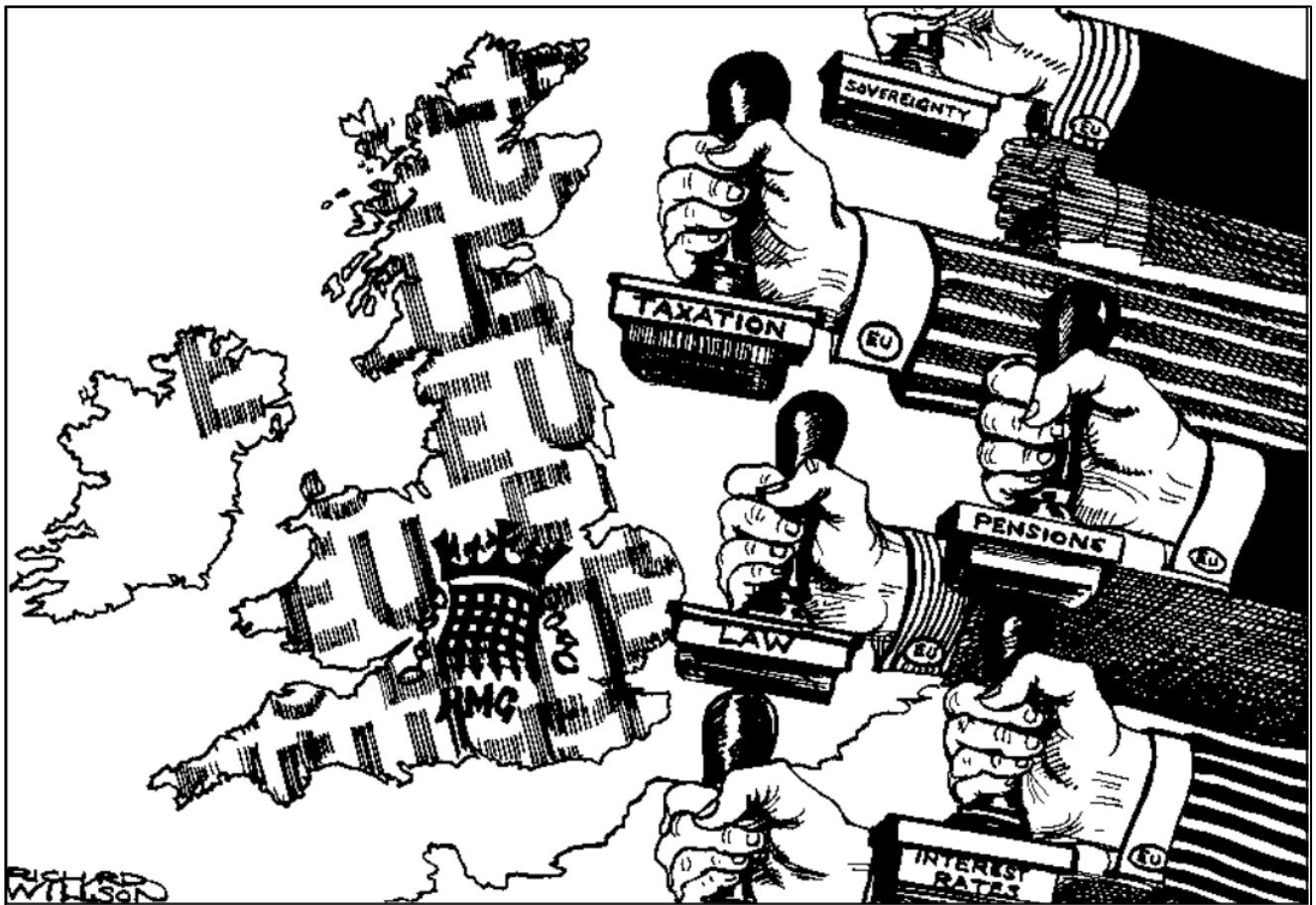


WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE



What EU leaders said before the Referendum

Jean Monnet:

"Europe's nations should be led towards a superstate without their people understanding what is happening. This can be accomplished by successive steps, each disguised as having an economic purpose, but which will eventually and irreversibly lead to federation"

Jean-Claude Juncker:

"When it becomes serious you have to lie"

"I'm ready to be insulted as being insufficiently democratic, but I want to be serious ... I am for secret, dark debates"

"Decisions can only be reached in Europe if France and Germany agree."

José Manuel Barroso:

"They must go on voting until they get it right"

Raymond Barre:

"I have never understood why public opinion about European ideas should be taken into account at all"

Jean-Luc Dehaene:

"...if the answer is NO, the vote will probably have to be done again, because it absolutely has to be Yes"

Manfred Weber:

"Europe obviously has a much better electoral system than Great Britain"

Edward Heath:

"There is no question of Britain losing essential national sovereignty"

Guy Verhofstadt:

"A Europe of nations is a relic of the past"

Helmut Kohl:

"The future will belong to the Germans... when we build the House of Europe"

"The only alternative to EMU is war"

And what they have said since

Jean-Claude Juncker (13/09/2017):

“By 2025 we need a fully-fledged European Defence Union.”

Emmanuel Macron (26/09/2017):

“I will be making proposals to everyone who shares this desire for a sovereign Europe”; “European sovereignty requires constructing, and we must do it”

Martin Schulz (7/9/2017):

“I want a new constitutional treaty that established the United States of Europe” [...] “This constitutional treaty will then have to be put to the member states and those that don’t approve it will automatically have to leave the EU”

Angela Merkel (Coalition with Schulz) (30/12/2017):

EU unity is more important than Brexit

Why did we have to leave?

