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Why should we vote to leave?

Technological and economic forces are changing the world fast. EU institutions cannot cope. We have lost control of vital policies. This is damaging. We need a new relationship. What should it be?

We negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation. We end the supremacy of EU law. We regain control. We stop sending £350 million every week to Brussels and instead spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research.

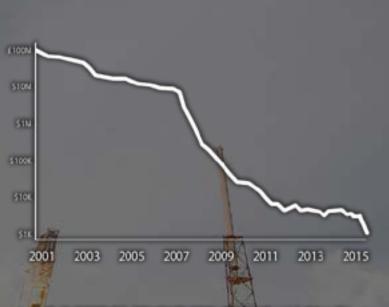
We regain our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation.

A vote to 'leave' and a better, friendlier relationship with the EU is much safer than giving Brussels more power and money every year.

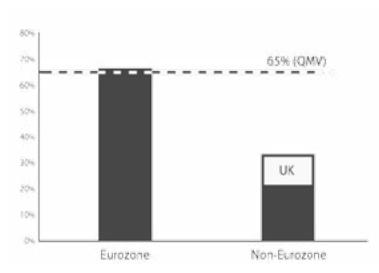
Global Forces, EU failure

Technological and economic forces are changing the world fast. In the next 15 years over a billion people will join the world economy. New technologies are spreading such as the mobile internet, 'the internet of things', genetic engineering, and robotics. National, regional, and global institutions must adapt fast.

The EU is too slow to cope and is damaging Europe. It suffers low growth, high unemployment, a dysfunctional euro, and a culture that is not friendly to technology and entrepreneurs. Its regulatory system is based on a slow, broken 1950's bureaucracy that cannot fix problems fast. For example, the Clinical Trials Directive caused severe disruption to tests of new drugs.



THE COST OF GENOME SEQUENCING HAS FALLEN BY A FACTOR OF OVER 10,000 IN RECENT YEARS



THE EUROZONE HAS A PERMANENT MAJORITY UNDER QUALIFIED MAJORITY VOTING (QMV)

What institutions does Europe need?

We need a new European institutional architecture.

First, non-Eurozone countries should stop blocking the Eurozone from doing what they want to save the euro.

Second, all European countries, in and out of the euro, should be able to trade freely and cooperate. We need regulatory systems that are very agile, easy to correct, and decentralised. Europe could work on the basis of mutual recognition of national standards combined with global standards where appropriate.

Third, it should be easier for European countries to cooperate globally on many issues, such as revolutionary technology innovation. EU institutions should stop blocking Britain from making trade deals outside Europe.

Europe can't cope and is going in the wrong direction

The European Commission is now planning the next EU Treaty to fix the euro's problems. Every Treaty since the 1950s has given Brussels more power. The new Treaty is planned to take more power from EU members including power over taxes.

Our complaints will be ignored. Our politicians will give in as usual. We have repeatedly given away control in the hope of 'influence'. The loss of control was real. The hoped for influence was a mirage.

The non-Eurozone countries are an out-voted minority inside an organisation where the Eurozone has a built-in majority and is going in the wrong direction.

The balance sheet: how should we vote?

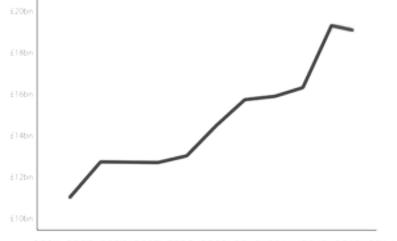
Britain has lost control of many things that are fundamental to what Abraham Lincoln called 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'. The nineteen Eurozone countries now constitute a majority in the EU that routinely outvote Britain.

Our loss of control harms public services, entrepreneurs, and taxpayers. Billions of pounds are diverted from productive investment. Our relationship with the EU is undermining prosperity, democratic accountability, and friendly international relations.

Which is safer - a vote for the permanent supremacy of EU law, or a vote to take back control?

Which is safer - a vote to keep sending hundreds of millions to Brussels every week, or a vote to put that money into scientific research and the NHS?

None of this requires the supremacy of EU law in Britain.



2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014

BRITAIN SENDS OVER £350 MILLION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION EACH WEEK

Technological and economic forces are changing the world fast

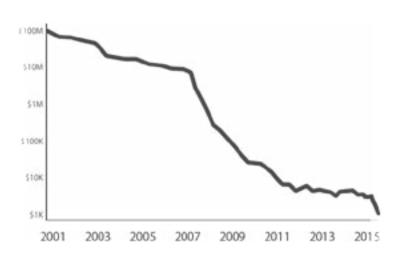
PART ONE: GLOBAL FORCES, EU FAILURE

In the next 15 years over a billion people will join the world economy.

