

How the Civil Service has Coped with Brexit

Jill Rutter

Had a Brexit unit been set up at the time of the renegotiation – or indeed when the referendum was first floated – it might have given an indication of the scale of the task of untangling the UK-EU relationship. Forty-five years of EU membership meant not only that the impact of the EU was both deep and wide, but also that it was somewhat taken for granted and hence poorly understood. There was little focus on how the border with the EU operated, the relationship between EU membership and devolution within the UK, or the implications of the Single Market and Customs Union for trading patterns.

“The civil service faced two challenges: skills and numbers. Brexit meant developing capabilities – like trade negotiation – that Whitehall had not needed for decades. The civil service had to hunt for external talent to fill gaps.”

And it was not just the EU relationship that was poorly understood. Taking Brexit forward also meant understanding the complexity of a relationship with the devolved governments, which was predicated on a framework of EU membership. Meanwhile, the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement had sunk into the background of Whitehall’s collective memory.

There is a lot of political blame to be handed out for the casual way in which politicians approached the

referendum. But there are also some hard questions for the civil service to ask itself about the extent to which it forced ministers to think through the detailed consequences of their decision to put UK membership on the line, not least the very stark implications for the future of the Union in general and Northern Ireland in particular.

Brexit reversed cuts in civil service numbers

There was another respect in which the civil service was not ready for Brexit. Since 2009 its size had been on a steady downward trajectory – and the Government had plans for a further big reduction after 2015. As Deloitte stated, that was not sustainable in the face of Brexit.

Theresa May’s first acts on becoming Prime Minister were to create two new Government departments: the temporary Department for Exiting the EU (DExEU) and the permanent Department for International Trade. The consequences of these so-called machinery of government changes were, in the words of Philip Hammond, ‘not deeply thought through’. The creation of a freestanding Brexit department led to inevitable tensions with No.10, which ultimately wanted to control the negotiations; and the creation of the new trade department appeared to signal that the UK would leave the EU’s Customs Union before any such

decision had been made.

The replacement of Theresa May by Boris Johnson has – contrary to what many expected – made the civil service’s life much easier. This was a Government with a clear set of priorities; sovereignty first, economy second. The installation of David Frost, a Political Appointee as Chief Negotiator, proved an unlikely boon: it removed any sense that the civil service (which supplies the rest of the negotiating team) was pursuing its own agenda, independent of ministers. The Frost team – with its two civil service deputies – was prepared to work more closely with the UK’s EU experts in Brussels than the Robbins team ever did. The civil service has come under fire in 2020 but not due to the Brexit negotiations.

The post-Brexit balance sheet

So has the civil service survived the ‘existential threat’ from Brexit?

It is bigger. It has attracted new blood. And it can take pride in the fact that it has supported a Government to get the sort of Brexit it wanted. Even if many will say that the negotiations could have been handled better, both under May and Johnson, it is clearly now the politicians who own the outcome. Down the line, ministers may complain that they were not warned of unexpected consequences, but the fact that David Frost personified the exit negotiations means

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he will be held responsible for that. Ministers, for their part, can take comfort from confounding Whitehall gloomsters like Sir Ivan Rogers, who warned,

“It Could Take 10 Years to do a free trade deal with the EU”.

The next big challenge from Brexit is to see what the UK can do with its new found powers. Much of the day-to-day task of making Brexit work will fall not to Whitehall but to the arm's length bodies who have taken over many of the responsibilities formerly exercised by the Commission. The government has signed up to give new powers to quangos – the Competition and Markets Authority and the Office for Environmental Protection among them. There is a tricky relationship with these semi-independent bodies to manage if they are to have enough credibility to do their job convincingly. But there are also new policies to be made, and made work, in areas where Whitehall has not had policy discretion and associated expertise for decades. Defra made an ALMIGHTY HASH OF IMPLEMENTING CAP REFORM (a reform it had advocated) in the 2000's, ending up paying a stream of fines to Brussels: will it be able to manage the radically different agricultural support scheme?

There are question marks too over trade policy. The Department for International Trade can be quietly satisfied that it has succeeded in rolling over so many of the trade agreements it inherited from our years as an EU member. But can it deliver to ministers' expectations, not least when they still seem unwilling to engage with the very real trade-offs and choices they need to make to have a convincing trade policy?