The answer to this question is part of our history. The British people have never been willing to let go of self-determination: this is our single most defining characteristic. It has been this recurrent fight for self-rule, democracy and for freedom of choice that has shaped our government and our parliamentary democracy.

The British people rebelled against Charles I when he tried to impose taxation without parliamentary consent; Cromwell did not improve on this, but from the 1660s, our modern form of government evolved into a sovereign parliament, with the emergence of modern parliamentary democracy in the eighteenth century. In the early nineteenth century Britain defeated Napoleon's project to conquer it, and the rest of Europe. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 was followed by increasing global trade and prosperity; unlike the rest of Europe, our emerging parliamentary system avoided bloody revolution.

The time came when the people rightly demanded their own say. The vote for working men in the Reform Act of 1867 led to modern parliamentary government, followed by votes for women by 1928. In the twentieth century, this democracy provided the necessary political will to sustain our self-government and democratic freedom and prevail in the Great War. It was parliament which abandoned appeasement under Winston Churchill, enabling us to defeat Hitler from 1939-1945.

The postwar moves towards a more integrated Europe entangled the British people into our joining the European Community in 1972. The White Paper of the time stated we would not surrender our veto, as to lose it would endanger "the very fabric of the European Community". This promise turned out to be false. The Referendum in 1975 was conducted without the British people being made sufficiently aware of where it was leading. When the Lord Chancellor (Lord Dilhorne) gave his advice to the nation in 1962 about the consequence of joining the European Institutions, and repeated this advice as late as 1967, he stated that: "I venture to suggest that the vast majority of men and women in the country will never directly feel the impact of Community-made law at all. In the conduct of their daily lives they will have no need to have regard to any of the provisions of that law." Furthermore, even in 1972, during the enactment of the European Communities Act, the Minister responsible for the Bill, Geoffrey Rippon, dared to confidently predict that European Law would be brought in "only in exceptional circumstances".

It is now known that at least 12,000 regulations have been brought in since '73. What happened was that, treaty by treaty, we conceded more and more power over our government and our parliament – and therefore our right to govern ourselves – to the European institution. This was done and never properly exposed until the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, when Conservative Rebels drew a historic line in the sand and had a massive campaign for a Referendum on that Treaty – it was collusion between the front benches of the Conservative and Labour party that made the referendum necessary. However, by the time of the 2007 Lisbon Treaty, when there was a Conservative Rebellion on the issue of Sovereignty – the origins of which can be traced back to June 1986 – the European dam was about to burst. The Conservative Party

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

Leadership promised a Referendum but failed to deliver it. In 2011, on a three-line whip, 81 Conservatives faced down David Cameron to force a Referendum. The Conservative party accepted the game was up when the former Prime Minister made his Bloomberg Speech. This was followed by a series of Referendum Bills and then, following the 2015 General Election, the European Referendum Act itself, which came into force that year.

The referendum vote to leave was an instruction from the people to Parliament, which Parliament itself had authorised, to pass the necessary legislation, including the repeal of the European Communities Act 1972.

So let us pause for thought, and think again about what is at stake. If the speeches of Juncker, Macron, Merkel or Schultz had been made before the Referendum, the vote would have been far greater for leave. The pursuit of an “ever closer union”, which has been consistently at the heart of the European establishment, is now openly being championed, particularly by Germany but also France. It is also being increasingly challenged by the grassroots of public opinion throughout Europe as a whole. This more than reinforces the fundamental question with which we are now faced: how do we want to be governed?

The answer to this was given by the British people on 26 June 2016 and was the direct result of our sovereign parliament specifically authorizing, by act of parliament, an answer to the question by the people of the United Kingdom. This is democracy – on which all else depends.

The direction the EU has taken and continues to take collides with these fundamental instincts and our history. This is why we had to leave.

