

**BRITAIN
STRONGER
IN
EUROPE**

**What does
Leave look like?**

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Introduction

Those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for what Britain's future looks like outside Europe.

They have no plan for an alternative to Britain's full access to the EU's free trade single market of 500 million consumers. They have no clear or consistent view on immigration, EU laws or whether Britain should make EU budget contributions. They even disagree on whether the leave campaigns need to have a plan to have an alternative plan.

All they offer is chaos and confusion. Working people would pay the price for this leap into the dark.

Chaos and confusion over alternative models

Nigel Farage has said we should be like Norway, but Nigel Lawson has said this is "ludicrous".

Douglas Carswell has said there are "worse things than being 'like Norway'", but he has also called the Norway option "absurd".

Daniel Hannan has long-argued that we should be like Switzerland – but also Macedonia, Andorra and Iceland.

The trade deals with Australia, Canada and Mexico have all been cited by leave campaigners, but so have those of South Korea, the Ukraine and even Peru. Each are different.

Vote Leave want a new deal "based on free trade and friendly cooperation", but Leave.EU have said this "won't be forthcoming".

At one time or another, Leave.EU, UKIP and Vote Leave have all said the UK should have no deal at all and should trade according to WTO rules.

Leave campaigners have said they want to end free movement and EU budget contributions, even though there is no precedent for achieving this without losing access to the single market, but they have also endorsed the "Flexcit" model, which accepts free movement and budget contributions would continue.

Chaos and confusion over the single market

UKIP have said they would "as a minimum... seek continued access on free-trade terms to the EU's single market", but Nigel Farage has also said this isn't the case, saying this is the same thing as "the creation of a United States of Europe."

Vote Leave Chief Executive Matthew Elliott has said that the UK "would still retain its membership" of the single market, but he has also said that "the benefits of the single market are far outweighed by the costs".

Chaos and confusion over immigration

Every leave campaign has said that Britain can only control our borders if we leave the EU and end free movement. Others, however, admit that this cannot be achieved if Britain were to continue trading with the EU. Daniel Hannan has said, “I think it would be sensible for us to have an element of free movement of labour.”

This may be why Vote Leave want the issue to go away, saying “we don't major on immigration”, which is in contrast to Nigel Farage, who has said it is “the issue through which we can motivate and mobilise people to go out and vote.”

Chaos and confusion over EU laws

Some have said that we need to leave in order to scrap EU laws. Business for Britain have said, “There would be scope for substantial regulatory savings if Britain decided to leave the EU”.

Many of the alternatives proposed, for example Norway or Switzerland, however, mean accepting EU law but having no influence over it.

A Vote Leave Director and Leave.EU have gone further, saying they would repatriate the “entire” body of EU law.

Chaos and confusion over EU budget contributions

Vote Leave have committed to ending all EU Budget contributions, but Leave.EU have said that “a range of financial contributions” will continue.

Chaos and confusion over having a plan at all

Those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe cannot even agree on whether to have a plan for what ‘out’ looks like. The Chief Executive of Vote Leave has said he wants people to have “two clearly defined options”, but the Campaign Director of Vote Leave has said “there is much to be gained by swerving the whole issue.”

Some campaigners accept that a ‘Leave’ vote would mean Britain leaving the EU, while others think it would be a chance for another renegotiation.

Boris Johnson has held both positions.

No clear or credible plan – and working people will pay the price for this leap into the dark

Those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for what Britain's future looks like outside Europe. All they offer is chaos and confusion – and working people would pay the price.

If Britain left Europe and did not have access to the single market there would be a risk to jobs, low prices and investment. The many economic benefits of our membership would be sacrificed.

Britain is stronger, safer and better off in Europe than we would be on our own. Leaving is too big a risk to take for working people and their families.

No clear or credible plan for an alternative

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for what Britain's future looks like outside Europe.

They have proposed many different potential models Britain should follow, none of which are the same, all of which are inferior to Britain's current arrangement with Europe. Some leave campaigners have advocated and attacked the same model.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Who do the leave campaigners think Britain should follow?

- Norway
- Switzerland
- Iceland
- Liechtenstein
- Macedonia
- Andorra
- The Isle of Man
- The Channel Islands
- Turkey
- Australia
- South Korea
- Ukraine
- Moldova
- Morocco
- Vanuatu
- Brunei
- Nicaragua
- Canada
- Mexico
- Peru
- Albania
- Serbia
- Montenegro
- Bosnia
- Columbia

**LEAVE CAMPAIGNERS HAVE CLAIMED
BRITAIN SHOULD TRY TO BE LIKE:**

MACEDONIA BRUNEI LIECHTENSTEIN ALBANIA NICARAGUA SERBIA COLOMBIA MONTENEGRO

ANDORRA MOROCCO VANUATU SOUTH KOREA MOLDOVA NORWAY ICELAND

CANADA MEXICO BOSNIA SWITZERLAND UKRAINE PERU TURKEY AUSTRALIA

**NO THANKS! WE'D RATHER BE BRITAIN,
STRONGER IN EUROPE**

The downsides of key examples of alternative deals with the EU

No alternative would include full access to the Single Market, without accepting free movement of people from the EU and paying into the EU budget.

No alternative would involve having any say over the Single Market – meaning the rules for our main trading partner would be set by 27 other countries.

Every alternative would mean years of negotiations and uncertainty for Britain.

Norway

- *Pays roughly the same amount per person to the EU as the UK.*
- *Takes in twice the level of EU migrants as the UK.*

Switzerland

- *It took a decade to negotiate its main sets of agreements with the EU.*
- *Takes in three times the level of EU migrants as the UK.*

Canada

- *Took 7 years and counting to negotiate its agreement with the EU.*
- *Very limited access to the Single Market, including no access for services which accounts for two thirds of the British economy.*
- *No say over regulations that would cover Britain's exports.*

Peru

- *Full removal of tariffs will only happen after 17 years.*
- *Very limited access for services to the Single Market.*
- *The main purpose of the deal was to make it easier for Peru to sell fruit and vegetables (bananas and grapes in particular) – not exactly the UK's leading exports to Europe.*

Chaos and confusion over alternative models

The Norway model?

Leave campaigners have a history of supporting Norway as an option...

- **Business for Britain, Vote Leave associate, has promoted “the EEA option” (NB: being in the European Economic Area is the arrangement Norway has)**

“Single Market access without ‘political union’ is secured under the EEA option”
Change or Go, 17 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, has said that if Britain leaves Europe, “we’ll find ourselves part of the European Economic Area”**

“On the plus one we’ll find ourselves part of the European Economic Area and with a free trade deal”
YouTube, 15 November 2011, [link](#)

“European countries outside the EU like Norway, Iceland and Switzerland are currently thriving because they are not encumbered by Euro bailout costs, and extortionate EU membership fees. They are confident nations grasping the opportunities that a global perspective presents.”
Daily Express, 18 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Aaron Banks, Head of Leave.EU, has said, “the Norway option looks the best for the UK”**

“Increasingly the Norway option looks the best for the UK”
Twitter, 30 December 2015, [link](#)

- **Owen Paterson MP, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said the ‘Norway option’ is “the only realistic option”**

“This brings us to the only realistic option, which is to stay within the EEA agreement. The EEA is tailor made for this purpose and can be adopted by joining EFTA first. This becomes the “Norway option””
Owen Paterson, UK 2020, 24 November 2014, [link](#)

“Outside the EU it will be essential to continue a significant level of support from the UK Exchequer and to reassure farmers that payments would be made by the UK Government in the same way that Switzerland, Norway, and Iceland currently do.”

