

Editorial

I love my homeland, said an Italian, because I love all homelands. Love of your homeland is not nationalism, neither is it chauvinism or jingoism or xenophobia. Nationalism is always assertive and therefore directed against others; chauvinism is prejudice, and jingoism merely boastful. Xenophobia, like all phobias, is a fear. There is another word – patriotism, and the words quoted here are the words of a true patriot.

The June 23rd referendum in Britain about the country's future, either as a member of an ever closer union or as a nation with a potential to make ever more democratic decisions on how it will meet the challenges of a world in which wealth and power is rapidly being concentrated in very few hands.

Some would call the wish of a country to have a decisive share in the governing of its own affairs nationalism, thus automatically branding it as a bad thing.

But just as we want to put right what is wrong with our home (that is, if we love it and want to remain there) so the patriot feels the same about his homeland. That makes him a public servant. And what, we might ask those who sneer at him, what is wrong with that?

All the writers who contribute to this volume of the *NEW EUROPEAN* are committed to the Brexit cause because they believe that a strong, accountable British democracy is not only better for the people of Britain, but also a far better contribution to the solution of the global problems that are facing us all, than the ever closer EU super state.

And if an ordinary citizen in his desperation takes to using words that are nationalistic, chauvinistic, jingoistic and even xenophobic it cannot be taken as a proof that his motives are necessarily misguided.

“Obviously Grundtvig (a Danish nineteenth century popular educator) sometimes behaved like an ugly nationalist, a nationalist of a kind we don't like, although, I suppose, most of us would behave in precisely the same way as he did if the country we belong to is threatened by an enemy or some other kind of strong unusual influence from outside”, comments one of his sharpest critics.

The EU superstate is such an enemy to democracy.

England will never fit into the European Union

SIR RICHARD BODY

Anation is not a number of diverse people who happen to live in the same country, as some wooly-headed intellectuals believe. To anyone patriotically inclined a nation is a people homogenous enough to share the same culture giving them a unity denied to other people. Homogenous enough to have a mind frame in which a culture is born. This cultural unity is found in the beliefs, values, customs and traditions which are expressed in the nation's language.

A culture so formed is not imitable for it has a literature which lets a culture evolve as it passes from one generation to another.

A culture, it may be said, is the soul of a nation and it is this which distinguishes one nation from another. It means also that one nation should be governed differently from another. A government is unable to do anything at all unless it primarily takes away people's freedom or money.

It achieves the first by legislation and the second by taxation. These powers may be used moderately when they will be accepted by the nation but they can be used excessively to cause injustices and oppression.

On the Continent this has caused violence and revolution. England on the other hand has settled political differences in peace for more than three centuries. All the Continent has known some kind of revolution. England has also had a revolution, the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and was initiated peacefully by a king who left to live abroad. That is not the only difference between the cultures on the Continent and England. There are several others that deserve to be emphasized.

First there is geography. This has made England an offshore island separated from the mainland by a sea wide enough to have prevented invasion for nearly 1000 years. This has given the English a sense of security, but isolation has prompted her to laugh at the cultural ways on the mainland.

Secondly, the English have had the freedom of worship ever since

1661 when Charles II was restored to the throne and decreed that there should be freedom of worship, ordering the release of men and women imprisoned by Cromwell for their religious views. England is firmly Protestant with an established church linked to the state, and was controlled by Parliament until the 20th Century. It has many denominations, some so small as to have only one or two chapels, whereas on the Continent religion is not so varied.

Thirdly there is a sense of justice. The Criminal Code is substantially the same as the one invented by King Alfred who plagiarized the Bible in deciding which acts should be criminal. England's civil law is called the Common Law, founded centuries ago on existing customs which have since been enlarged or modified by judges. On the Continent it is quite different.

A less obvious factor in a culture is philosophy. Here we have a stark difference between the continent and England. All the continental philosophers have done much to influence our opinion such as Kant, Leibnitz and Nietzsche and believed that they could find truth by reasoning. In England all the philosophers that have done so much to influence our thinking have been empiricists. They believe that experience leads us to the truth by induction and not deduction. On the continent very few people, even one man, is necessary to undertake the reasoning, whereas in England more men and women are engaged in pooling their experiences; the whole nation can be engaged in evolving a culture. Thus on the continent a country can fall more easily to dictatorship while in England the experiences of everyone can contribute to a fund of knowledge and lead to truth. In short, therefore, continental philosophy is authoritarian, and in England it is libertarian.