The mobile internet and the 'internet of things' mean more people are connected than ever. Urban construction over the next few decades could approximate the entire volume of construction in world history.

Demand for energy will grow by roughly half by 2030. Civilian and military institutions are making dramatic progress with machine intelligence and robotics.

The cost of sequencing DNA has dropped from a billion dollars to under \$10,000 per genome and new tools such as 'CRISPR' enable cut-and-paste editing of genomes. Digital fabrication is revolutionising manufacturing and supply chains.



THE COST OF GENOME SEQUENCING HAS FALLEN BY A FACTOR OF OVER 10,000 IN RECENT YEARS

These forces are disrupting institutions and societies across the globe.

Prosperity and security in this rapidly evolving system require the development of fundamental scientific knowledge and rapidly adaptable institutions - local, national, regional, and global.

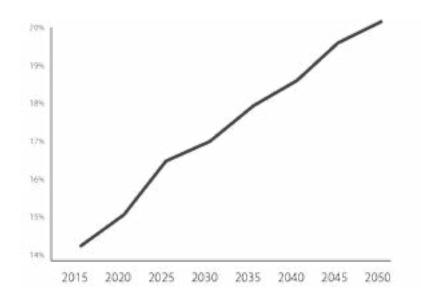
We need much more international cooperation than we now enjoy and often at the global, not regional, level.

The European Union is too slow to cope and is damaging Europe.

The EU cannot cope with these forces. In some places unemployment is 25 percent and youth unemployment over fifty percent, the worst situation since the 1930s.

Debts are large and growing. Unfunded pension systems require large tax increases, immigration increases, or both.

Europe relies on borrowing many strategic assets, such as air transport, from America. The EU does not have the physical assets or the legal structure needed to cope with problems such as the current migrant crisis.



THE EUROZONE'S DEBT AND PENSIONS PROBLEM WILL ABSORB A HUGE PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCOME

In many areas of science and technology Europe is falling behind.

The EU's bureaucracy is not friendly to technology and entrepreneurs.

Recently the EU abolished its post of Chief Scientist because advice from scientists was politically awkward, a decision that was widely condemned by leading scientists. The Clinical Trials Directive caused significant harm including severe disruption of tests of new drugs.

The EU science funding process is not developing the networks between universities, scientists, technologists, entrepreneurs, and finance that has been so important in America and which Asia is striving to emulate. The EU Commission recently raided over €2 billion from the HORIZON science budget to pay for the problems caused by the euro.

€6.9bn

THE EU FAILED TO SPEND IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS OWN RULES IN 2013, ACCORDING TO THE EUROPEAN COURT OF AUDITORS

The EU's bureaucracy, created in the 1950s, is slow, undemocratic, and inflexible.

Billions are lost to fraud and waste. Although the EU and its Single Market process have brought some gains, the system is rigid, very slow, hard to fix when it goes wrong, and very costly.

When mistakes like the Clinical Trials Directive are made, they often take years to change if they are changed at all. Some things we have tried to change for decades are still there, such as the Common Agricultural Policy that increases food bills and damages African agriculture.

Damaging rules often come from lobbying by big multinational corporations trying to eliminate competition from entrepreneurs.

The euro was created in the wrong way with the wrong members.

It is making Europe's economic problems worse, severely damaging the Greek economy, undermining democratic government, and poisoning relations between nations. Extremist parties are growing across the continent.

Those who created the euro thought that it would need a 'political union' to survive. The plans to save the euro mean much more centralisation of power in Brussels. The EU is committed to more of the same despite all the evidence of failure.

PART TWO: HOW SHOULD EUROPE BE ORGANISED? What institutions does Europe need?

Europe needs institutions that help three things.

First, the Eurozone countries want to pursue their project of 'political union'. This project is designed to centralise power in Brussels and relies on the supremacy of European law.

Non-Eurozone countries should stop blocking this project.

Second, all European countries, in and out of the euro, should be able to trade freely and cooperate in a friendly way. This does not require the supremacy of European law.

Other countries around the world trade freely without making EU law supreme - it is obviously not necessary for free trade.



"WE'RE NOT HERE TO MAKE A SINGLE MARKET – THAT DOESN'T INTEREST ME - BUT TO MAKE A POLITICAL UNION." - JACQUES DELORS, 1993

We need regulatory systems that are very agile and easy to correct.

We need systems that allow decentralised cooperation on issues such as migration rather than centralising power in Brussels which makes it very hard to adapt when things go wrong.