Owen Paterson’s personal website, 7 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Luke Johnson, Vote Leave advocate, has said, “We have a great independent future just as countries like Norway”**

“We have a great independent future just as countries like Norway and Switzerland enjoy”
Marr, 31 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said, “I can think of worse things than being ‘like Norway’”**

“Given that Norway's per capita GDP is considerably higher than ours, and that Norway manages to do far more trade with the EU from outside than we do from within, I can think of worse things than being ‘like Norway’”

Talk Carswell, 18 September 2012, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP cited Norway as “a handy example” of a country outside the EU**

“Norway, a handy example of how a country can prosper by having a free-trade relationship with the EU instead of joining the Brussels political institutions”

Daniel Hannan’s blog, 8 December 2014, [link](#)

...but leave campaigners also have a history of opposing Norway as an option

- **John Redwood MP, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said, “The Leave campaign does not want the UK to seek a Norway style deal”**

“The Leave campaign does not want the UK to seek a Norway style deal, as we see no need to pay any money into the EU once we have left”

John Redwood’s Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said that it was “absurd” to say Britain would adopt the same terms as Norway**

“it is absurd to suggest that outside the EU, Britain would adopt the same terms as Norway has. Switzerland has managed to negotiate access to EU markets, without having to carry the costs of membership”

Talk Carswell, 18 September 2012, [link](#)

- **Lord Lawson, Chair of the Vote Leave Board and member of Conservatives for Britain, has said following Norway is “ludicrous”**

“the idea that we are somehow like Norway or somebody like that is ludicrous”

Murnaghan, 17 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Vote Leave Campaign Director, has said “The ‘Norway option’ is not @VoteLeave's policy”**

“The ‘Norway option’ is not @VoteLeave's policy nor will it be because a) we can do much better than that & b) we plan to win referendum”

Dominic Cummings’ Twitter, 26 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Roger Helmer MEP, UKIP spokesman, said he “agreed” with David Cameron’s warnings against a “Norway-style EU accord”**

“Cameron to warn against Norway-style EU accord”. There, at least, I agree with him. We simply want independence & self-determination.”

Twitter, 26 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP leader, has said that he wouldn't want Norway status**

Anna Soubry: "You don't even want Norway status or Iceland?"

Nigel Farage: "No, no, no. Independent."

Channel 4 News, 22 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Bernard Jenkin MP, member of Conservatives for Britain, said warnings about Norway were "scaremongering"**

"Why is @Number10gov insisting in worst possible EU exit option (Art 50/Norway eg.)? More scaremongering"

Twitter, 25 October 2015, [link](#)

The Swiss model?

Leave campaigners have a history of supporting Switzerland as an option...

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, has said "Switzerland is the best example" of trading outside the EU**

"Switzerland is the best example of how this is just plainly wrong: outside of the EU, with an economy one quarter the size of the UK's, they consistently export more than four times what Britain manages per head of population. In 2013, China exported goods to the EU worth close to €280 billion. Nobody is saying they must join the EU to export, so why must we remain?"

Telegraph, 16 June 2015, [link](#)

"European countries outside the EU like Norway, Iceland and Switzerland are currently thriving because they are not encumbered by Euro bailout costs, and extortionate EU membership fees. They are confident nations grasping the opportunities that a global perspective presents."

Daily Express, 18 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has pointed to Switzerland as an example of a country that trades with the EU "without having to carry the costs of membership"**

"it is absurd to suggest that outside the EU, Britain would adopt the same terms as Norway has. Switzerland has managed to negotiate access to EU markets, without having to carry the costs of membership"

Talk Carswell, 18 September 2012, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, described the Swiss arrangement as “a great model for Britain”**

“what a great model for Britain. If 7 million Swiss relying on bilateral free trade agreements can give their people the highest standard of living on the continent, how much more so could we.”

Speech in the European Parliament, YouTube, 16 July 2012, [link](#)

“perhaps instead of trying to push the people of that sturdy mountain republic into joining the European Union we should instead petition to become cantons of the Helvetic Confederation”

YouTube, 7 November 2015, [link](#)

“Our objective, when we leave the EU, should be to aim for a Swiss model, based on bilateral accords, rather than membership of the EEA”

Telegraph, 15 December 2012, [link](#)

- **Luke Johnson, Vote Leave advocate, has said the Swiss model would give the UK “a great independent future”**

“We have a great independent future just as countries like Norway and Switzerland enjoy”

Marr, 31 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, chief Executive of Vote Leave (in a joint article), has cited Switzerland’s free trade agreement as one the UK could follow**

“The EU is not a free trade area but a customs union, and one which has spectacularly failed to deliver trade deals with rising economic giants like China. This is a damning failure: over the last few years, countries far smaller than the UK but, crucially, outside the EU (including Iceland and Switzerland) have been able to secure free trade agreements with Beijing.”

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

Leave campaigners also have a history of opposing Switzerland as an option...

- **Arron Banks, head of Leave.EU, has said, “We are not flipping Switzerland”**

“We are not flipping Switzerland. The U.K. Is the 5th largest economy in the world. We can engage in our terms”

Arron Banks, Twitter, 18 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, who described the Swiss arrangement as “a great model for Britain”, also said we “can expect better terms” than Switzerland**

“Norway’s deal is better than full membership; Switzerland’s is better than Norway’s; but the United Kingdom, being a larger market, as well as an existing member, can expect better terms than either.”

Daniel Hannan, Conservative Home, 29 October 2015, [link](#)

- **David Davis, leading leave campaigner, has said Britain would “be able to negotiate a better deal than the Swiss”**

“Does anyone seriously think Britain, the 5th largest economy in the World, wouldn't be able to negotiate a better deal than the Swiss?”

David Davis, Twitter, 4 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director of Vote Leave, has said that the UK can achieve better as the Swiss model doesn't “define limits of what is possible for a serious UK Govt”**

“Swiss/Norway options don't define limits of what is possible for a serious UK Govt”

Dominic Cummings, Twitter, 28 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Owen Paterson MP, member of Conservatives for Britain, admitted that the “Swiss bilateral agreements with the EU took 16 years to negotiate”**

“We should remember that the Swiss bilateral agreements with the EU took 16 years to negotiate. The much-vaunted EU-South Korea FTA took almost 18 years to come to fruition – in the form of a 1,336-page trading agreement”

UK 2020, 24 November 2014, [link](#)

Iceland and Liechtenstein?

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, has pointed to Iceland as a country “thriving” outside the EU**

“European countries outside the EU like Norway, Iceland and Switzerland are currently thriving because they are not encumbered by Euro bailout costs, and extortionate EU membership fees. They are confident nations grasping the opportunities that a global perspective presents.”

Daily Express, 18 July 2015, [link](#)

“Iceland has 300,000 people...Iceland has negotiated their own free trade deal with China. If Iceland can do it, I'm absolutely certain that the world's fifth biggest economy can do it.”

Andrew Marr Show, 21 September 2016

‘Iceland is also the first European country to sign a free trade deal with China. Inside EU we are forbidden from negotiating our own deals’

Twitter, 26 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, chief Executive of Vote Leave (in a joint article) has said we should leave Europe to negotiate a free trade deal with China like Iceland's**

“The EU is not a free trade area but a customs union, and one which has spectacularly failed to deliver trade deals with rising economic giants like China. This is a damning failure: over the last few years, countries far smaller than the UK but, crucially, outside the EU (including Iceland and Switzerland) have been able to secure free trade agreements with Beijing.”

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said we should get the same trade access as Liechtenstein**

“China’s free trade agreements with Iceland & Switzerland came into effect today. Britain can’t sign one while it’s in the EU. #BetterOffOut”

Twitter, 1 July 2014, [link](#)

“does he, or anyone else, seriously think that Britain wouldn’t get at least the same trade access as, say, Liechtenstein or the Isle of Man?”