Sir Bill Cash MP
March 2018

(1) How the EU undermines our democratic government and your Parliament

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

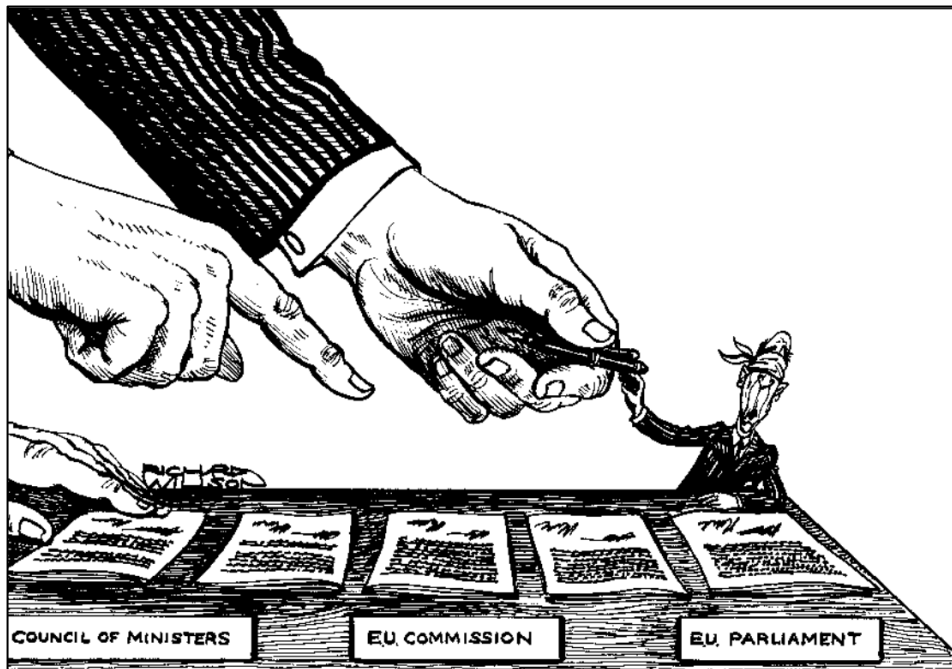
- To escape EU government and political union, which undermines our freedoms and national interests. The EU overrides your Parliament.
- Laws made by the EU in the Council of Ministers are made behind closed doors, without proper reasons being given and with no votes recorded: we have been flying blind and doing nothing about this for too long before Brexit.^{1 2}
- In the Council of Ministers, the UK is the country that is most outvoted, and Germany votes against Britain more than any other country.³
- The Lord Chancellor (Lord Dilhorne) in 1962, when Harold Macmillan first proposed our entry to the European Community, stated that: “I venture to suggest that the vast majority of men and women in the country will never directly feel the impact of the Community made law at all. In the conduct of their daily lives they will have no need to have regard to any of the provisions of that law”? Time has shown him to have been wrong.
- During the enactment of the European Communities Act 1972, the Minister responsible for the Bill, Geoffrey Rippon, dared to confidently predict that European Law would be brought in “only in exceptional circumstances”? He miscalculated this by about 12,000 regulations.
- Although we were told in 1971 that we would keep the “veto” (which was untrue) and that there would be hardly any regulations, in fact, it is estimated that over 20000 EU derived rules operate within the UK.

¹ Kenneth Clarke on the Council of Ministers: (<http://parliamentlive.tv/event/index/03696a47-12d1-486e-864d-8994e508c932?in=16:17:20> 16:17:20 to 16:20:00)

² House of Commons Report on Voting Behaviour in the EU Council: (<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06646>)

³ Votewatch Report on the UK in the EU Council: (http://60811b39eee4e42e277a-72b421883bb5b133f34e068afdd7cb11.r29.cf3.rackcdn.com/2016/04/VoteWatch-Report-2016_digital.pdf p 4-6)

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

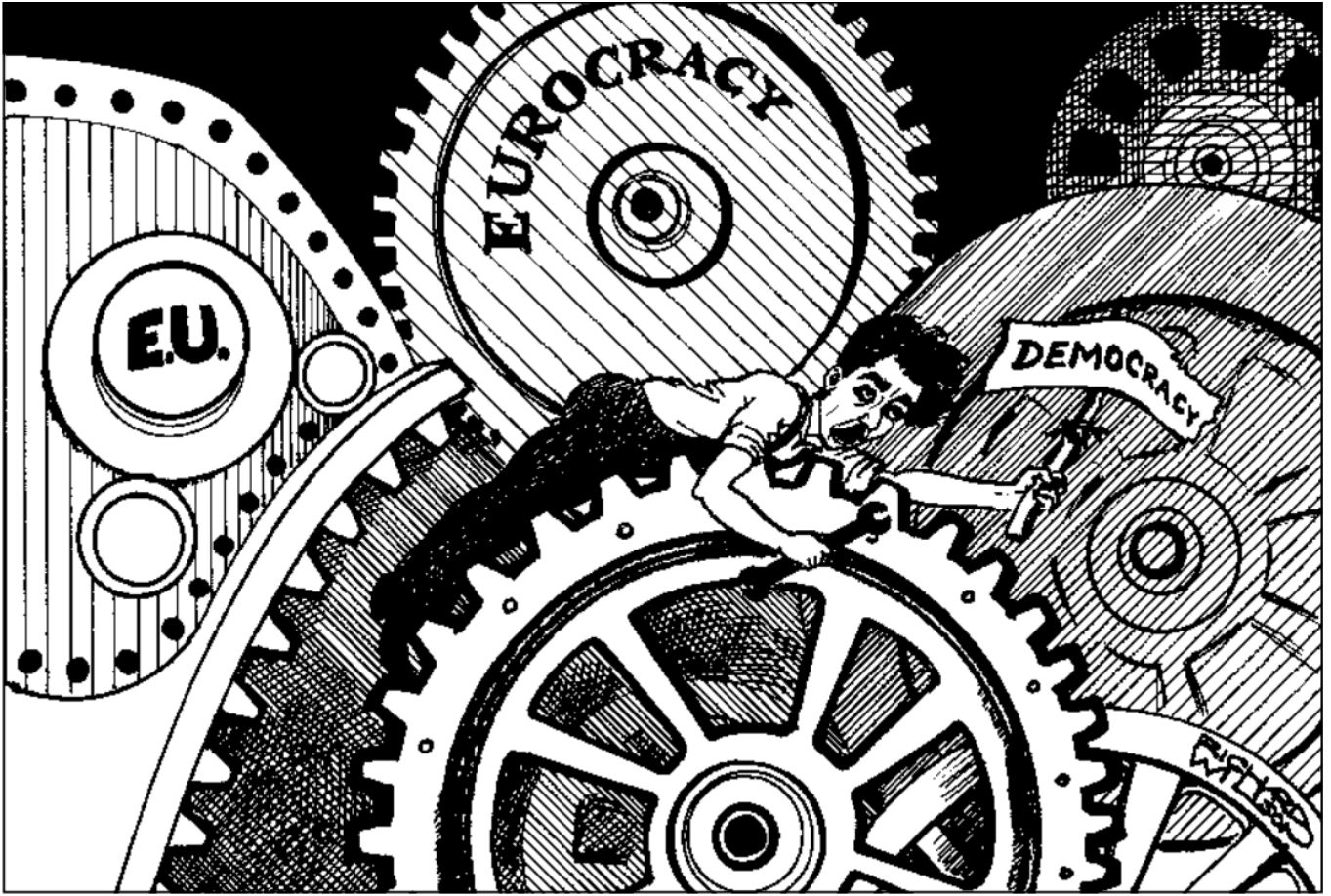


WHY WE CANNOT REMAIN:

- The Referendum vote has been followed up by the Article 50 Act by 494 to 122 votes and a General Election where 85% of the votes went to parties accepting the referendum result, and the UK Government's public pronouncements.
- What matters is leaving the European Union treaties, as the referendum vote requires, and the repeal of the 1972 act.

BREXIT FORWARD:

- This misgovernment has been going on for decades by collusion between the main political parties, but now with the Referendum the Conservative party has given us Brexit under which we regain our self-government in line with the voters' choices in general elections.
- Brexit means that laws will once again be made in the UK, for the benefit of UK citizens, by democratically elected officials, in a manner that is effective and transparent. Leaving creates essential democratic, political and economic opportunities.



(2) HOW AN UNDEMOCRATIC SYSTEM CREATES BAD ECONOMIC POLICY

(i) THE SINGLE MARKET

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

1. Re-claiming our freedom to run our economic decision-making

- As a member of the Single Market **the UK is bound to: (1) its “four freedoms”** (which includes **free movement of people and thus uncontrolled immigration**), **(2) to all Brussels-made laws** and **(3) the rulings of the European Court of Justice** (a court paid for by the EU and **fully committed to EU integration**).
- What this means is that the UK has lost its **freedom of choice in decision-making**, because the voting system in the Council of Ministers and the powers of the European Commission, run economic decision-making.
- **Voting for “remain” would have not preserved the “status quo”** economic arrangement with the EU: a further period of uncertainty would have emerged as **the Eurozone continues its irreversible path towards political and monetary union**. Because of the absence of a veto, **the UK would be in a bloc that increasingly works against its economic interests**.

2. The Single Market is not designed to serve the economic interests of the UK

- **The UK does not owe its economic success to the Single Market**, because, while it has removed trade barriers for the movement of goods, the free market for Services (which represents 78.8% of the UK economy) is far from complete. This has been recognised by the EU Commission itself.⁴
- Evidence:
 - **Services represent only 38% of UK exports to the EU despite it being the strongest sector of the UK economy.**
 - Indeed, the UK has a £78 billion trade surplus in services with non-EU countries, which is almost 6 times the trade service trade surplus it holds with the EU despite being inside the Single Market!
 - In 2015, the **UK recorded a services surplus with the US** (a non-EU member and thus outside the Single Market) **of £32 billion, which was over £10 billion greater than the services surplus that it held with the EU** itself.

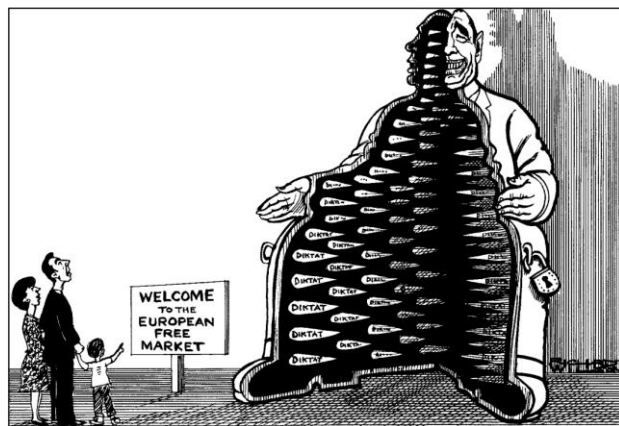
⁴ European Commission Staff Report 2007 F. Ilzkovitz et al - European Commission Directorate-General for Economic and Financial Affairs “A contribution to the Single Market Review”, Economic Paper No. 271 (01/2007)

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

- This matters because the proportion of jobs accounted for by the service sector in the UK amounts to 83.4%.⁵

3. The Single Market is a burden rather than an advantage

- We have an overall trade deficit in goods and services with the EU 27 of £82 billion, despite being a member of the Single Market; this was up £10 billion this last year alone (ONS figures). By contrast, Germany has a surplus of over £100 billion with the same 27.
- Small and medium-sized British businesses suffer most from costly EU Single Market regulation. This is because 87% of the UK economy is domestic, meaning that many industries must spend to comply with EU regulations, without actually exporting to the EU. The true beneficiaries are therefore large multinationals (only 5% of business in Britain) as they can bear the costs of regulation while hindering smaller competitors. The result is that sluggish companies are protected, preventing British business from innovating.



WHY WE CANNOT REMAIN:

- Since the Referendum, new Single Market regulation is emerging, demonstrating how vital it is for the UK to re-gain the freedom to run its own economic decision-making and business regulation.
- For example, this year, two huge pieces of regulation come into force. The first, the **Markets in Financial Instruments and Derivatives II (MiFID II)**, contains 7000 pages. It is estimated that this one regulation alone will cost business £400 million every year.
- Also, the **General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)** deals with the way companies and individuals send their data. Not only will this put a **roadblock in the way of the pioneering tech sector**, it will also **push most of the costs onto small businesses**. Additionally, the restrictive manner in which the EU decides to handle data is one of the factors that prevents it striking advanced trade deals.