The civil service will also have to find a way of hanging on to what EU expertise it has left. It will no longer be able tempt good people to Brussels with the lure of being 'in the room where it happens' – or at least not in the main room. The UK will not be negotiating Kim Darroch's widgets directive, but it will be on an intelligence gathering mission to find out what the widgets directive might say and whether it needs to launch an influencing strategy to try to stop it harming British interests.

The Trade and Cooperation Agreement sets up a massive superstructure of committees to oversee its operation. Understanding the way the EU operates will still matter. The 'judge over your shoulder' guide which warns civil servants of the need to think about the risk of judicial review, will sit alongside the 'eurocrat in the corner', watching to see if the UK is tilting the level playing field too far. There are dangers for the civil service in the gap between the gung-ho optimism of ministers and the reality of what they have signed up to. At the moment it is hard to say how constraining the agreement will prove to be in practice. And the UK will need to establish a basis for working positively with the EU on the shared interests the Prime Minister repeatedly mentions: the first big test will be the climate change summit at the end of the year.

The biggest risk to the civil service is that ministers who claimed, in defiance of the economic assessments, that the UK will prosper mightily, deal or no deal, are disappointed when they find that Brexit has not given them massive new levers to deliver their wider agenda. If they are just interested in policy as performance art or symbol, it may not matter that immediate concrete benefits are harder to identify.

The danger is that the atmospherics at the top – the Cummings legacy – mean that top civil servants are too reluctant to call out dubious practices and confront ministers with challenging advice.

The Civil Service response to Covid

The civil service rose to the challenge of Brexit, particularly once ministers finally made clear what they thought Brexit meant. The additional challenge of Covid-19 exposed weaknesses – as well as some surprising strengths – though only a full-blown public inquiry will make clear how blame should be apportioned between ministers and their civil and public servants. But Brexit and the handling of Covid-19 both showed up areas that would benefit from reform, as well as new ways of working that need to be sustained. Ministers may, for example, be keen to draw lessons from the SUCCESS OF THE VACCINE TASK FORCE and see whether that model can be applied elsewhere.

As the UK heads into a future outside the EU, the civil service will be keen to show that it can help ministers as they take back control and show the Governments of the EU that the UK can indeed make policy better alone. Ministers, in turn, need to show that after a bruising period, they can work effectively with their civil servants. They also need to reassure, by actions as well as words, that they still value a non-partisan civil service – or initiate a public debate on the alternative.

Jill Rutter is a Senior Research Fellow at UK in a Changing Europe and a former Treasury Civil Servant.

This article first appeared on the website of UK in a Changing Europe, where a fuller report is available. www.ukandeu.ac.uk.

On going EU payments

Jayne Adye

For those in doubt about the on going payments to the EU the following will prove worrying.

“Our exit from the European Union has undoubtedly had some benefits, one of the most prominent of these is the massive monetary savings made by ending our EU membership contributions. On average, this will equate to £11 billion every year – even after we deduct the money still going to the EU as part of the so-called ‘Divorce Bill’ for the next 60 years!

However, right now because of Government decision-making – without doubt influenced by advisors from within the heavily Remain-biased Civil Service – these monetary savings are being eaten into through the participation of the United Kingdom in various European Union programmes. As it stands the UK is set to contribute to a number of these, with two major projects standing out:

The EU Horizon research programme – which includes the EU’s European Defence Fund;

The Copernicus Earth Observation programme.

When it comes to the Horizon programme, which allocates funding for military and civilian scientific research, the amount we pay into Brussels is based on our GDP – meaning if we succeed post-Brexit we will end up sending MORE money to Brussels. Even as it stands, however, we are estimated to be on the hook for 18% of the total funding, which amounts to around £15.2 billion spread across 7 years.

This is an exorbitant amount of money, and while UK firms are able to bid for funding from Horizon, we have never been able to receive enough

successful bids to recoup such money in the past, meaning the project results in a net loss for the UK.

Surely, we would be better off giving this money directly to UK researchers, rather than adding in the middleman of the EU? Plus, if we did so, this money would come without the loaded strings attached by Brussels.

The Copernicus programme is another branch of the EU space research programme and is aimed at making environmental observations of the Earth and identification of falling debris. These are programmes it makes some sense for the UK to continue to participate in, because it has little to do with the EU political machinery which restricts national sovereignty. This, however, does not excuse the cost, estimated to be £710 million over 7 years. This is a figure which pales in comparison to the cost of Horizon and previous EU space research projects, including the Galileo navigation satellite, into which the UK invested more than £1.4 billion.