Daniel Hannan’s personal website, 1 December 2014, [link](#)

- **Kate Hoey MP, Labour Leave and Grassroots Out co-founder, has said Britain outside Europe could have trade deals likes Iceland’s**

“If Iceland can have its own trade deals with China and India, the idea that somehow we would suddenly be isolated and have no one to trade with is nonsense.”

Vasrsity, 5 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Business for Britain has said outside the EU Iceland-style trade deals could be reached**

“Outside the EU, countries like Iceland and Switzerland have managed to secure trade deals with China, something that the EU has failed to do.”

Change or Go, 17 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU has said like Iceland we could negotiate a free trade deal with China**

“Imagine the sense of pride we would get from negotiating our own global trade deals; if Iceland can negotiate a free trade deal with China, then we most certainly can.”

Leave.EU website, accessed 10 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, praising Iceland’s trade and immigration system, asked “why can’t we have that too?”**

“Instead of using his visit to Reykjavik to lecture is on the perils of independent self government, the PM ought to ask his Icelandic hosts how they are able to trade freely with the entire world... Iceland’s trade agreements give the lie to the notion that trade happens to your advantage only if part of a big trade bloc... Iceland has a pretty good immigration system too... It suits the Icelanders, and it suits the migrants. Why can’t we have that too?”

Express, 29 October 2015, [link](#)

Macedonia and Andorra?

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, has argued that the arrangements of states like Macedonia and Andorra make “a good case for Brexit”**

“Jonathan Faull took this line in his article in this magazine on 28 October and, in doing so, unwittingly made rather a good case for Brexit. He helpfully listed the various European states that are, one way or another, attached to the single market: Macedonia, Norway, Turkey, Switzerland, Andorra, Iceland”

Daniel Hannan’s personal website, 1 December 2014, [link](#)

“does he, or anyone else, seriously think that Britain wouldn’t get at least the same trade access as, say, Liechtenstein or the Isle of Man?”

Daniel Hannan’s personal website, 1 December 2014, [link](#)

The Isle of Man and the Channel Islands?

- **Business for Britain has raised the example of the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands as a model for Britain choosing to be out of Europe**

“The Isle of Man and Channel Islands decided to remain outside on UK accession, demonstrating that British islands could remain outside of the EU if they so chose.”

Change or Go, 17 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman and member of Conservatives for Britain, has said the Channel Island Guernsey is “a handy guide” to how we’d do if we left**

“If we can’t draw a parallel even with the Channel Islands, we are truly lost to introversion. Guernsey is an English-speaking, common law, parliamentary democracy. Its currency is the pound. Its head of state is the Queen. It is, for certain purposes, in political union with the UK. Its political system resembles ours in every way. Except one. Guernsey is outside the EU. The bailiwick is thus a handy guide to how we’d fare after Brexit”

Daniel Hannan’s blog 18 September 2015, [link](#)

Turkey?

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave, pointed to Turkey as a model for Britain to follow**

“As part of the EU’s Customs Union, [Turkey] gets full access to the single market in goods (excluding agricultural products), but doesn’t have to adopt European social and employment legislation or contribute to the EU budget. Were Britain to follow this model, it would have to negotiate the elements of the single market it wants access to”

CityAM, 9 August 2013, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has argued Turkey shows how trade could work for Britain outside of Europe**

“@djfxtrader: Turkey Exports Rise 10% On Year In Jan To \$10.5 Billion’ <- see. You don't need to be in the EU to trade”

Douglas Carswell's twitter, 1 February 2012, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman and member of Conservatives for Britain, has claimed “everyone knows” Britain would be in the same position as Turkey**

“there is a free trade area that covers the entire continent, EU and non-EU countries alike. You can travel from non-EU Iceland to non-EU Turkey without bumping into a single trade barrier. Everyone knows that, outside the EU, Britain would remain in this common market.”

The Sun, 15 February 2016, [link](#)

Australia?

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, said Australia shows what could be achieved outside of Europe**

“Australia signed a free trade deal with China today. Another example of what can be achieved as an independent nation”

Twitter, 17 June 2015, [link](#)

- **John Redwood, member of Conservatives for Britain, cited Australia as an example of how to trade with Europe after leaving**

“Canada, Australia, Mexico trade well with the EU without having to pay for the privilege”

John Redwood's Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP leader, said we could reach trade deals like Australia's with China outside of Europe**

“Australia signed a free trade deal with China today. Another example of what can be achieved as an independent nation”

Nigel Farage's Twitter, 17 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Liam Fox, Vote Leave spokesman, argued we would be in a position like Australia after leaving Europe**

“Before the Common Market even existed, Britain was at the heart of a vast Commonwealth. Today many of its members — such as Canada, India and Australia — have done very much better than many of our EU partners....The alliance of pro-European politicians, large international corporations and hordes of unelected bureaucrats tell us that we cannot be “isolated” or “go it alone” outside the EU. We would no more be going it alone than Australia or Canada or Norway or Switzerland.”

The Sun, 16 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU said we our economy would be like Australia's after leaving**

"Australia, S. Korea, NZ and Japan are all thriving economies free from political union. We will be too!"

Leave.EU's Twitter, 4 December 2015, [link](#)

South Korea?

- **Richard Tice, spokesman for Leave.EU, has claimed we could reach a deal with Europe like South Korea's after leaving**

"South Korea signed a free trade agreement with the EU which brought import tariffs for both markets down to 0% for almost 99% of goods, it also includes extensive provisions for the recognition of each other's standards, removing non-tariff barriers for both goods and services"

Leave.EU website, 29 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU has argued Britain could be like South Korea if we left Europe**

"Australia, S. Korea, NZ and Japan are all thriving economies free from political union. We will be too!"

Leave.EU's Twitter, 4 December 2015, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell, MP, Vote Leave spokesman, believes we could have a trade deal like South Korea's if we were outside of Europe**

"If South Korea can sign a free trade deal with the EU, massively boosting trade, presumably we cld have a free trade deal with the EU too?"

Douglas Carswell's Twitter, 7 November 2013, [link](#)

Ukraine, Moldova, or Morocco?

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, suggested we could have an Association Agreement like Moldova and Ukraine**

"A few months ago the European Parliament voted to ratify Association Agreements with Moldova and Ukraine... [they] now enjoy free movement of goods and services with the European union. The only country that is now not part of a European single market in the whole of the European area is Belarus"

YouTube, 29 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Business for Britain has praised agreements like Ukraine's, arguing it gives "flexibility"**

"This might be compared with the other treaty models available. Agreements such as the DCFTA with Ukraine, or the Morocco Treaty covering agricultural and fisheries products, cut WTO-maximum permitted limits on tariffs and quotas. These offer flexibility by allowing some measure of preferential access to each other's markets, not necessarily even in a mirrored way, without signing up to participating in the policies themselves."

Change or Go, 26 July 2015, [link](#)

Vanuatu, Brunei and Nicaragua?

- **Leave.EU has said we could negotiate the same access to Europe as Vanuatu, Brunei and Nicaragua after leaving**

'46 countries including Vanuatu, Brunei and Nicaragua have visa-free access to the EU. The UK will negotiate visa free access to the European Union when we leave'

Leave.EU's Facebook, 4 January 2016, [link](#)

Canada?

- **David Davis, leading Leave campaigner, has claimed the EU deal with Canada could be used**

"The optimum aim for us would be similar, but without the free movement of peoples...If you want a model of how this would look, go on the European Commission website and look at the Canadian Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement that the EU has just struck."