⁵ Office of National Statistics

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/bulletins/uklabourmarket/january2018>

BREXIT FORWARD:

- However, the Government is right to want to seek a **bespoke UK FTA with the EU** as both sides of the Brexit negotiation can benefit from such an arrangement.
- **An FTA will cover Goods:**
 - The UK's £82.2 billion trade deficit in goods and services with the bloc means that powerful German auto producers, French wineries and Italian furniture makers, for whom this deficit represents revenue and profit, want a deal to happen.
- **An FTA will cover Services:**
 - The Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni at the World Economic Forum in Davos said that among the remaining EU states there was a "strongly prevailing position supporting the necessity of having a good deal with the UK". Financial services "will be part of the agreement" since excluding them "is totally unrealistic".
 - The German finance minister has said that the close commercial relationship of the UK and Germany will be protected.
 - French President Emmanuel Macron suggested in a BBC interview that a deal could cover aspects of financial services.
- **Nonetheless, if the EU was still unwilling to strike an FTA it would be unable to adopt punitive tariffs,** which would be against both WTO rules and the EU's own treaties (Article 8 of the Lisbon Treaty requires the EU to seek out collaboration with countries on its borders).

(ii) THE CUSTOMS UNION

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

1. Re-claiming our freedom to strike trade deals

- Rather than fighting for free and fair trade, the EU has pursued protectionist policies and created a Customs Union with a "Common External Tariff" on countries outside the bloc, leaving British consumers with rising bills, particularly for food.
- As part of a Customs Union, the UK cannot strike trade deals and give business access to 6.89 billion people – 93% of the world's population – with whom trade is restricted by the EU.

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

- The UK is thus dependent on the EU to negotiate trade deals on its behalf, meaning the UK's voice is frequently silenced, for instance in the EU's consistent refusal to negotiate free trade agreements for services with the rest of the world.
- The UK outside the EU will be able to strike deals more quickly and better fitting its commercial preferences – not least because there are large **emerging markets where Britain has a common language, shared common law, institutional practices, and other historical ties.**
- The UK is **the 5th largest global economy** and beyond the EU it delivers £370 billion of exports (56% of all goods and services the UK sells abroad) and holds a **£39.2 billion non-EU trade surplus.**

WHY WE CANNOT REMAIN:

- In the Customs Union, we cut ourselves off from growth in the rest of the world.
 - Even the European Commission admits that 90% of future global growth will happen outside Europe's borders – this has been confirmed by the International Monetary Fund.
- In addition, the UK's trade within the **Single Market accounts for a minority of its exports, and the share is fast diminishing.**
 - In 1999, the EU share of British exports was 54.6%, by 2016 this was 43.1%, and it is expected to drop to 35% of its exports by 2025.
 - Even the result of 43.1% is overstated because it includes goods shipped through the port of Rotterdam, bound for non-EU nations, but recorded as going to the EU. This phenomenon is called the "Rotterdam Effect".

BREXIT FORWARD:

- The UK should **prioritize international trade deals with countries outside the EU.**
- Since the Referendum, twenty-six states, from Australia to Uruguay, have indicated their keenness to sign commercial accords with a post-EU Britain.
- In her visit to China in January 2018, Theresa May secured a £9 billion trade deal with China.
- **Trade with the Commonwealth:**
 - In 2013, the combined global exports of goods and services from the fifty-three Commonwealth members (including Britain) were valued at \$3.4 trillion, or about 15% of the world's total exports in 2013.⁶ In contrast, total EU exports amounted to around \$2.2 trillion.

⁶ Commonwealth Secretariat "The Commonwealth in the Unfolding Global Trade Landscape: prospects, Priorities and Perspectives", November 2015

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

- The value of Commonwealth exports is 50% larger than the EU's, and its growth has been phenomenal: combined total exports of goods and services of Commonwealth member countries has almost tripled from \$1.3 trillion in 2000.
- **Trade with the US:**
 - On a country-by-country breakdown, the largest single UK trading partner is the US, which takes 19.7% of UK exports and provides 10.9% of imports.
 - An FTA with the US is forecasted to boost British exports by between 1.2 and 2.9% and benefit the British economy by £4-10 billion a year.
 - US President Trump has been extremely positive about the chances of a bilateral deal with the UK (directly against Obama's warning that if the UK was to leave the EU it would be "at the back of the queue" for a US trade deal). Indeed, in an interview with The Times Trump stated that: "I'm a big fan of the UK, we're going to work very hard to get a [trade deal] done quickly and properly. Good for both sides... we're going to get something done very quickly"⁷.
 - Meanwhile, US-EU trade talks have stalled, and Congress is instead looking at a bilateral treaty with Britain which, as Speaker of Congress Paul Ryan said, will "be easier to do" than a deal with the protectionist EU.

(iii) THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY (CAP)

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

- The CAP establishes a system of agricultural subsidies but as these subsidies are granted on a pound-per-hectare basis the biggest beneficiaries are mammoth multinational corporations and rich landowners, regardless of whether their main business is farming.
- While **80% of CAP farm aid goes to about a quarter of EU farmers, £4 billion of UK tax money is paid towards the system.**
- **The UK contributions to the CAP have been more than three times what it has received.**
- In addition, UK consumers suffer higher price on agricultural goods due to costly agricultural regulations, estimated to amount to £398 per household per year.⁸
- Its costly bureaucratic constraints hold back productivity and impede progressive environmental stewardship.

