefit for more than six months with compulsory work and training in return for decent payment.
- The socialist building block housing concrete monstrosities which blight our urban areas and which are the breeding ground for delinquency and crime will be torn down and replaced with decent housing which encourages the stable family unit.
 - Overcrowding in prisons will be solved by the deportation of the tens of thousands of foreign criminals to serve their

sentences abroad in their home countries. This act alone will free up to 70 percent of jail space in many prisons.

- Make prisons more austere and make criminals serve their full sentences. Offenders will be made to understand that they are being punished and not rewarded with a state-subsidised holiday for their crimes;
- Use electronically tagged "chain gangs" to provide labour for projects such as coastal defences;
- Introduce automatic prison sentences for all repeat offenders;
- Put police back on the streets and remove their current political correctness shackles;
- Allow victims of crime full freedom to defend themselves and their property;
- Make joint custody of children the norm in divorce cases;
- Grant anonymity to those accused of crimes until they are convicted;
- Make police concentrate on real criminals and serve the public, not the government's political aspirations.

Economy

- Accordingly, the BNP calls for the selective exclusion of foreign-made goods from British markets and the reduction of foreign imports. We will ensure that our manufactured goods are, wherever possible, produced in British factories, employing British workers.

- To that end the BNP will restore our economy and land to British ownership and will take active steps to break up the socially, economically and politically damaging monopolies now being established by the supermarket giants.

- Fully cognisant of the reality that economic growth is driven primarily by true free enterprise, a BNP government will seek to give British workers a stake in the success and prosperity of the enterprises whose profits their labour creates. Such schemes are the only guarantee of workers being motivated to ensure the success of their employers.
- The Labour government recently introduced legislation to discriminate against white males in the job market. This racist legislation is a travesty and gross betrayal of the British working class, and will be repealed forthwith by a BNP government, along with all other measures which in any way discriminate against the indigenous population.

- The state institutions were built by British taxpayers and there is a moral duty and obligation on the state to give preference in the job market to native Britons.

- The bankers cannot be let off the hook for their role in the current financial crisis. The BNP demands that the bankers responsible for the catastrophe which has crippled the international banking system be held personally legally liable for their actions in terms of corporate governance laws. They should have to pay a personal price for the mess they have created, and not be rewarded with huge bonuses which have come from taxpayer-funded bailouts.

- The nurturing and encouragement of new and existing British industries;

- The protection of British companies from unfair foreign imports;

- The promotion of domestic competition;

- Increased taxes on companies which outsource work abroad;

- The reintroduction of the married man's allowance;

- The raising of the inheritance tax threshold to £1 million;

- The encouragement of savings, investment, worker share-ownership and profit-sharing;

- Halving council tax by centralising education costs and eliminating multiculturalism spending and unnecessary bureaucracy;

- The renationalisation of monopoly utilities and services, compensating only individual investors and pension funds. Privatising monopolies does not benefit either the consumer or the country. All that happens is the 'family silver' is sold off and monopoly utilities and services are asset-stripped, often by foreign competitors.

Education

- The restoration of discipline – including corporal punishment – uniforms, traditional teaching methods and stricter exams (e.g. 'O' levels);

- The reintroduction of grammar schools with entrance exams at 11 and 13;

- The reversal of the programme to close special needs schools which penalises the most vulnerable;

- The reintroduction of competitive sports and daily Christian assemblies;

- The teaching of old-fashioned literacy skills (as opposed to clearly failed "modern" teaching methods);

- The teaching of old-fashioned mathematics skills which have practical application to everyday life;

- The teaching of a full curriculum of British history. This will instil in our young people knowledge of and pride in the history, cultures and heritage of the native peoples of Britain, and not the cherry-picked politically correct drivel being fed to children today;

- The abolition of fees and the restoration of full grants to university students studying proper subjects (as opposed to fake "social sciences");

- The improvement of school food as proper meals have been shown to be linked to behaviour and achievement;

- The ending of the scandalous and racist neglect that has left working class white boys at the bottom of the table for academic achievement;

- The introduction of tax breaks for home-schooling parents or direct subsidies as their fair share of the education budget;

- The introduction of a compulsory Community Award Scheme for all school-leavers to teach them work ethics and social and community values. This would consist of work caring for the elderly or handicapped people, or environmental or heritage restoration projects, or military training. These courses would be character-building and instil discipline, social and community values and work ethics in all young people. Service in this scheme would entitle each individual to get 'something back' from the society to which they have learnt to contribute, such as free university education, a properly supported apprenticeship, or business training and start-up capital for would-be entrepreneurs.

Health

- Replace 100,000 NHS bureaucrats with doctors, nurses and dentists;

- Invest sufficient money in the NHS to provide a decent service to the British people;

- Bring hospital cleaning back in-house and make high cleanliness a top priority;

- End the scandal of foreign health tourism;

- Train and pay to retain British doctors, nurses and dentists instead of looting the Third World of staff who are desperately needed in their home countries;

- Revitalise the healthcare system by boosting staff and bed numbers, slashing unnecessary bureaucracy and by addressing the root cause of low recruitment and retention — low pay.

- We will see to it that no money is given in foreign aid while our own hospitals are short of beds and the staff to run them.

- Finally, more emphasis must be placed on healthy living with greater understanding of sickness prevention through

physical exercise, a healthier environment and improved diets.