Speech to the ICE, 4 February 2016, [link](#)

- **John Redwood, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said we could trade with Europe in the same way that Canada does**

"Canada, Australia, Mexico trade well with the EU without having to pay for the privilege"

John Redwood's Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Business for Britain has argued the Canadian example could be followed by Britain outside of Europe**

"Canada has shown that an economy smaller than that of the UK is more than capable of flourishing by navigating its own course through international trade. This is despite being massively interlinked with and dependent upon the economy of its own neighbouring economic superpower"

Change or Go, 26 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Richard Tice, Leave.EU spokesman has said the Canadian option would be preferable to being in Europe**

"I co-authored a review of the four most likely Brexit scenarios to identify the optimal business case in "A Global Britain". The Norwegian Option, the Swiss Option, the Canadian Option – all these suggested outcomes would be preferable to remaining inside the EU"

ConservativeHome, 17 April 2015, [link](#)

Mexico?

- **John Redwood, member of Conservatives for Britain, pointed to Mexico's trading relationship with Europe as a possibility for Britain outside of Europe**

"Canada, Australia, Mexico trade well with the EU without having to pay for the privilege"

John Redwood's Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

Peru?

- **Rob Oxley, Vote Leave Head of Media, has said we could get a deal like Peru if we left**

"there would be a free trade deal if Britain votes to leave...there are other countries, such as Canada, such as Peru, which have these free trade deals"

Sky News, 20 February 2016

Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Columbia...Albania?

- **Theresa Villiers, Vote Leave spokesperson, has cited Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Columbia as countries with free trade deals the UK could follow if we left**

"If a country like Albania, or Serbia or Montenegro or Bosnia can have a free trade deal with the EU without free movement it is not unrealistic to think the UK could have that kind of arrangement as well. If you look beyond Europe, to places like Chile and Peru and Columbia also have free trade deals without contributions, without free movement"

World At One, 23 February 2016

The "Flexcit" plan?

- **Leave.EU's publication *The Market Solution*, based on the "Flexcit" plan, has said we could have a "process of staged separation"**

"we believe it is unrealistic to expect a clean break, immediately unravelling forty years of integration in a single step. Following a vote in a referendum and an Article 50 notification, therefore, we have set out a process of staged separation and recovery. In the first stage, there are three possible ways of securing an exit. One is by rejoining the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and trading with the remaining EU member states through the European Economic Area (EEA)"

Leave.EU, The Market Solution, 8 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Arron Banks, Head of Leave.EU, has said this document is the foundation for a “truthful vision of how a Brexit will look”**

“Leave.EU co-founder Arron Banks added that he had ‘enjoyed some very colourful discussions over the last few months with Richard, and I believe his work has laid the foundations for a plan we can present public as a realistic and truthful vision of how a Brexit will look.’”

Leave.EU press release, 11 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Andy Wigmore, Leave.EU Head of Communications, said the author of the Flexcit plan was “one of the finest brains” on their team**

“@LeaveEUOfficial proud to welcome one of the finest brains to the team @RichardAENorth we urge you to follow him. <http://eureferendum.com>

Andy Wigmore’s Twitter, 7 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Vote Leave Campaign Director, has also suggested this plan which would “inevitably” mean years of negotiation**

“An interesting attempt at such a plan is FLEXCIT based on using the EEA as a transition phase – remaining in the Single Market and retaining a (modified) version of free movement – while a better deal, inevitably taking years, is negotiated”

Dominic Cummings’s Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

World Trade Organisation?

Leave campaigners have a history of supporting the WTO as an option...

- **UKIP’s manifesto said we could trade on the basis of paying tariffs at the WTO’s “most favoured nation” levels**

“The UK has been a leader in international trade for centuries, long before the European Union. We will continue to trade internationally after Brexit, enjoying the rights inherent in the WTO’s ‘Most Favoured Nation’ principle”

UKIP Manifesto, 15 April 2015, [link](#)

- **Richard Tice, Leave.EU spokesman, has said we could trade under WTO rules, while also scrapping all tariffs on foreign imported goods**

“Through our Free Trade Option, the UK could become a leader of international free trade by adopting zero tariffs on all imports and operating under World Trade Organisation rules – instead of relying on the goodwill of others. By being able to retake our seat on the WTO that we gave up at GATT after we joined the EEC, we would have more say in global trade talks. We would also be able to have a direct seat on numerous other important international trade bodies that operate above the EU”

Chairman of the Business Group of Global Britain, 17 April 2015, [link](#)

“We’d have more influence, not less. By regaining our seat on the WTO, which we gave up in 1973 on joining the EEC, we would have more say in global trade talks. We would also have a direct seat on numerous other international trade bodies that operate above the EU.”

CityAM, 31 March 2015, [link](#)

- **Business for Britain has said Britain could trade under WTO rules “without any special deal”**

“Were the UK to leave the EU without any special deal, the UK would develop a new trading relationship with the EU based on the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) rules. This would be much closer to the trading relationship with the EU the public was promised in 1975”

Change or Go, 26 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has argued the tariffs that would be paid under WTO rules could be paid for by Government**

“With Britain currently overpaying for access to tariff-free trade, there would be significant scope for a future government to assist industries affected by potential tariffs, and households would also be significantly better off through lower prices.”

Sky News, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Arron Banks, Head Leave.EU, has advocated trading with tariffs, as under the WTO rules**

“WTO tariffs are very low anyway ,it would be around 6billion extra and we could charge their goods in return”

Arron Banks’ Twitter, 28 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Ruth Lea, Grassroots Out campaigner, has said a WTO relationship would be the “default”**

“if ‘Brexit’, it is clear that the UK-EU default relationship would be under the WTO rules, by which many countries, including China, very successfully conduct much of their trade. So there is absolutely no reason to believe Britain would be ‘isolated’ in the global trading system. Of course, Britain would have to continue to comply with EU product regulations in our trade with the EU...But, as many of these regulations are harmonised internationally, this should not be seen as a major problem”

Politeia, 23 May 2015, [link](#)

- **Andrea Jenkyns MP has argued that trading under WTO laws would mean that levies on trade wouldn’t be punitive**

“As the fifth largest economy in the world, I am in no doubt that we would be able to secure good deals for trade and investment with the remainder of the European Union. Under World Trade Organisation rules, they are unable to levy punitive rates on the United Kingdom, and I would hope they have no wish to.”

Andrea Jenkyns, Wakefield Express, 20 February 2016, [link](#)

Leave campaigners have a history of criticising the WTO option...

- **John Redwood, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said he would “wish to do better than” trade under WTO rules**

“The UK could simply rely on World Trade Organisation membership to stop tariffs and other barriers being imposed. In practice both sides will wish to do better than this.”

John Redwood’s Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

- **David Campbell Bannerman MEP, leading Leave campaigner, described the WTO option as a “worst case scenario”**

“This worst case scenario would mean tariffs on some goods. But I think we can do better than that.”

Telegraph, 10 February 2016, [link](#)

World Trade Organisation “Plus”?

- **David Campbell Bannerman MEP, leading Leave campaigner, claimed after leaving a “WTO Plus” deal would be reached**

“There would be such demand from all sides for a better deal - for some added clauses sprinkled on top to make sure there weren't barriers to the trade that is so important for France, Germany and other EU member states... If we get what I think we'll get, a beefed up trade deal that I call WTO Plus, we win big.”

Telegraph, 10 February 2016, [link](#)

A new UK-EU Free Trade Agreement?

Leave campaigners have proposed a new UK-EU trade deal...

- **UKIP’s manifesto said a UK-EU trade deal would be the “first step”**

“Once the UK leaves the EU, we, as a country, regain our ability to take back our vacant seat at the WTO and represent ourselves, negotiating our own trade agreements and advancing our own national trade interests. A first step would be to broker a bespoke UK-EU trade agreement, which we believe is desirable.”

UKIP Manifesto, 15 April 2015, [link](#)

- **Vote Leave have said a new trade deal with Europe would be negotiated**

“We negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation.”