⁷ The Times "Donald Trump interview: Brexit will be a great thing" available at <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/donald-trump-interview-brexite-britain-trade-deal-europe-queen-5m0bc2tns>

⁸ UK Agricultural Policy post-Brexit by Owen Patterson

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

- The most recent report from Lord Deben's Committee on Climate Change and Adaptation Sub-Committee (Jun 2017) points out that current EU-inspired farming approaches are degrading UK soil.
- The CAP's emphasis on food production leads to overproduction and means policy has not been orientated towards sustainable soil use.
- In some areas, a combination of heavy machinery, irrigation methods accelerating erosion and a determination to drive up yields has meant that soil has become steadily less productive. The soil is has thus become not only less effective at sequestering carbon, but less fertile. The effect is most noticeable in what was some of the UK's most fertile growing soil, in the Fens, where a combination of peat draining and the disappearance of hedges and trees has led to a thinning of productive earth.

BREXIT FORWARD:

- **The Government has pledged that the UK will match the £3 billion** that farmers currently receive in support from the CAP until 2022.
- It can then continue to pay subsidies but instead of using the inefficient pound-per-hectare system it can grant subsidies on the delivery of public goods (e.g. restoring ecosystems, preventing flooding downstream and bringing British people back into contact with the living world).
- Alternatively it could follow New Zealand's example: in 1984 the government cut subsidies completely stimulating innovation and productivity – thirty-three year after farm subsidies were wiped, New Zealand's sheep industry (once subsidies up to 90%) produces a similar weight of lamb from less than half the number of sheep and is marketed across 100 different countries around the world – improving productivity by 107%.⁹ This in turn requires 23% less land and has led to a 19% reduction in greenhouse-gas emissions.
- The UK will be able to retake a full seat on the world bodies that determine global regulation, instead of its current 1/28th of a collective EU vote such as the WTO and the Codex Alimentarius Commission.

⁹ Shanker Singham, Dr Radomir Tylecote and Victoria Hewson "The Brexit Inflection Point: The Pathway to Prosperity" (November 2017)

(iv) THE COMMON FISHERIES POLICY (CFP)

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

- The CFP has helped cause the loss of nearly half of British jobs at sea, damaged the livelihood of those on land who sold and maintained fishermen's boats, nets and bait, and resulted in **British catches now being only slightly above the levels of 1915 (when seas were warzones)**.
- Unemployment in the industry adds £138 million in social security bills.
- To make fishing sustainable, the CFP imposes fishing quotas on EU Member States but these quotas are calculated based on information that is guaranteed to be inaccurate by at least 50%, and often six months out of date.¹⁰
- In one of its most absurdly one-sided allocations, **the quota system gives France 84 per cent of Channel cod compared to 9 per cent for the UK** – a zone where national waters are divided roughly 50/50 between the two countries.
- **The EU catches 59% of its fish in UK waters, which is worth around £711 million while the UK only catches 15% of its fish in EU waters.**
- In addition, fishing quotas ignore the fact that when fishing fleets throw their nets they cannot how many fish they will catch and what species they will catch – however, as it is a criminal offence to land fish above the set quotas, the only option for fishermen that catch quantities above EU limits is to throw their dead catch back into the sea. The total CFP discards are now 880,000 tonnes annually and in many areas more fish are dumped than landed.
- The result is that **out of Europe's major fish stocks, two thirds are now on the verge of collapse**

BREXIT FORWARD:

- When the UK leave it should take back full control of its waters, in the words of the Scottish Fisherman's Federation: **"More than half of our natural resources goes elsewhere. That is unthinkable for another coastal state.** Taking that back is not an act of regression, it is an act of normality... This is a natural resource which belongs to us – and the law is on our side"¹¹

¹⁰ *UK Fisheries Policy Post-Brexit by The Rt Hon Owen Paterson MP - All Souls College, Oxford (27th January 2017)*

¹¹ R. Watson "Scots fishing could double outside EU, says bosses" *Scottish Daily Mail* (20/12/2016)

BREXIT FORWARD - WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE

- The UK should manage fish stocks as a renewable resource and thus convert the ill-founded fixed-quota system to an effort control system where vessels are limited in their “days-at-sea” in return for being able to land and record all catches in a “catch less, land more system” – as advocated by Fishing for Leave and endorsed by former Secretary of State for DEFRA Owen Paterson.
- **A UK-wide Fisheries Institute should also be established** to enable fisherman and scientists to work together in a similar arrangement to the successful system created by Norway to produce accurate stock assessments.
- The UK will also be able to join the North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission as an independent member, instead of trying to influence the EU negotiating position, then accepting the way the EU implements decision.

(v) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

- Free movement is an extreme and extremely inefficient immigration system. Member States have no control over immigration law and cannot prevent surpluses of labour in various sectors of the economy, or prevent social disorder.
- Britain experienced record net immigration after the late 1990s as a result of EU free movement in the 13 years between 1997 and 2010, net foreign immigration totaled 3.6 million, or a new city the size of Birmingham every five years.
- Lower-skilled workers constitute nearly 70% of EU workers in the UK. Meanwhile migrants from eastern Europe are a net fiscal cost of £1.5bn (i.e. they pay £1.5 billion less in taxes than they receive in benefits and services).
- The economic costs of unrestricted immigration mainly affect British low-skilled workers who experience higher job competition and wage depression. A UCL study¹² shows that for each 1% increase in the share of migrants in the UK working age population, there is a 0.6% decline in the wages of the lowest-paid workers.