However, just as with Galileo – which we are no longer allowed to access - the UK’s position in these projects is not secure on an ongoing basis at the end of the 7 years of our funding. This means the UK is yet again pouring vast amounts of money into the EU with no certainty we will ever receive any of the benefits. At any point, if the EU believes the UK is not meeting its expectations as set out in the new UK-EU Trade and Co-operation Agreement, it has the right to restrict our access to these research projects.

Therefore, I ask again, surely this is money which would be better spent directly on UK interests and UK

businesses?

On top of this potentially wasted money, the mentality of the Government in handing over this money worries me. It sets a dangerous precedent of the UK participating in and contributing significantly to European Union projects with no guarantee of any future access, along with a long list of potential demands for regulatory alignment. While Horizon and Copernicus do not place any requirements on the UK to follow EU laws and rulings from the European Court of Justice at the moment, all it would take is for Ministers to sign up to one too many associations with the EU – especially when it comes to the European Defence Fund – and we would find ourselves in a situation where all the work done to get Britain out of the control of the EU would have been undone.

The Government must start to be clear and upfront with the British people about the continued vast sums of money flowing from UK taxpayers straight into the EU’s pockets. With extreme economic hardship on the horizon, every single pound we have available should be focused on improving the lives of the Great British Public and supporting UK businesses, instead of sending more and more money to the EU for what are, in effect, glorified vanity projects for the Commissioners in Brussels.”

Jayne Adye a Eurosceptic activist has been the Director of cross-party grassroots Eurosceptic campaign Get Britain Out, since its launch in July 2012 and before with other Eurosceptic campaigns.

The EU agency that eats well

According to an article in the *euobserver* (March 23rd), the EU’s border agency Frontex is refusing to release details on how much it spent

on dinners at events to celebrate itself.

The *euobserver* had earlier this year revealed that the warsaw-based agency spent 94,00 euros of European

taxpayers’ money at a restaurant in 2015.

It must be good to be a member of Frontex at least you eat well!

The Northern Ireland Protocol

The following is the conclusions found in the European Research Group report of February 2021 entitled;

Re-uniting the Kingdom: How and why to replace the Northern Ireland Protocol

“The Northern Ireland Protocol poses an ongoing challenge to the UK’s constitutional settlement as well as the economic wellbeing of the people of Northern Ireland. It is a challenge that cannot be avoided. While with goodwill the UK and EU could have worked on alternatives and replacements either during the negotiation of the Trade and Cooperation Agreement or afterwards, this has not happened, at least to date.

Northern Ireland is fully integrated into the GB supply chain with 63% of its imports coming from GB and much of the remainder being sourced via GB. Any border in the Irish Sea would impose a cost on Northern Ireland.

Far from seeking to minimise the impact on Northern Ireland the EU has shown its intention to demand full implementation and has shown no appetite for flexibility or changing one word of its own customs law.

The EU’s intention to use Article 16 itself has brought the issue to a head. By seeking to override the NIP to block the importation of vaccines into Northern Ireland and Great Britain the EU has shaken confidence in its previously avowed respect for the provisions of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement.

The Northern Ireland Protocol was not intended to be permanent; it was the product of its circumstances and is now imposing real economic and constitutional stress on Northern Ireland. The UK government must act and has the legal justification to act already contained within the NIP.

Fortunately, there are alternatives to the NIP that should be acceptable to the EU, were it acting in good faith. Foremost among these is the proposal for ‘mutual enforcement’.

Recommendations

The UK can and should act in the interests of Northern Ireland. In order to act UK law must be changed to give the Government the power to disapply the NIP and implement an alternative. It is vital therefore that:

1) The Government should notify the EU under Article 16 that it intends to redress the trade diversion and societal pressures by legislating.

2) The Government should work on a draft Bill to ensure free trade within the UK, restoring the UK’s internal market as set out in 1801. Parliament has the sovereign power as reaffirmed in section thirty eight of the European Union (Withdrawal Agreement) Act 2020.

3) The Government should extend a generous offer to help the EU meet its stated concerns. An answer to this is Mutual Enforcement of the North/South border by the UK and EU to ensure that exporters abide by the rules of their counter-party.”