Vote Leave website, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU have said that a free trade deal with Europe “is a cert”**

“A replacement UK-EU trade deal is a cert...British negotiators will be able to a secure free trade deal with Brussels. This is the only part of the current EU set-up that actually works, and it will not change”

Leave.EU press release, 11 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Lord Lawson, Chair of Vote Leave, has said we could have a new UK-EU deal after leaving**

“If we vote leave, we can have a new UK-EU deal based on free trade without having to accept the supremacy of EU law”

Vote Leave press release, 28 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Liz Binley, Vote Leave CEO , has said a new UK-EU deal would be put in place**

“A replacement UK EU trade deal will be put in place to ensure the status-quo remains as it is.”

Leave.EU press release, 6 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Ruth Lea, leave campaigner and former Economist for Britain chairman, has said a new agreement would “surely” be negotiated after leaving.**

“The UK and the EU would surely negotiate a mutually beneficial trade agreement. The UK’s market is too important to continental Europe’s exporters to be allowed to languish”

Politeia, 23 May 2015, [link](#)

- **Boris Johnson MP, has said new trade deals would have to be negotiated**

“If the ‘Leave’ side wins, it will indeed be necessary to negotiate a large number of trade deals at great speed”

Boris Johnson, Telegraph, 22 February 2016, [link](#)

...but leave campaigners admit that a new FTA would take years to negotiate and is filled with uncertainty...

- **Owen Paterson MP, member of Conservatives for Britain, has pointed out that deals can take longer than 16 years to complete**

“We should remember that the Swiss bilateral agreements with the EU took 16 years to negotiate. The much-vaunted EU-South Korea FTA took almost 18 years to come to fruition – in the form of a 1,336-page trading agreement”

UK 2020, 24 November 2014, [link](#)

- **Andrea Leadsom MP, has said it would be “at least” two years before the terms of exit were agreed**

“Any renegotiation on the terms of Brexit will, under the EU’s own rules set out in the Treaty of Rome, last for at least two years.”

Andrea Leadsom, Letter to her constituents, 20 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Tim Loughton MP, has warned it would take “several years of turgid negotiation”**
“The transition to a non-Euro sovereign state will not be easy and will take several years of turgid negotiation...It will affect many aspects of our everyday lives”
Tim Loughton, Open letter to his constituents, 21 February 2016, [link](#)

...and they even admit that it may not be achievable

- **Matthew Elliot, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has said “we cannot assume” a deal will be available**

“But what if the EU refuses to offer such a new [renegotiation] deal? We cannot assume that all those seated around the negotiation table will be reasonable”

Telegraph, 21 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Richard Tice, Leave.EU spokesman, has said the consent needed for a deal “won’t be forthcoming”**

“The problem with all three [options – Canadian, Swiss and Norwegian] is that the EU’s leadership and others will say that these arrangements will not be possible without EU consent – and that it won’t be forthcoming”

City AM, 31 March 2015, [link](#)

While experts warn that leave campaigners’ claims aren’t deliverable

- **Jean-Claude Piris, former director-general of the Council of the European Union’s Legal Service, has warned that a “substantive” deal would require payments and free movement**

“Most FTAs do not cover services, regulatory convergence or public procurement. If Britain sought to negotiate a more substantive FTA than any existing template – giving it good access to the EU’s single market – the other member-states would insist on mechanisms for ensuring that it automatically adopted new EU rules, and for policing the agreement. They would also demand payments into the EU budget and free movement of labour”

If the UK votes to leave, 12 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Jacek Rostowski, economist and former Finance Minister of Poland, has said that the leave campaign’s proposed trade agreement “just won’t happen”**

“Britain’s debate about its place in Europe is generating interest in EU capitals, not only because of the prime minister’s reform proposals but because of the leave campaign’s proposed new UK-EU free trade agreement. Their argument is that an agreement based on “friendly” negotiation with EU member states would permit the UK to opt out of the free movement of people, end EU budget contributions, extend regulatory opt-outs and allow access to Europe’s single market. For most European observers and officials this just won’t happen. No country has full access to the single market without making a contribution to the EU budget and accepting the four freedoms – and no such exception would be made for Britain.”

The Guardian, 8 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Guy Verhofstadt, President of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, has said the notion of Britain getting a preferential trade deal after leaving is “absurd”**

“Thanks to the hard work of the many British civil servants in Brussels, the EU is now negotiating fully fledged free-trade agreements with Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the US. A deal with Canada is already concluded. The notion that these countries would relish the possibility of negotiating a separate trade agreement with Britain, or indeed that Britain would secure preferential trade deals by leaving the world’s largest common market, is absurd.”

Guardian, 5 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Gunther Krichbaum, prominent German MP, has warned Britain would be outside the single market if we left Europe**

“if Britain leaves the EU it will no longer have access to the single market and that will add costs to British industry and make exports less competitive. That is why much of British industry wants to stay in the EU”

Daily Mail, 13 February 2016, [link](#)

No clear or credible plan on single market access

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for whether Britain would retain access to the single market if we were to leave Europe.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over the single market

Some leave campaigners say we should try to stay in the single market...

- **Business for Britain, Vote Leave associate, has claimed we “could retain access”**

“Outside the EU, the UK could retain access to the EU market via other initiatives”

Change or Go, 17 July 2015, [link](#)

- **UKIP manifesto, has said single market access would be “a minimum”**

“As a minimum, we will seek continued access on free-trade terms to the EU’s single market. Our custom is valuable to the EU now and will continue to be so following Brexit.”

UKIP Manifesto, 15 April 2015, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Chief Executive of Vote Leave, has argued single market access would be negotiable**

“DC is talking Britain down - we could negotiate a free trade deal with EU & access to SM without accepting supremacy of EU law”

Twitter, 28 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Owen Paterson, member of Conservatives for Britain, we could be part of the single market in the EEA**

“By switching our membership to the EEA, Britain can pursue participation in the Single Market without being strapped in the EU’s political and judicial straightjacket”

Speech to the Margaret Thatcher Centre for Freedom, 25 March 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliot, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has said we could stay in the EEA**

“the Out position should also be concrete. For example, in conjunction with the renegotiation, it could be agreed with other EU member states that were the UK to vote to leave the EU, it would still retain its membership of the European Economic Area”

Conservative Home, 22 September 2014, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said no Eurosceptic is suggesting leaving the single market**

“As the British referendum gets underway the idea is absurdly being propagated that withdrawing from the political institutions of the EU means withdrawing from the internal market. Now I have to tell you No one in Brussels is suggesting such a thing. And nor is any British eurosceptic suggesting such a thing”

YouTube, 29 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader has said the day after a vote to leave we would be in the EEA**

“On the plus one we’ll find ourselves part of the European Economic Area and with a free trade deal”

YouTube, 15 November 2011, [link](#)

...While others (often the same people) want to leave the single market and have attacked it...

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, has said being in the single market means being in a “United States of Europe” and he doesn’t want to be in it**

“Being just part of a single market or customs union is not possible because the whole of the EU’s interpretation of what the Single Market is and how you create it offers no possibility other than ever closer Union - full political and economic integration built on uniform rules and regulations, a single economics and finance ministry with a single tax code and centralised sovereign institutions. In short, it is the creation of a United States of Europe.”

A Referendum Stitch-Up?, 2012, [link](#)

“I don’t want to be part of the European single market”.

Sky News, 22 February 2016

Anna Soubry: What do you want? Do you want us to be a member of the single market?

Nigel Farage: No

Channel 4 News, 22 February 2016

“I don’t want to be a member of the single market.”

Marr, 1 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave has said we shouldn’t be part of single market measures**

‘the disastrous Clinical Trials Directive was introduced as a Single Market measure. We shd not be part of such regulations’

Twitter, 9 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said being in the single market means “job destroying, business wrecking red tape”**

“Might it in fact be the case that being outside the single market - and therefore beyond the reach of job destroying, business wrecking red tape – gives you a competitive [sic] advantage?”