BREXIT FORWARD:

- An independent migration policy will enable the UK to continue to attract international talent, but at a sustainable rate which can be absorbed while adding economic value.

¹² C. Dustmann, T. Frattini, I. Preston, (2008) “The effect of immigration along the distribution of wages”. (Discussion Paper Series 03/08). Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration: London, UK.

- Those wishing to work should be required to obtain a work permit, available for the highly skilled.
- Seasonal work permits should also be granted if the UK finds there is a shortage in labour.
- A new Immigration Bill in Westminster will ensure a fairer and economically viable immigration policy that is flexible and can thus be changed, according to different circumstances, by elected and accountable British politicians.

(4) How the EU fails the BRITISH JUSTICE TEST

WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

- Your parliament was driven to accept Home and Justice Affairs laws made in Brussels in “bulk”, without the possibility to amend or reject those that would not work properly in the UK
- “The European Arrest Warrant” (EAW), has meant the UK has no power to examine the evidence against UK citizens who faced deportation because of it. We cannot reject these deportations even if UK citizens are clearly innocent. Some of the shocking results include:
 - Edmon Arapi (a UK citizen from Staffordshire) was tried and convicted in his absence for the killing of Marcello Miguel Espana Castillo in Genoa, Italy, in October 2004 (Italy then issued a European Arrest Warrant against him). But Edmon had not left the UK at all between the years 2000 and 2006.
 - Andrew Symeou (a 20-year-old British student) was charged with the killing of Jonathan Hiles in 2008 in a nightclub in Zante, Greece, despite having photographic evidence that proved that he was in a different nightclub on the night in question.¹³
 - The EAW is not only an engine for injustice, but also cost the UK taxpayers around £27 million a year.
- Another of these provisions is “Europol”, an institution that is slowly turning into an EU FBI, but unaccountable. Its powers are growing fast:
 - Europol can request member states to initiate a criminal investigation and can take part in joint investigations on almost all criminality – and it can all be “fast-tracked” under the European Arrest Warrant.
 - It can also exchange information obtained from an EU Member State with third countries (even when they have poor data protection standards), with no veto for the Member States to stop this.

¹³ More cases of injustice reported by the independent think tank Fair Trials International:
[https://www.fairtrials.org/documents/EAW - Cases of Injustice1.pdf](https://www.fairtrials.org/documents/EAW_-_Cases_of_Injustice1.pdf)

WHY WE CANNOT REMAIN:

- Europol is moving to demand even more investigative powers, which would allow it to carry out independent investigations in Member States without their consent. Its Management Board is also trying to obtain the legislative authority to decide its own rules of conduct. Make no mistake: its powers would be virtually unlimited.
- Meanwhile, a “European Public Prosecutor” is being created, with EU-wide jurisdiction to investigate and prosecute fraud and other crimes affecting the Union’s financial interest – as well as any crime that it claims is connected to that. Although this provision will not apply in the UK, through it the EU is attempting a power-grab of all criminal prosecution, and if the UK remains part of the EAW, the European Public Prosecutor will be able issue EAW in the UK (and all other EU Member States).



BREXIT FORWARD:

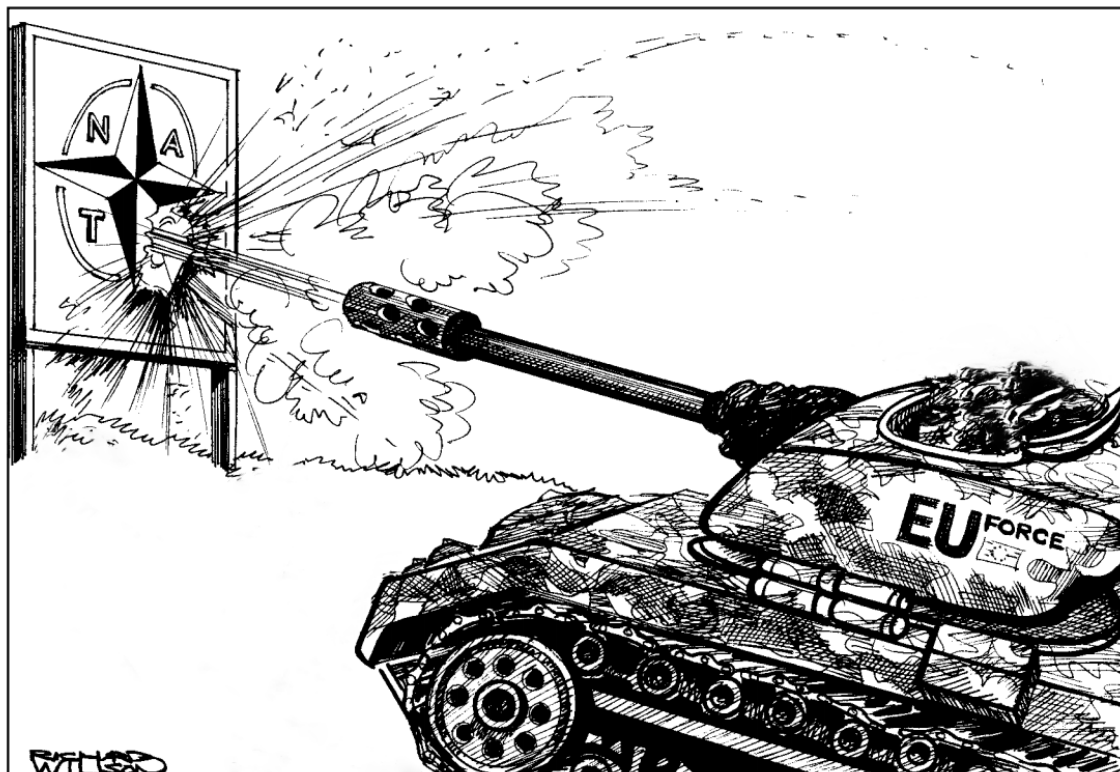
- The UK had to leave to protect British citizens from miscarriages of justice generated by never-ending EU-power grabs.
- As Fair Trials International argued, it is likely that “other Member States will continue to wish to engage in effective extradition arrangements with the UK, whether or not we remain a part of the EAW system”. Thus, the UK can substitute the EAW arrangement and negotiate its extradition arrangements with EU Member States or the EU itself ensuring that UK courts will have the ultimate extradition authority.