A country's culture will also determine how its people behave; no two countries in the world have quite the same collection of laws or fiscal systems, not even England and Scotland.

The Scots and the Welsh have a somewhat different culture which explains why Scottish nationalism flourishes and in Wales a majority prefer to call themselves Welsh rather than British.

Politics, it may be said, is the business of allocating responsibilities between the state and the individual. In deciding how to weigh the responsibilities of one against the other there is never likely to be a precise balance. The scales will come down on the side of the state or the individual and the core values and beliefs of the nation will decide which it is to be. So it is with England's culture.

England's parliamentary government has given both the Government

and Parliament the respect of those who are governed, which has meant that all England's laws have been made democratically. Only Parliament, the elected representatives of the people, should decide what law should be obeyed, for they can be made accountable to the electorate for the liberties lost. For anyone else to make our laws is essentially undemocratic. On the continent this principle has never been digested, and is making the English throw up what over the centuries they themselves have digested. This highlights how delicate is the balance between individual freedom and ordered justice; both abstract terms are difficult to define, yet achieving the right balance depends on a respect for the law. Once that respect is lost lawlessness is not far behind. Lost too is over 1000 years of Englishness.

Membership of the EU has changed this dramatically. Today more than half of the laws which the British nation is required to obey are made quite differently in Brussels. This system cannot enjoy respect; indeed once English people appreciate the difference between this and what was decreed in 1688-89 there is hostility, which will never end.

No one can say with certainty what proportion of our law is now prescribed by Brussels. Since 1973 many thousands of statutory regulations have come into our lives, every one of them telling people what they can or cannot do or have. Much of our primary law – the Acts passed by Parliament itself – has its origins in directives from the European Union. The Hansard Society has tried to assess how far the Brussels influence has gone. It concluded that probably 40% of all our laws passed since 1973 is due to our membership of the European Union.

Finally, the architects of the European Union envisage a European Nation. This must mean that the cultures of some 40 nations must be fused into one or the European Nation becomes homogenous. To expect 500 million Europeans to agree is asking too much.

The nations of mainland Europe will be no less determined than the English to hold onto their separate cultures and the hope that Europe will have one nation with one culture will melt away.

Sir Richard Body is editor emeritus of the NEW EUROPEAN

The question is not Brexit, but Brentry

DR. LEE ROTHERHAM

The purpose of electing a government is for it to govern. It is manifestly clear that no elected British government is now in control of its own house. Far too much governance has been conceded over the years to an unelected bureaucracy in Brussels.”

So writes Sir Bernard Ingham in the foreword to my latest publication for the excellent Freedom Association – *Manning the Pumps* – and in so doing demonstrating how egregiously he was overlooked for David Cameron’s accolade of “greatest living Yorkshireman”.

What else may Downing Street have missed? On the Europe issue over the past several years, evidently much. UKIP’s rise has been neither unpredicted nor unexpected, while the Conservative Party has developed a reputation for managing expectations over EU integration, rather than forthrightly wedging wooden footwear into the spinning cogs.

A central problem is there are inherent practical limits to what can be achieved inside the European system. The EU no longer works on veto terms, as John Major painfully found out over BSE, and there have been three EU treaties since. Bad decisions reached at Brussels reflect poorly on ministers no longer able to block them, and increasingly obliged either to try to ferry them unapologetically through Parliament or, more cynically, to adopt them as Whitehall’s own (and which partly explains much of the gold plating).

Furthermore, Conservative successes themselves have been tempered. For each key JHA item opted out of under the Stockholm Process, there’s a counterpart being opted back into. For the achievement of setting up the referendum trigger, there’s the senselessness of a minister [officially endorsing the Europe for Citizens programme](#). For all the significance of a commitment to holding a referendum on a renegotiation settlement, there is scarcely

a whiff of what might prove to be a matter for discussion, let alone what change might generate acceptable terms.

Staying in communion with the Cult of Ever-Closer Union continues to implicate you in the Original Sin. Are we surprised then that voters interpret ambiguity as indifference, and plump to punt on an alternative party with plainer pledges and guarantees that are apparently rust-free?

So what is to be done? In my paper, I look at 20 approaches for the Party to adapt; and I also suggest some new models to help us reconsider/rethink the essentials of European association and advantage – the maths behind our national interest.