Telegraph, 24 April 2014, [link](#)

“the main body of Eurosceptic opinion has now come together behind a common position; either the UK should revert to a Common Market relationship with the EU – or we should quit... let us be clear what Common-Market-or-quit does not mean. It emphatically is not the same as Single-Market-or-quit... The real problem with retaining a residual requirement to conform to Single Market rules, after withdrawing from all the rest, is that UK firms would still have to conform to Single Market rules even if they have no intention of exporting to the Single Market at all”

Douglas Carswell's Blog, 2 January 2013, [link](#)

- **Richard Tice, Leave.EU spokesman, has said instead we should trade under WTO rules**

“We could have more international influence, create more trade and jobs, and regain sovereign control over our own laws and borders. These are the advantages that would flow from the Global Britain Free Trade option for Brexit, recommended today by the think tank Global Britain... Under this Free Trade option, the UK would become a leader in international free trade by adopting zero tariffs on all imports and by operating under World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules”

City AM, 31 March 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has said the benefits of the single market are “outweighed” by regulations**

“Our research shows that the benefits of the single market are far outweighed by the costs of EU regulation which is on top of the multi-billion pound bill we give to Brussels each year.”

The EU single market is failing Britain, 29 December 2015, [link](#)

...with suggestions of other options in between

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave, has said we could remain in the single market as a temporary measure**

“An interesting attempt at such a plan is FLEXCIT based on using the EEA as a transition phase – remaining in the Single Market and retaining a (modified) version of free movement – while a better deal, inevitably taking years, is negotiated. This is an attempt to take the Single Market out of the referendum debate. I will discuss the merits of this idea another time when I’ve studied it more”

Dominic Cummings's Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliot, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has suggested some businesses could be excluded from the single market**

“Many different, often complex ideas have been advanced to improve or refine the Single Market in the EU, but none have yet tackled the huge regulatory and financial burden it places on the 95% of companies that don’t even export to the Continent. By excluding these firms and organisations that don’t need access to the Single Market from the most burdensome aspects of EU regulation, the Government would, at a stroke, better position Britain in the UK global race.”

Business for Britain press release, 14 January 2014, [link](#)

No clear or credible plan on immigration

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for immigration if Britain were to leave Europe.

Some want to end free movement, others want it to stay. Some want to increase immigration, others want to ignore it.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over immigration

Some leave campaigners want to end free movement and out of EU migration rules...

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader, has said by leaving Europe we can end free movement**

“EU membership means free movement of people. Only way we can control our borders is to Leave EU.”

Twitter, 2 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Steven Woolfe MEP, UKIP Immigration spokesman, attacked the government for not putting free movement “at the heart” of renegotiation**

“the government refuses to put Britain's EU free movement of people obligations at the heart of its so-called ‘renegotiation strategy’. In fact while we remain inside the EU, we cannot control migration.”

UKIP press release, 26 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Arron Banks, Head Leave.EU, has said immigration is a “fundamental issue”**

“At the heart of the issue is immigration and the control - a Brexit plan must address this fundamental issue”

Twitter, 12 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU has said net immigration should be capped at 50,000 for ten years**

“Leave.EU is carrying out a survey to see if public opinion supports the British Government imposing a unilateral cap of 50,000 net immigration with a point style system for a minimum of 10 years. We expect to see a lot of support for this position, and we will be looking to put pressure on the government to introduce it. This should be implemented regardless of EU rules”

Leave.EU press release, 16 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave (in a joint article), said we need to leave Europe to “control who comes in”**

“Britain can only control who comes in if we leave the EU.”

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

- **UKIP's manifesto said we can't control immigration in Europe**

"We can never control immigration while we continue to be members of the European Union."

UKIP Manifesto, 15 April 2015, [link](#)

- **John Redwood, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said Europe will have to accept the UK legislating over borders as it wishes**

"The EU for its part would have to accept that in other areas the UK is free to legislate as it wishes – over borders, benefits, environment, energy and much else."

John Redwood's Diary, 1 February 2016, [link](#)

- **John Mills, Vote Leave, has attacked free movement for people from Central Europe**

"Few people think it is sensible for us to turn away at our borders PhD students from the USA, computer programmers from India and students from China while we have open access to tens of thousands of people with little or no qualifications from Central Europe"

Labour Leave Treasurer, *IB Times*, 12 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Khalid Mahmood, formerly of Labour Leave, has said outside Europe we can have migration from the commonwealth without having people "coming in from Eastern Europe"**

"We can get people in from the Commonwealth countries based on the contributions they can make, such as the qualifications they have and what they can do, without having the people coming in from Eastern Europe"

Birmingham Mail, 5 November 2015, [link](#)

...others accept that free movement would have to remain if the UK were to remain in the EU single market...

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said having some free movement "would be sensible"**

"I think it would be sensible for us to have an element of free movement of labour"

Newsnight, 29 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave, has suggested keeping a "version of free movement"**

"An interesting attempt at such a plan is FLEXCIT based on using the EEA as a transition phase – remaining in the Single Market and retaining a (modified) version of free movement"

Dominic Cummings's Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave (in a joint article), said we'd "have to keep free movement" to stay in the EEA**

"Should the UK seek to retain the EEA's access to the European Single Market, in all likelihood this means little substantial reform of the EU's free movement rights for the UK. Establishing a new relationship with the EU that excludes or qualifies free movement of people will be politically tricky, but not impossible. One only has to consider the recent Swiss referendum to place quotas on EU citizens, and the subsequent veiled threats Switzerland received from the Commission, to understand how challenging reform will be in the EEA – or even outside the EEA, as the Swiss are... A UK outside the EU but in the EEA would have to keep free movement"

"Another possible solution is a return to free movement for economically-developed Western European states (the EU-15). This is the pre-Maastricht position, which business, politicians, and the public did not challenge in any meaningful way. It would require bilateral agreements with those nations, and would allow UK students and retirees the option of freely studying and living in Western Europe"

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Kelvin Hopkins, Labour Leave, has said people Ireland should still be able to access the UK**

"Ireland should of course retain its historic access to the UK"

Kelvin Hopkins, *The European Union – a view from the Left*, [link](#)

- **Paul Stephenson, Vote Leave, has said we'd keep visa-free travel with Ireland**

"The U.K. and Ireland have worked very closely together for a number of years. We have shared access; we have a completely visa-free travel area. We had this before the EU came into being and we'd have it after the EU"

International Business Times, 1 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU's publication *The Market Solution* has said freedom of movement will "have to be retained" to stay in the single market**

"The next priority will be to confront the freedom of movement provisions which will have to be retained as a price for access to the Single Market"

Leave.EU, The Market Solution, 8 January 2016, [link](#);

...others even want to see an increase in immigration...

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has said there will be "ever greater labour mobility"**

"Increased interdependence is going to mean ever greater labour mobility – not just between countries but between continents"

Daily Mail, 28 December 2014, [link](#)

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave (in a joint article) advocated extending free movement to countries like the USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand**

“The UK could also extend a version of free movement rights to economically advanced nations outside Europe with which share many similar characteristics: Australia, Canada, New Zealand (and other countries that share our Head of State) plus the USA”

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

“the UK could also reactivate low skilled Tier 3 visas, with a flexible cap to fill gaps in the labour market”

Telegraph, 25 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman and member of Conservatives for Britain, has said free movement for Australia and New Zealand would be “the first thing we should do” after leaving Europe**

“The first thing we should do when we leave the EU is offer free trade and free movement to Australia and New Zealand.”