As for Article 16 itself, it is covered in section 5 of the report.

“Article 16 of the NIP the so called “safeguards” Article is designed as a safety valve in exceptional circumstances allowing the EU or UK to neutralise the effect of the NIP. These circumstances in which this is possible are if there are *“serious economic, societal or environmental difficulties that are liable to persist, or to diversion of trade.”*

If these circumstances exist either party may invoke the Article as set out below.

Article 16 Safeguards (Emphasis added)

1) If the application of this Protocol leads to **serious economic, societal or environmental difficulties that are liable to persist, or to diversion of trade**, the Union or the United Kingdom may unilaterally take appropriate safeguard measures. Such safeguard measures shall be restricted

with regard to their scope and duration to what is strictly necessary in order to remedy the situation. Priority shall be given to such measures as will least disturb the functioning of this Protocol.

2) If a safeguard measure taken by the Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, in accordance with paragraph (1) creates an imbalance between the rights and obligations under this Protocol, the Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, may take such proportionate re-balancing measures as are strictly necessary to remedy the imbalance. Priority shall be given to such measures as will least disturb the functioning of this Protocol.

3) Safeguard and re-balancing measures taken in accordance with paragraphs (1) & (2) shall be governed by the procedures set out in Annex 7 to this Protocol.

In Annex 7, Procedures referred to in Article 16(3)

1) Where the Union or the United Kingdom is considering taking safeguard measures under Article 16(1) of this Protocol, it shall, without delay, notify the Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, through the Joint Committee and shall provide all relevant information.

2) The Union and the United Kingdom shall immediately enter into consultations in the Joint Committee with a view to finding a commonly acceptable solution.

3) The Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, may not take safeguard measures until 1 month has elapsed after the date of notification under point 1, unless the consultation procedure under point 2 has been concluded before the expiration of the state limit. **When exceptional circumstances requiring immediate action exclude prior examination, the Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, may apply forthwith the protective measures strictly necessary to remedy the situation.**

The Northern Ireland Protocol

4) The Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, shall, without delay, notify the measures taken to the Joint Committee and shall provide all relevant information.

5) The safeguard measures taken shall be the subject of consultations in the Joint Committee every 3 months

from the date of their adoption with a view to their abolition before the date of expiry envisaged, or to the limitation of their scope of application. The Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may be, may at any time request the Joint Committee to review such measures.

6) Points 1 to 5 shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to re-balancing measures referred to in Article 16(2) of this Protocol.”

*The full report is available on the Bruges Group website.
www.brugesgroup.com*

Crowd funding

Those opposed to the NI Agreement have launched a crowd funding coalition of pro-Union supporters, led by Brexit-watch Ben Habib, as they commence legal proceedings against the Northern Ireland Protocol. Included are the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party Dr Steve Aitken OBE MLA, leader of the Traditional Unionist Voice Jim Allister QC MLA, Current First Minister of Northern Ireland and leader of

the Democratic Unionist Party Arlene Foster MLA, Former Labour Minister Baroness Hoey and Former First Minister of Northern Ireland the Lord Trimble.

Those involved are committed to defend the integrity of the UK and ensure unfettered trade across all parts of the Union, thereby protecting the country's Internal Market.

They also claim the Northern Ireland Protocol is a serious breach of

the UK constitution and that the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement (GFA) does not prohibit a border on the island of Ireland, while the Act of Union and GFA require the people of Northern Ireland to be treated on an equal footing with all British citizens.

Contact details:

www.crowdjustice.com/case/defending-the-union-of-the-UK/

The Trade and Cooperation Agreement

Caroline Bell

The conclusion formed by Caroline Bell regarding the yet unratified Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA) makes uncomfortable reading. The question she asks is this;

Is the unratified TCA the EU's new weapon in the Brexit war against Britain?

Her conclusion is;

“It would be unwise to believe that at some point the EU will end up on the same page as the UK, wanting the same things from the TCA – free trade and friendly cooperation between equals. The deal has already served a useful purpose, in that it got us past the fateful 1st January with no major hiccups and has shown quite starkly where our future problems lie. That may indeed be as good as it ever gets. As the foundation for a lasting economic partnership, the odds are not looking great. If we now agree to the kind of sequenced negotiations the EU loves, we will never get out of the trenches – and more importantly, we may delay doing things we need to do elsewhere, hoping for a breakthrough

in Brussels. It would be a fatal error. Global Britain has never been more important, and the same creativity, drive and grittiness which has allowed the UK to develop and roll out Covid vaccines at lightning speed now need to be deployed in all our dealings with the EU. Defined goals, a clear strategy and a rigorous timetable are required to manage the lumbering EU behemoth.