Environment

- The removal of unsightly overhead power lines from beauty spots and their burial underground;
- The creation of a bulk transport tax regime that pushes supermarkets to supply more local and seasonal produce;
- The encouragement of an extensive and rapid switchover to organic and low fossil fuel farming techniques;
- The banning of the ritual slaughter of animals without pre-stunning, and the sale of such meat;
- The elimination of the unhealthy, energy intensive and cruel factory farming of livestock;
- The abolition of all “stealth taxes” and other charges on household rubbish collections.
- Britain is one of the most densely populated countries in the world and our population is increasing — due entirely to immigration — which necessitates the building of ever more homes, which in turn places a strain on our infrastructure such as transport and water supplies.

Independent environmental organisations believe that Britain’s population needs to be significantly reduced. Our immigration policies will achieve this.

- Develop alternative transport fuels such as bio-diesel and hydrogen;
- Develop renewable energy sources such as off-shore wind farms, wave, tidal and solar energy;
- Investigate the feasibility of cutting-edge, intrinsically-safe, fast-breeder nuclear stations;
- Invest in a high-speed, magnetic levitation, inter-city rail network;
- Allow the building of a new privately-funded airport on reclaimed land in the Thames estuary to reduce the pressure on, and stop the constant expansion of, the South East’s airports.
- Oil and gas are finite resources, rapidly being depleted. Prices are going to continue to rise significantly and this will place a heavy burden on both industry and private consumers. Furthermore, as we are becoming increasingly dependent on energy from unstable and potentially unfriendly foreign powers we are becoming ever more vulnerable to economic blackmail or even harm. ‘Peak Oil’ is a clear and imminent danger to our economy and society, so Britain needs to invest in new technologies and be broadly self-sufficient in terms of energy.
- The BNP firmly rejects the “climate change” dogma while being fully conscious of the urgent need to combat all real pollutants in the environment.

Housing

- Make all benefits and social housing only available to British citizens;
- Make length of residency in an area the key criterion for council house allocation;
- Preserve the ‘right to buy’ of individual tenants, but with the money from sales being used to build more council houses;
- Take all privatised social housing stock back under local democratically controlled council ownership;
- Ensure that the billions being spent on the utterly bogus asylum seeker and immigration swindles is redeployed to alleviate the appalling conditions under which many of Britain’s old people are forced to live.
- A BNP government will restore the earnings link with pensions and ensure that elderly people who have paid a lifetime of taxes and reared families should not have to sell their homes to pay for care in their old age.
- Only the British National Party has the answer to the crisis in which the welfare state finds itself after years of misrule.

Defence

- Strengthen our conventional forces;
- Retain a genuinely independent nuclear deterrent and produce all our weaponry in Britain;
- Only commit British forces when British national interests are at stake;
- Preserve and restore our historic County Regiments;
- Bring our troops back from Germany and withdraw from NATO, since political developments make both commitments obsolete;

Foreign policy

- Reach an accord with the Muslim world whereby they will agree to take back their excess population which is currently colonising this country, in exchange for an ironclad guarantee that Britain will never again interfere in the political affairs of the Middle East or try to dictate to any Arab or Muslim country as to what their internal government form should be; and
- Maintain an independent foreign policy of our own, and not a spineless subservience to the USA, the ‘international community’, or any other country.
- Resolutely oppose the single European currency;

- Support the overwhelming majority of the British people in their desire to keep the Pound and our traditional weights and measures.

- At the same time, a BNP government will strive for the best possible relationship with our European neighbours. The nations of Europe should be free to trade and cooperate whenever it is mutually beneficial without being forced into a straightjacket of political and economic unification — which is neither desirable, ultimately practically unfeasible and which is guaranteed to create conflict rather than avoid it.

- Accordingly, a BNP government will withdraw from the European Union.

- In place of the EU, a BNP government will aim towards greater national self-sufficiency, and work to restore Britain's family and trading ties with Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and to trade with the rest of the world as it suits us.

- Following our withdrawal from the EU, the BNP government will use the £43 million per day net contribution Britain at present makes to the European Union to fund many far more useful projects at home.

- In addition, a BNP government will reject the idea that Britain must forever be obliged to subsidise the incompetence and corruption of Third World states by supplying them with financial aid.

Only once poverty and deprivation amongst British people has been eliminated, can any thought be given to foreign aid

— and even then, a BNP government will link foreign aid with our voluntary resettlement policy, in terms of which those nations taking significant numbers of people back to their homelands will need cash to help absorb those returning. The billions of pounds saved every year by this policy will also be reallocated to vital services in Britain.

Democracy

- Power should be devolved to the lowest level possible so that local communities can make decisions which affect them.

- We will remove legal curbs on freedom of speech imposed by successive Governments over the last 40 years.

- We will implement a Bill of Rights guaranteeing fundamental freedoms to the British people.

- We will ensure that ordinary British people have real democratic power over their own lives and that Government, local and national, is truly accountable to the people who elect it.

- Abolish “anti-discrimination” laws which prevent people from making a free choice;

- Abolish the “Human Rights Act” which has been imposed on this country through the European Union, and which is

nothing but an excuse to prevent British laws stopping the scroungers of the world parasiting off this nation;

- Abolish all restrictions on traditional free speech; common law provisions against incitement to violence are the only proper limits in a free society;

- Reject ID cards, intrusive surveillance and the retention of DNA samples of the innocent;

- Introduce an English parliament within the United Kingdom;

- Introduce citizen-initiated referenda whose outcome is binding on Parliament.

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There is
Nothing***British***
about the BNP