Daniel Hannan’s Twitter, 14 November 2014, [link](#)

...and meanwhile some just don’t want to talk about immigration at all

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave, has said the leave campaign “does not need to focus on immigration”**

“The official OUT campaign does not need to focus on immigration”

Dominic Cummings’s Blog, 30 June 2014, [link](#)

- **Paul Stephenson, Vote Leave, has said they won’t “major on immigration”**

“we don’t major on immigration in the campaign per se”

International Business Times, 9 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell MP, Vote Leave spokesman, has attacked Leave.EU for their “focus on issues of identity and immigration”**

“Yes we want to work with and cooperate with Leave.EU, but fundamentally they want to focus on issues of identity and immigration. I believe we need an optimistic, internationalist campaign based on the idea that we would be better off out economically”

Marr, 7 February 2016, [link](#)

...even though others are clear that it is the most important issue.

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP leader, has said immigration is the issue “to mobilise people to go out and vote”**

“Any poll will tell you [border control and immigration] is the issue about which people are concerned. But for us in this referendum, it is the issue through which we can motivate and mobilise people to go out and vote”

Buzzfeed, 10 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Arron Banks, Head Leave.EU has said “15 to 1 – the concern is immigration and security”**

“We’ve done a huge polling exercise and analysis, and even for the undecideds — at a rate of 15 to 1 — the concern is immigration and security”

Politico, 23 December 2015, [link](#)

No clear or credible plan on EU Budget payments

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan on EU Budget payments if Britain were to leave Europe.

Some want to end EU Budget contributions entirely, while others want them to stay.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over the EU Budget payments

Some leave campaigners think we could completely repatriate spending...

- **Vote Leave have said we'll bring back £350 million a week of spending**

“We stop sending £350 million every week to Brussels and instead spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research.”

Vote Leave website, [link](#)

- **Nigel Farage, UKIP Leader has said “we should stop” contributions**

“We should stop paying the EU”

Daily Politics, October 2014, [link](#)

- **Kate Hoey, Labour Leave and Grassroots Out co-founder, has claimed £350 million a week would be repatriated**

“If we vote to leave, then the £350million we send to Brussels every week can be spent on our priorities like the NHS”

Mirror, 8 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Douglas Carswell, Vote Leave spokesman, has said £350 million a week would no longer be sent**

“If we were outside the EU, instead of sending £350 million every week to Brussels, we would have more to spend on our own priorities, like pioneering scientific research”

Telegraph, 9 October 2015, [link](#)

...but others have conceded that we would still end up contributing

- **Jon Moynihan, Vote Leave board member, has said “Nobody knows how much of it we would save”**

“[£350 million is] right in gross. We do get some money back... Nobody knows how much of it we would save... It's probable that at the end of the day we would want to spend something like 20% of that money. The other 80% would be available to us.”

Today, 26 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU's publication *The Market Solution* has said "a range of financial contributions" are part of the package they would accept**

"EEA costs and contributions. Part of the EEA package is a provision for a range of financial contributions."

Leave.EU, The Market Solution, 8 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Daniel Hannan MEP, Vote Leave spokesman, suggested the UK would pay a fee like Iceland, Switzerland or Norway**

"We'll recover our parliamentary sovereignty and, with it, the ability to sign bilateral trade deals with non-EU countries, as Norway and Switzerland do...Would we have to pay a participation fee? According to Professor Herman Matthijs of the Free University of Brussels, who has produced the only like-with-like comparator, Iceland's annual per capita contribution is €50, Switzerland's €68 and Norway's €10"

Spectator, 26 January 2016, [link](#)

No clear or credible plan on EU laws

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for immigration if Britain were to leave Europe.

Some want to end free movement, others want it to stay. Some want to increase immigration, others want to ignore it.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over the EU laws

Some campaigners want to get rid of EU laws...

- **Matthew Elliott, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has said leaving will mean European laws can be blocked**

“If the public want Parliament to have the power to block damaging EU laws then the only safe option is to Vote Leave”

Vote Leave press release, 2 February 2016, [link](#)

- **David Campbell Bannerman, Conservatives for Britain Co-Chairman, has said “we could strip out” European regulations**

“the costs of the EU Single Market outweigh the benefits by 2.5 times...we could strip out in theory the over-burdensome and job destroying EU red tape on 92% of the UK economy and 95% businesses, whilst also saving every household in the UK nearly £1,000 a year. We’d be Big Globalists not Little Europeans...Britain would be freer, wealthier and happier out of the EU. We’d be back in control.”

The Telegraph, 14 November 2015, [link](#)

- **Labour Leave have said after leaving the EU we could “exclude private competition”**

“As much as we support this- We can't exclude private competition under EU law. @jeremycorbyn we need to leave the EU”

Labour Leave's Twitter, 15 December 2015, [link](#)

- **Business for Britain have claimed leaving would mean we could cut regulations**

“There would be scope for substantial regulatory savings if Britain decided to leave the EU. While any regulatory changes would have to take into account the role of international bodies in setting regulations, which would potentially limit the UK's room for action in certain areas, up to £33.3bn of savings could be secured by leaving.”

Change or Go, 26 July 2015, [link](#)

...while others have said they would keep all EU laws

- **Paul Stephenson, Vote Leave communications director, has suggesting retaining “European law in its entirety”**

“Mr Stephenson of the fledgling Out campaign said some mandarins had raised the prospect of a 15-year process to work through the legal difficulties. Mr Stephenson said the divorce could be significantly shortened if Britain retained European law in its entirety — at least in the short term — before amending certain elements. The template for that process could be the way former colonies kept British laws at the point of exit”

Financial Times, 27 September 2015, [link](#)

- **Owen Paterson, member of Conservatives for Britain, has said we’d “repatriate the entire Acquis” as UK law.**

“To ensure continuity and avoid any disruption to the Single Market, we would also repatriate the entire Acquis and make it domestic law, giving us time to conduct a full review in good order”

UK 2020, 24 November 2014, [link](#)

- **Leave.EU’s publication *The Market Solution*, has called for repatriating “the entire body of EU law”**

“As part of the first stage, we would repatriate the entire body of EU law, including that pertaining to agriculture and fisheries. This would not only ensure continuity and minimise disruption – and reduce what would otherwise be massive burdens on public and private sector administrations – but also buy time for a more considered review of the UK statute book. We would continue with co-operation and co-ordination with the EU at political and administrative levels, where immediate separation of shared functions is neither possible nor desirable in the short term.”

Leave.EU, The Market Solution, 8 January 2016, [link](#)

No clear or credible plan on having a plan

Those campaigning to leave Europe have no clear or credible plan for whether or not they need a plan for what Britain's future looks like outside Europe.

Some have said they need one, others have said this is too difficult. Some have said a leave vote means Britain will leave, others have said a leave vote means Britain will renegotiate our position in Europe.

The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over having a plan

Some campaigners think they need to have a plan...

- **Matthew Elliot, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has said “voters deserve” a clearly defined out position**

“For an EU referendum, it would be far more preferable to have two clearly defined options. For such momentous decision, voters deserve concrete alternatives with clear definitions, allowing the debate to be about two precise positions, thereby reducing the scope for mudslinging and the spread of misinformation... the Out position should also be concrete”

Conservative Home, 22 September 2014, [link](#)

“What’s immediately clear is that when voters are given a choice about our membership of the EU, they must be presented with concrete alternatives with clear definitions. They must know before they vote what membership of a reformed EU would look like versus the kind of trading relationship possible outside of the EU... Greater clarity would allow a more informed choice for voters”

Business for Britain press release, 19 September 2014, [link](#)

- **Owen Paterson, member Conservatives for Britain, has argued that saying how we would leave is “every bit as important” as saying we would**

“In my view, the public will never fully commit to the independence they most likely want unless we can show that a smooth, orderly transition is possible. In other words, answering the question of how we leave the political arrangements of EU is every bit as important as addressing the question why. Even people who are broadly in favour of withdrawal are unlikely to commit to the process unless they are assured that all the angles have been covered. A definitive plan will give the necessary reassurance”

UK 2020, 24 November 2011, [link](#)

- **Ben Harris-Quinney, Bow Group, has said “the first priority” for out campaigners should be to come up with a realistic alternative**

“It is now not enough to simply bemoan the failings of the EU, the first priority for all Eurosceptics should be to find a superior and realistic alternative, and to actively and constructively work towards it.”