Some obvious “don'ts” include: not allowing the EU to set the agenda or keep extending talks and the TCA ratification timetable, not enforcing totally unnecessary checks on goods sold within our own internal market (from GB to Northern Ireland), not mirroring new EU rules, and not giving an inch on our core interests. We should be prepared to use **Nuclear Options** to protect them if necessary, and take specific retaliatory measures when the EU breaches its own laws and the terms of the TCA to disadvantage British businesses.

We should redouble our efforts to sign trade deals with other countries so we have alternative markets and

suppliers, accelerate the repeal of EU law to avoid getting caught in a regulatory nightmare, and focus on forging smart Britannia, quick to seize new technological opportunities in the digital age. Some landmark measures would be welcome, like the abolition of VAT, which is a burdensome and complicated EU tax governed by reams of retained EU law. A simpler UK goods and services tax to kickstart the economy post-Covid would be a powerful signal that we intend to take advantage of Brexit to do things faster and better.

And of course, we should always be ready to cut and run if the TCA proves to be more trouble than it's worth. When and if that should prove an attractive option will depend on how the EU conducts itself in the next few months.

Caroline Bell is a civil servant and a regular contributor to BFB.

This article was first reported on the www.briefingsforbritain.co.uk website.

LETTERS

Tel: 08456 120 175 email: info@junepress.com

Immigration control

Dear Sir,

I like many must have been delighted to hear that at last the UK government are trying to control illegal immigration.

The new rules recently announced for those seeking asylum will at last make it more difficult for refugees entering illegally to stay in the UK.

Priti Petal the UK Home Secretary has said, that "under our new plan for immigration, if people arrive illegally, they will no longer have the same entitlements as those who arrive legally, and it will be harder for them to stay".

This is good news and hopefully will make those who pay the traffickers to get them illegally into the UK a much less popular method. Some will still try but the government must enforce these new rules.

Those who enter the UK legally should always have priority over those who enter illegally and every effort should be used to return illegal immigrants.

Only by returning these illegal immigrants will others release that they are wasting their time, money and often their lives by using illegal means.
STEPHEN RICHARDS
Brighton

Lessons from Covid

Dear Sir,

If any lessons from Covid are to be learned the one that stands out is that only nation governments can deal with health outbreaks in their country.

The European Commission has show quite clearly that a single response for such outbreaks is not workable in all countries. All nations have very different cultural values and these can only be addressed by the national parliaments that they have elected to govern them.

The outrageous comments regarding

the Astrazeneca vaccine based on nothing more than the thoughts of a few spokespersons has lead to a serious slow down of the EU members vaccination programme. Added to that, it has created a distrust in the vaccine itself, leading to reduced numbers of EU citizens willing to have the vaccine. This could well increase the numbers of deaths and serious health problems for hospitals throughout the EU.

SALLY DAVIS
Bristol

Flying the Union flag

Dear Sir,

Good news for those like me who are proud of our flag.

The UK's culture secretary Oliver Dowden has described the Union flag as "a proud reminder of our history and the ties that bind us".

Therefore, the culture department has given new guidance that all government buildings to fly the Union flag every day. Currently flags are only required to be flown on certain days such as the Queen's birthday.

All government buildings in England, Wales and Scotland will now fly the Union flag every day.

Sadly at present government buildings in Northern Ireland are covered by a separate law.

MR SAUNDERS
West Midlands

How to get re-elected

Dear Sir,

I should have been surprised by Nicola Sturgeon suddenly announcing a 4% pay rise for nurses just hours before the May election time scale would have prevented such actions.

However, the action of Nicola Sturgeon the First Minister for Scotland and leader of the SNP for her action is typical of her cunning ways to stay in office and appear a caring

leader. Furthermore she now has said that should the SNP win the election they will double the Scottish Child Payment, currently £10 per week to low income families. Furthermore, Sturgeon has told the SNP campaign conference that this would eventually extend to under-16s, reaching 170,000 children. Similar policies have also been made by Scottish Labour and the Greens, while other parties have focussed on early years education.