The 20 points can here be covered swiftly, as they are essentially about injecting steroids into the Party's manifesto, and applying common sense to the way it manages itself. Cigarette packs may have more space on them now due to plain packaging, but that's no reason to use them to write policies on. EU-related policies (as over immigration/employment) have to be composite, coordinated, and with solutions that run across departments.

We also need to correct a massive omission in the Division of Competences Review, and commission a flash cost-benefit analysis of EU membership – and with it, of alternative forms of association. It should be quick, fair, and admit known gaps. We need to establish a base threshold for what Conservative negotiators want to achieve, to demonstrate that a Conservative Government would not step into Harold Wilson's pantoufles and settle for a couple of tweaks à la 1975. The problem is circular: the renegotiation engine currently has no steam in it, and isn't being coaled by the FCO because it doesn't have any minister stoking it.

This this takes us to the key element: admitting what is possible if we don't simply look at tweaking the current treaties, but address our wider national and trading interest. The question is not about BREXIT, but BRENTRY – British entry once again into the truly global market and diplomatic scene.

So the second part of the paper contains some new material on assessing treaty value.

The image I use comes from astronomy. There is a small section of orbit distance around a star that suits life on a planet. It's called the "Goldilocks Zone". Too close to the sun and the seas boil away; too far, and they freeze. But there is a habitable zone where the temperature is just right and life can flourish. Similarly, there is

a small range of treaty terms that is where the UK is best in orbit around Brussels. We're not in that Goldilocks Zone with our current terms. We need to identify that bandwidth then aim for it.

How might this be achieved? Firstly, I raise a formula to review if national interests mean full EU membership suits any given state. In some cases, it clearly doesn't.

Then I look at the extent to which given countries benefit or lose from EU bureaucracy. Here we contrast individual national levels of red-tapery with the amount of their trade that goes to their EU neighbours. A country with less GDP arising from EU trade, and with a tradition of light-touch regulation, loses more competitiveness for less gain compared with a highly regulated economy surrounded by larger EU states. The UK, as it happens, scores very low in both these tables: its interests are badly met at present, and will get worse.

Then I explore the 15 existing forms and models of EU Association. These set out the variety of types of treaty association *already* possible when trading with the EU, and prove why our current one isn't the only option even without asking for something bespoke.

With that list in mind, we then start to look at benefits and losses from changing from one sort of trade deal with the EU to another. From this, I hypothesize a "Freedom Curve" – a graph of optimal affiliation, as economic gains from closer integration start to be lost from administrative burdens and other social and political costs. In turn, we can then suggest what types of trade agreement form a "Goldilocks Zone" range for the UK. After this, we touch on transition, and getting there.

The long and the short of it is that the treaty changes we should be aiming for ought to be fundamental and broad in scope, looking across the entire list of treaty titles, and not adjusting a couple of unpopular directives. The changes need to take us out of our current heated "orbit" and much further away from the integrationist core. That current orbit in any event is decaying with every passing year.

Graphs and tables may seem like fairly dry and dusty stuff. In fact, though, it's just some of the necessary foundation work for understanding what we want and what we are talking about achieving as a Party.

To return however to Sir Bernard in his foreword, "Clarity of purpose, and an unmistakable determination not to take 'Non' for an answer are the minimum required." The Conservative leadership needs to pioneer on the EU issue, not to follow in Whitehall's 40

year old ruts.

Britain is the only country that can lead Europe's Eurosceptics. The Conservatives are the only party that can take the UK Government down the path. Mr Cameron has the chance to be the man of the hour. But the clock is ticking.

Dr. Lee Rotherham is an author, historian and political campaigner, who has served as a TA reservist on three overseas deployments.

Something rotten in the state of Europe

Jenny Jones

As the EU comes down for neoliberalism, austerity and capital against popular will, Greens and other ‘progressives’ must consider switching sides in the ‘in or out’ debate, writes Jenny Jones. A Union that stands for TTIP, corporate empowerment and the trampling of Greek democracy is one we are better off leaving. Just in case you hadn’t noticed: something is rotten in the state of Europe.

The EU is becoming a dictatorial imposer of austerity and deregulation, uncaring about its impacts on the wellbeing of people and planet, and determined to derail any elected government that dares dissent from its neoliberal ideology.