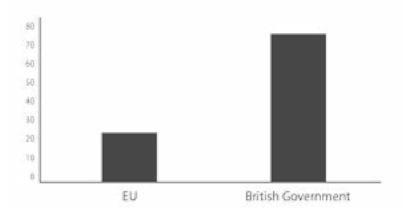
Instead of uniform harmonisation that is hard to fix, a reformed Europe could work on the basis of mutual recognition of national regulatory standards combined with global standards where appropriate.

EU institutions should stop blocking non-euro countries from making trade deals outside Europe.

£33.3bn

CURRENT ANNUAL COST OF EU REGULATION TO THE UK ECONOMY - OPEN EUROPE

WHO SHOULD CONTROL UK TRADE DEALS?



THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY (74%) OF BRITAIN'S SMEs THINK THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, NOT THE EU, SHOULD CONTROL THE UK'S TRADE POLICY

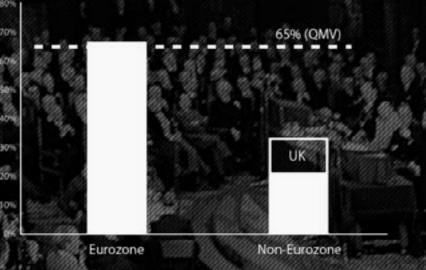
It should be easier for European countries to cooperate globally.

Many issues, such as revolutionary technology innovation, need much more international cooperation than we now have and often at a global level. The idea that Britain should get out of the EU system in order to return to some form of 'splendid isolation' is unrealistic and would be disastrous if tried.

Majorities across Europe would support the idea of a much more flexible European institutional architecture that can accommodate both the 'political union' project and the non-euro countries.

Most people and businesses want a UK-EU relationship based on free trade and friendly cooperation but not the supremacy of EU law. Most entrepreneurs also think the EU and Single Market is a net cost and want the EU to have less power over areas like trade. Unfortunately, those in charge are committed to doubling down on their failed model.

The non-Eurozone countries are an out-voted minority inside an organisation where the Eurozone has a built-in majority and is going in the wrong direction.



THE EUROZONE HAS A PERMANENT MAJORITY UNDER QUALIFIED MAJORITY VOTING (QMV)

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PART THREE: FAILURE OF UK GOVERNMENTS

Europe can't cope and is going in the wrong direction

For twenty-five years, British Governments have tried and failed.

They tried and failed to block other European countries integrating further.

They tried and failed to persuade the British public and businesses that 'the EU is reforming, it will do less'.

They failed to try to develop an alternative vision to being



THE UK'S VOTE SHARE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, DOWN FROM 17% IN 1973

72

TIMES THE UK HAS ATTEMPTED TO BLOCK MOTIONS BEFORE THE COUNCIL, WITH NO SUCCESS

There is a pattern of failure for our Governments.

First, ministers and officials say that ideas coming out of Brussels are 'not really on the agenda'.

When they are being implemented, the same people then say 'the EU is coming our way so we have to go along to have influence, if we oppose them we'll have no influence'.

After we have failed to influence them, the same people then say 'this change is inevitable and only extremists oppose it'.



"THE [EU'S] CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS WILL HAVE NO MORE LEGAL FORCE THAN THE BEANO"

Our Governments have undermined Britain's reputation.

Ministers repeat phrases like 'in Europe, not run by Europe' but every year Brussels runs more.

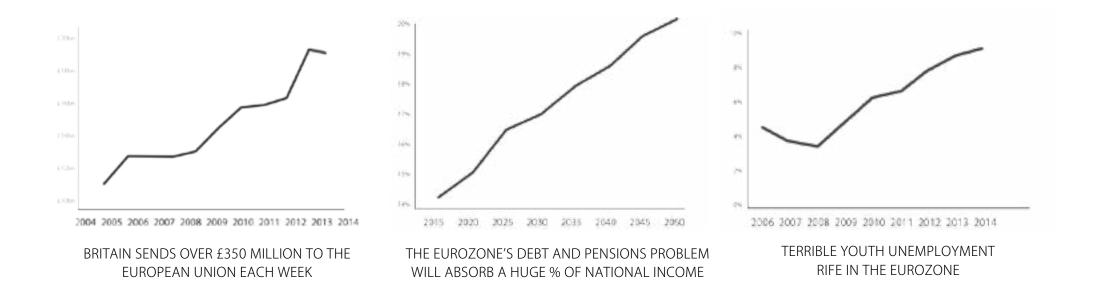
There is a predictable cycle of complaints, criticisms, and ultimatums from our Governments - then a collapse of confidence, caving in, stage-managed rows to spin the appearance that the Government is fighting for something, and a further fall in our reputation abroad.

Eurozone countries quite reasonably do not regard Britain's approach as a serious policy. Since 1945, Whitehall and Westminster have consistently misjudged the political will in Europe and have pursued a chimera - a hope that Brussels can be 'influenced' to go in a completely different direction to the dominant integrationist model pursued.