Leave.EU The Market Solution, 8 January 2016, [link](#)

...while others don't want to spell out what leaving would mean

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave, has argued the out campaign should be “swerving the whole issue”**

“Does NO need to have a unified plan for exit?... There is much to be gained by swerving the whole issue.”

Dominic Cummings's Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

“Creating an exit plan that makes sense and which all reasonable people could unite around seems an almost insuperable task... Even if one succeeded, the sheer complexity of leaving would involve endless questions of detail that cannot be answered in such a plan even were it to be 20,000 pages long, and the longer it is the more errors are likely”

Dominic Cummings's Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

Some say a leave vote should mean leave...

- **Richard Tice, Leave.EU spokesman, has said suggestions of two referendums is a tactic “to just confuse”**

“Its easy to see why this has been floated by Vote Leave, but its not a tactic we would support and one which is set-up to just confuse. It's straightforward, leave means leave and to believe that a second referendum will strengthen our renegotiating position is to fail to understand the EU.”

Leave EU press release, 25 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Arron Banks, Head of Leave.EU, has attacked the plan as a “cheap political trick”**

“Suggesting two referendums is a cheap political trick and as a non-political campaign we support one referendum in or out”

Leave EU press release, 25 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Gerry Gunster, Leave.EU consultants, have said a single referendum “is the only option”**

“one referendum, In/Out, leave means leave is the only option and to suggest a two referendum idea is naïve”

Leave EU press release, 25 October 2015, [link](#)

- **Chris Grayling MP has said leave would mean leave**

“If we vote to stay in the European Union we stay. If we vote to leave the European Union we leave”

Chris Grayling, Sunday Politics, 21 February 2016, [link](#)

...while others think leave could mean staying for another renegotiation

- **Matthew Elliot, Chief Executive Vote Leave, has claimed a vote to leave could just be the start of a second renegotiation**

“If EU leaders fail to agree to David Cameron’s calls for far-reaching reform of the way the EU operates, voters will be much more likely to deliver a decisive ‘No’ vote. This would then force other member states to get back around the negotiating table and agree a new deal which meets the concerns of the public and business. And – as Change, or go shows – the UK would, unlike Greece, be in a win-win position as it sought to negotiate with the EU. We could either stay in a properly reformed EU or, if efforts at full Treaty change fail, decide to gain influence and prosper from the outside”

Telegraph, 15 July 2015, [link](#)

- **Boris Johnson MP, Vote Leave supporter, has claimed we could “seek a new relationship” out of some elements of Europe after a vote to leave**

There is only one way to get the change we need, and that is to vote to go, because all EU history shows that they only really listen to a population when it says No...It is time to seek a new relationship, in which we manage to extricate ourselves from most of the supranational elements”

Telegraph, 22 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director Vote Leave, has argued there should be two referendums before leaving “as a matter of democratic accountability”**

“One can see why NO might argue for a second vote. It enables NO to make a NO vote seem much less risky. ‘If you vote YES, you won’t get another vote for another 40 years – if ever. You should vote NO to Cameron’s rubbish deal. If you vote NO, you will force a new Government to negotiate a new deal and give you a new vote. A NO vote is much safer than a YES vote.’ Further, as a matter of democratic accountability, given the enormous importance of so many issues that would be decided in an Article 50 renegotiation – a far, far bigger deal than a normal election – it seems right to give people a vote on it”

Dominic Cummings’s Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

“a legal and political fact: a NO vote would not mean that we had, or immediately would, leave. The day after a NO vote our legal situation would be identical to today: we would remain a member”

Dominic Cummings’s Blog, 23 June 2015, [link](#)

- **Tim Loughton MP, has suggested there could be a “re-vote” after a new relationship is negotiated following a leave vote**

“If as I hope we vote to ‘leave’ on June 23rd it is the day after that when the real negotiations start. When you sadly break up with someone you may think you have done all the talking but this is when all the negotiation actually takes place over the specifics of who gets the CD collection. Just because the 28 becomes 27 does not mean that the EU no longer exists – far from it. But there can be no doubt then that the UK has been serious in our reasons for doubting the benefits of the EU and a different relationship has to be formulated. There will be absolutely no prospect of a re-vote until we get it right as Ireland and France had to be suckered into doing.”

Tim Loughton, Open letter to his constituents, 21 February 2016, [link](#)

But independent experts have said a second referendum isn’t plausible...

- **Alan Renwick, Deputy Director of the Constitution Unit at University College, London has pointed out that there wouldn’t be a second deal to have a vote on after a vote to leave**

“I think it’s very difficult to have a second referendum on this issue...[the British Parliament] can’t hold a meaningful referendum on a deal if there isn’t a deal and the issue that a second referendum faces here is that there is a process that takes place once a country decides that it’s going to leave the European Union, there’s a process set out in the Lisbon Treaty, and that says, basically that the Prime Minister declares that the UK wants to leave the European Union and then there’s a negotiation that takes place between the UK and the remaining 27 member states and that’s a negotiation on the terms of Brexit. It’s not a negotiation on the terms of having some kind of better renegotiated form of membership”

World at One, 22 February 2016

Leave campaigns admit there are risks

One thing those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe are clear on is the risks of leaving. They have said that this will risk jobs, lead to pain and admitted: “there is risk”. The benefits to Britain of being in Europe are clear, but the chaos and confusion of those campaigning for Britain to leave Europe would put this at risk.

Chaos and confusion over the risks of leaving

Even those campaigning for Britain to leave the EU admit that this would cause “pain”

- **John Whittingdale MP, has admitted there would be costs, and leave campaigners “don’t know” what terms Britain would leave on**

“Well, it is true to say that we don’t know exactly the detail of the final agreement that we will reach.”

BBC News, 22 February 2016

“I am not going to pretend that there aren’t potentially some costs, obviously there may be some costs. I am not going to pretend that there aren’t uncertainties.”

John Whittingdale, 21 February 2016, [link](#)

- **Head of Leave.EU, Aaron Banks, has admitted “there will be pain” if Britain leaves Europe**

“There must be penalties for leaving. There must be penalties for leaving. I don’t disagree with that, there will be pain. It’s like a divorce, there’s going to be a break-up, there’s going to be pain, I admit that by the way, there will be pain.”

Aaron Banks, Foreign Press Association debate, 7 January 2016

- **Dominic Cummings, Campaign Director for Vote Leave, has said jobs are at risk if Britain leaves Europe**

Andrew Neil: Would none of these jobs be at risk?

Dominic Cummings: I think in the short term there would definitely be, there would definitely be problems for some areas yes

From Spectator debate, 20 October 2015

- **Tom Montgomerie, an activist for Britain to leave the EU, says, “if we leave there is risk”**

“It absolutely is true, if we leave there is risk”

From the BBC Daily Politics, 21 January 2016, [link](#)

- **Ruth Lea, Grassroots Out campaigner, has admitted car exporters could face nearly 10% tariffs exporting to Europe if we leave.**

“If we were subject to WTO rules we would be subject to the common external tariff...on the whole the average tariff is about 1%, but there are tariffs on cars for example that are nearly ten. So our exporters would face that if there were no trade agreement”

Ruth Lea, Grassroots Out event, 19 February 2016

Find out more

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