I write as a Green who has stood for the European Parliament on a mission of EU reform. I acknowledge that the EU can be and has been a powerful force for good - for example, in keeping the peace among member states, and in its impressive role in social and environmental regulation - now tragically at risk from the drive to ‘deregulate’.

But I believe that the general support of the EU by the Green Party, and the Left, and *bien-pensant* intellectuals, and ‘progressives’, needs to come to an end, to be replaced by a more honest willingness to face up to the very serious flaws besetting the EU.

The two key events of the last few days [In July 2015. ed.] that have made starkly clear that something is rotten at the top of our continent are first, the EU moving a big step closer to backing TTIP, the starkly anti-democratic and pro-corporatocratic ‘TransAtlantic Trade and Investment Partnership’.

And second, last night’s imposition on Athens of a programme for privatisation and savage cuts even worse than that rejected by the Greek people in the referendum last week with its decisive ‘NO’ vote.

Secret corporate lobbying over the heads of the people

The TTIP is the EU-US ‘free trade’ agreement currently being negotiated, to which the European Parliament, tragically, gave its provisional approval last week. [July 2015. ed.]

The Green Party is united against TTIP. And the Green Party argues strongly in favour of the EU. Is there any tension between these two facts? We think that there is. The TTIP

- enables the democratic will of the people to be struck down by big business;
- is in its very essence a project of secretive lobbying;
- is about gigantic corporations being able to break open and gobble up public procurement and public services.

My case is simple: this should not be viewed as some kind of aberration from EU standard practice. It *is* EU standard practice.

The EU has been from the beginning (but also *increasingly*, the key examples here being the Lisbon Treaty and the ‘Stability and Growth Pact’) a pro-business front, a vehicle for organisations such as the European Roundtable of Industrialists to get their way.

There is far too little democracy in the EU: for example, the Council of Ministers operates almost entirely in secrecy and holds the whip hand over the Parliament on most issues; Brussels is dominated by corporate lobbyists who outnumber NGO lobbyists by about 15:1, while wielding immense powers of hospitality and patronage. EU rules would make it very difficult for (e.g.) the railways to be brought back into full public ownership in this country.

It is an illusion to think that TTIP is anything other than a natural extension of the logic of the EU as it is currently. Greens, being serious about our outright opposition to TTIP, need to be serious also about radically reforming the EU.

Anything less than truly radical reform - democratisation, an end to the culture of lobbying and secrecy, prioritisation of public service over private profit, prioritisation of one-planet ecological sanity over business profit - would leave the EU more of a hindrance than a help to Green objectives.

Greece - you call this ‘negotiation’?

The imposition on Greece of harsh and unwanted measures that eliminate its sovereignty and strip the people of the democratic power they exercised last week in the referendum is not a departure from business as usual for the EU.

It is, on the contrary, a manifestation of the EU’s long-standing disrespect for democracy and the sovereignty of its member states, and the determination among EU elites to impose a business-friendly vision onto any recalcitrant government and people.

This deal forced onto Athens - on pain of a forced crash out of the Euro - is a massive wake-up call to democrats everywhere. It is increasingly clear that the EU, far from standing up for Europe’s people against overweening corporate power, are doing the exact opposite: ganging up with corporate and finance capital to suppress democracy and popular aspirations.

Above all, the huge power of business lobbyists in the EU - who can usually get what they want, unless the European public puts its foot down (as happened, thankfully, over the Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA) - but that is a very rare event) - simply must end.

Moreover, systemic problems are caused by the ‘four freedoms’ that are at the core of the Treaty of Rome: the freedom to move capital, products, services and labour all over the EU. The four freedoms add up to a ‘bosses charter’ giving capital one great supranational freedom - that to exploit labour anywhere in Europe on the most favourable possible terms. There is no Leftist case for an unreformed EU.

That referendum - in or out?

There are tremendous structural difficulties in the way of reforming the EU to address these problems and recreate it in a Green image. But unless they can be achieved we may have to support withdrawal in the UK’s ‘in or out’ EU referendum.

Just as Syriza’s negotiating position has been fatally undermined by its refusal (in my view deeply mistaken) to countenance leaving the Euro, so we - Green and progressive voters - will lack any leverage so long as we tolerate a bad EU, for fear of something even worse.