This hope has failed. We have repeatedly given away control in the hope of 'influence'. The loss of control was real. The hoped for influence was a mirage. The unrealistic illusions remain.

How can we really influence Europe?

A vote to remain is the riskier option



A vote to 'remain' is not a vote for the status quo. There is no status quo.

Over the past decade Britain paid over £150 billion to the EU budget. We send about £350 million to Brussels every week. This is about half the English schools budget, four times the Scottish schools budget, four times the science budget, and about 60 times what we spend on the NHS cancer drugs fund.

If we vote to 'remain', it is a vote for the permanent payment to Brussels of all this money. It will get worse. UK taxpayers will be paying for the huge bills caused by the euro's crisis. All this money could be better spent on the NHS, schools, and fundamental science research. A vote to 'remain' means the permanent supremacy of EU law with all this involves for our prosperity and democratic government.

It means permanent EU control over migration policy.

It means permanent EU control over important aspects of how public services work, including the rules on hospital building, privatisation, and procurement (see the 2012 disaster over rail franchises that cost taxpayers over £50 million).

Many of these EU rules help a small number of big companies but cost the taxpayer billions.

Queen Elizabeth Hospital Birmingham



Part of University Hospitals 8irmingham NH5 Foundation Trust

A vote to 'remain' means permanent EU control of trade.

Britain will have no power to make our own trade deals. We will have no vote at the World Trade Organisation to influence world trade negotiations.

It means that EU judges will strike down UK laws using the new Charter of Fundamental Rights. The Government promised it would have no more legal effect than 'The Beano'. It is already being applied by the European Court. It gives EU judges far more power over Britain than the US Supreme Court has over US states.

This is not about your view on human rights. It is about whether the EU controls human rights in Britain or whether the British public and courts control human rights.

A vote to 'remain' means being constantly outvoted.

The nineteen Eurozone countries now constitute a majority in the EU that can routinely outvote Britain.

We now only have 8% of the votes on vital EU decisions.

Since 1996, Britain has strongly opposed over fifty measures in the Council of Ministers.

Britain has been outvoted on every occasion and every one of those measures became UK law.

8%

THE UK'S VOTE SHARE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, DOWN FROM 17% IN 1973

TIMES THE UK HAS ATTEMPTED TO BLOCK MOTIONS BEFORE THE COUNCIL, WITH NO

SUCCESS

A vote to leave is the safer option

If we vote to leave, we will be able to spend the £350 million we send to Brussels every week on our priorities like the NHS, schools, and fundamental science research. Many cuts would be unnecessary if we saved the money wasted on the EU.

We end the supremacy of EU law. Countries around the world trade freely and cooperate in a friendly, effective way without making EU law supreme. We too will have a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation. We will carry on cooperating on all sorts of things such as scientific collaborations.

We regain legal control of things like trade, tax, economic regulation, energy and food bills, migration, crime, and civil liberties. If we vote for the people who make our trade deals and control public services, the results will be better. British voters should be able to change our laws and control our taxes by voting out politicians.

We regain the power to make our own trade deals with countries around the world.

We regain an independent voice in world trade negotiations with independent voting rights at the World Trade Organisation (unlike now).

We regain seats on other international rule-setting bodies that we've given away to the EU.

We use our stronger international influence to work for closer international cooperation.

WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

We can have a fairer, more humane migration policy.

We stop the current immoral, expensive, and out of control immigration system that means an open door to the EU while blocking people who could contribute to the UK coming from non-EU countries.

We make it easier for some to come, such as scientists and job-creators, and impossible for others to come, such as convicted criminals.

CMS Experiment at the LHC, CERN

Data recorded: 2012-Aug-24 11:46:25.076941 GMT(13:46:25 CEST) Run / Event: 201625 / 815118889

£19.1bn

THE AMOUNT THE UK WOULD SAVE BY NO LONGER HAVING TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE EU BUDGET AND INVEST IN OUR PRIORTIES

If we vote to leave, we can change the agenda.

If we regain the power to control our own affairs, we can sort out our own problems. We can invest in scientific research and education so we can build new industries and technologies.

Britain would have far greater 'influence' if it successfully pursued an alternative national policy.

The best way to get a better deal for Britain and Europe is to vote to leave. This will force the politicians to renegotiate a new friendly deal.

Which is safer?

Which is safer - a vote for the permanent supremacy of EU law, or a vote to take back control?

A vote to keep sending hundreds of millions to Brussels every week, or a vote to put that money into scientific research and the NHS?

It is safer to take back control than to vote for the permanent supremacy of EU law.

A vote to leave is the safer option

VOTE LEAVE

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Vote Leave, take control

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