Meanwhile, Alex Salmond the former SNP leader has started a new pro-independence party "Alba" to contest the Holyrod parliamentary elections.

How many SNP members will join the new party only time will tell, but it could well change the face of Scottish politics after May.

Other parties have described Mr Salmond as "discredited" and questioned his suitability for public office. I could say the same about Nicola Sturgeon.

EDITH MACKENZIE
Edinburgh

Opportunities for trade

Dear Sir,

Why so many politicians are still lamenting the UK's exit from the EU, they would be better employed by supporting the Secretary of State for International Trade Lizz Truss in her moves to find new trade opportunities in the wider world.

The outdated idea that the economic future of the UK is intrinsically locked into the failing EU is untrue.

There is one very large area that appears to be overlooked, the African continent that consists of 55 individual countries, many of which already have formed Free Trade Agreements with one another. The growing population of these countries is a good place to start.

SIMON COLE
Leicestershire

MEETINGS

This year as all large group meetings are not possible due to the coronavirus, it is anticipated that all future meetings will be virtual and available on line.

Gresham College
020 7831 0575

Tuesday **13th April**, 6.00 pm

“What Do We Owe To Those Not Born Yet?”

Martin Daunton, *Visiting Professor of Economic History*

PUBLIC MEETING (ONLINE)
@gres.hm/owe-unborn
Registration required at:
www.gresham.ac.uk

Tuesday **20th April**, 6.00 pm

“Networks: The Internet and Beyond”

Richard Harvey, *IT Livery Company Professor of IT*

PUBLIC MEETING (ONLINE)
@gres.hm/networks-beyond
Registration required at:
www.gresham.ac.uk

Wednesday **21st April**, 6.00 pm

“England’s Anglian Reformation”

Alec Ryrie, *Gresham Professor of Divinity*

PUBLIC MEETING (ONLINE)
@gres.hm/anglian-reformation
Registration required at:
www.gresham.ac.uk

Thursday **6th May**, 6.00 pm

“Should The State Be More Candid About Sudden Deaths”

Leslie Thomas, *Gresham Professor of Law*

PUBLIC MEETING (ONLINE)
@gres.hm/state-candour
Registration required at:
www.gresham.ac.uk

Gresham College
020 7831 0575

Monday **10th May**, 6.00 pm

“The Politics of Judicial Appointment”

Thomas Grant, *Visiting Professor of Politics and Law*

PUBLIC MEETING (ONLINE)
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United Kingdom Independence Party

www.ukip.org

Veterans For Britain

http://www.veteransforbritain.uk

DIARY OF EVENTS

G7 Economic Summit 11-13th June
Carbis Bay, Cornwall

Slovenia takes over 1st July
EU Council Presidency

2022

France takes over 1st January
EU Council Presidency

Czech Republic takes 1st July
over EU Council Presidency

2023

Sweden takes over 1st January
EU Council Presidency

Spain takes over 1st July
EU Council Presidency

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Brexit Party (Reform Party)

www.thebrexitparty.org

Brexit Watch

www.brexit-watch.org

Briefings For Freedom

www.briefingsforfreedom.co.uk

Briefings For Britain

www.briefingsforbritain.co.uk

British Future

www.britishfuture.org

British Weights & Measures Assoc.

www.bwmaonline.com

Bruges Group

www.brugesgroup.com

Campaign Against Euro-Federalism

www.caef.org.uk

Campaign for an Independent Britain

www.campaignforanindependentbritain.org.uk

Democracy Movement

www.democracymovement.org.uk

EU Observer

www.euobserver.com

EU Truth

www.eut ruth.org.uk

European Commission (London)

www.cec.org.uk

European Foundation

www.europeanfoundation.org

Fishing For Leave

www.ffl.org.uk

Freedom Association

www.tfa.net

Freenations

www.freenations.net

Futurus

www.futurus-thinktank.com

Get Britain Out

www.getbritainout.org

Global Britain

www.globalbritain.co.uk

Global Vision

www.global-vision.net

GrassRootsOut

www.grassrootsout.co.uk

June Press (Publications)

www.junepress.com

Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign

www.eurosafeguards.com

Leave means leave

www.leavemeansleave.eu

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www.Leave.eu

New Alliance

www.newalliance.org.uk

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Statawatch

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www.foundationforindependence.com

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