The UK should also withdraw from Europol (by not adopting the new Europol Regulation) and **seek a new shared-intelligence agreement excluding ECJ jurisdiction**. The UK Government is confident that it will be able to reach an agreement based on collaboration rather than control, as EU Member States value the UK’s contribution to shared-intelligence. Indeed, the UK is the second biggest contributor to EU intelligence and the biggest contributor of intelligence in some of the most critical areas.

(5) How the EU is planning its own army

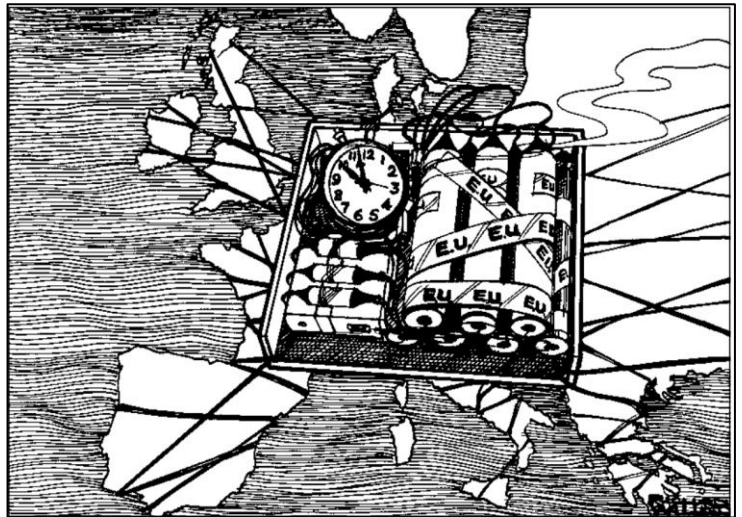
WHY WE HAD TO LEAVE:

- Since Maastricht in 1992, the UK's defence policy has been much less by elected politicians in your Parliament and ever more by faceless bureaucrats in Brussels.
- In 1998 at the St. Malo Summit, PM Tony Blair launched an "autonomous EU military operation" but reassured the British people that he would not support German-led plans for a European Army or a Defence Policy that would undermine NATO. But in 2016 he then called for the creation of a fully-fledged European Army.
- An EU army cannot exist without the creation of a single European State: but this means that the EU would have the power to pull the UK and all other Member States into conflicts, without their consent.
- And how does the EU expect to pay for an army? The US pays for 75% of NATO's military expenses, and only four EU Member States (including the UK 2% which is leaving) meet the NATO defence-spending target.
- An independent EU Defence Policy will decouple EU and NATO. It was the alliance between the UK and US that successfully fought for the freedom of Europe. Since WWII, it is NATO that has contained the tensions in Germany between East and West, something that the EU has done nothing to reduce. NATO has also helped to prevent piracy off the Horn of Africa and, since 2016, has helped address the refugee and migrant crisis in Europe. The EU foreign policy was unable to deal with these crises.



WHY WE CANNOT REMAIN:

- Despite these facts, the path that the EU has taken is clear: European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker has publicly stated: “we need a new approach to building a European security union with the end goal of establishing a European army.”
- During the UK referendum campaign, a leaked draft proposal from the German government set out details of a joint European Defence Union. Officials had tried to keep the plan secret until after the Referendum, but the UK would have been forced to join the initiative had it not voted to leave the EU on 23 June 2016.
- The latest EU Defence initiative (2017) is decided by majority voting, leaving EU Member States with no veto over EU foreign and defence policy. Because Germany wants a European Army and can easily pressure smaller countries in the Eurozone to vote with it, EU Member States have effectively bound themselves to its creation.



BREXIT FORWARD:

- The UK had no choice but to leave the EU: staying in meant a German-dominated Union and a Single Army. The House of Commons Library has suggested that: “In terms of military power and projection, therefore, the UK’s withdrawal is more likely to place the EU at a disadvantage, with fewer assets and capabilities at its disposal. [...] any military shortfalls could be compensated for through bilateral arrangements with countries such as France and Germany.”
- The UK had the sixth largest defence budget worldwide in 2016 (IISS figures) and is one of only six of NATO’s 29 members forecast to meet the 2 percent defence spending guideline in 2017.
- The UK Government has committed to raise the defence budget by 0.5 percent a year in real terms and invest £178 billion in defence equipment over the next decade (an additional £12 billion compared to previous plans).
- When the UK leaves the EU, it should conduct an independent foreign policy that promotes global free trade and alliances with countries around the world (with particular emphasis on EU Member States and Commonwealth countries), while avoiding being entangled in EU affairs. As the Great Britain’s de facto first Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, used to say: “Let the sleeping dogs lie.”