Meanwhile we have to contend with David Cameron’s own campaign to ‘reform’ the EU, backed by other right-wing governments like Poland’s; for them, the EU’s main problem is that it is not pro-

business enough, and imposes intolerable shackles on the pursuit of corporate profit as a result of its social and environmental legislation.

Leave the reform agenda to Cameron and friends, and the EU will only become an even more anti-democratic, anti-ecological, pro-growth, pro-big business centralising organisation than it already is. We must be forceful in opposing and denouncing that dystopian vision of a corporate Europe.

And make no mistake: a pro-TTIP European Union, eager to impose the imperatives of capital against people, determined to evacuate democracy in Greece and other member states of its meaning, is not an EU we should wish to be part of.

This article was published in The Ecologist in July 2015: http://www.theecologist.org/blogs_and_comments/commentators/2946192/something_rotten_in_the_state_of_europe.html. Please refer to this link for notes.

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The European Union: Labour supporters should Vote Leave

KELVIN HOPKINS MP

The European Union is anti-democratic, anti-socialist and failing economically. With low and negative economic growth, 25% unemployment and 50% youth unemployment in some member states, living standards cut by a quarter in Greece, forced privatisations and restrictions on collective bargaining rights as conditions of bailouts, the true nature of the EU is now plain to see.

Free movement of labour is designed to simply reduce wages and reduce wage bargaining strength. The Laval and Viking Line cases where the European Court ruled in favour of employers and against trade unions made a nonsense of the supposed EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and were a clear indication of the direction of travel being steered by the EU's masters. Raising up the market and market forces against elective democracy was evident from the start in its original name, the Common Market, and was opposed at the time by British socialists including Hugh Gaitskell, Clement Attlee and Nye Bevan.

In a Commons debate in 1989, Tony Benn MP said, *“I was brought up to believe, and I still believe, that when people vote in an election they must be entitled to know that the party for which they vote, if it has a majority, will be able to enact laws under which they will be governed. That is no longer true. Any party elected, whether it is the Conservative party or the Labour party can no longer say to the electorate, “Vote for me and if I have a majority I shall pass that law,” because if that law is contrary to Common Market law, British judges will apply Community law.”*

Labour's policies of public ownership such as returning the railways to the public sector will not be possible if EU free-market rules are implemented. The franchising of Britain's railway operations as supposed 'privatisation' is especially bizarre when Deutsche Bahn, the German state railway owns much of Britain's public transport services, with British passengers effectively subsidising Berlin commuters.

The European Union project moved slowly and by stealth at first, later accelerating following the 1980s Single European Act. It was clearly intended to promote the dismantling over time of the post-war social democratic structures which brought such massive benefits to millions of working people across Western Europe.

The current secretive negotiations to impose TTIP, the proposed EU/USA trade deal which would give massive power to the giant private corporations to be able to prosecute democratically elected member state governments is conclusive proof - if proof were needed - about the true nature of the EU.

It is time for democratic member state governments once again to stand up for their peoples and to reject the EU. The United Kingdom has an opportunity to take the lead in that process by voting "Leave" in the coming referendum.

That being said, I always emphasise that the European Union is not Europe. Europe is a continent of great peoples, beautiful countries and superb culture. Democracy, socialism and trade unionism were all created in Europe. The European Union is simply a political construct covering many of the countries of Europe. We can have a great Europe without the EU, a Europe of international friendship and solidarity which will not sell out working people to the global corporation.

March 2016

Kelvin Hopkins is an English Labour politician who has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Luton North since 1997.

Brexit: Statement from The People's Movement against the EU, Denmark

The People's Movement against the EU congratulates the British people with the opportunity to debate and decide whether Great Britain shall leave or remain a member of the European Union.

Every single day makes it more plain that the EU has no positive answers to the many crises we are experiencing, but is itself the problem. The EU has continuously expanded its influence over the economic and social policy of the member states, as well as over foreign policy. The result is the social melting down we see especially in the southern European countries, and the growing global inequality causing wars and the increasing number of refugees.

So it is high time for the voters in all EU member countries to reconsider the EU-membership as such, and to look at the many alternatives. In the People's Movement against the EU we support our British partners. Together we can point to a number of already existing organizations that ensure international trade and conflict mediation, such as EFTA and the UN – and an even closer cooperation between the Nordic and Northern European countries.

The struggle for a Europe and a world without the EU has started!

*Adopted by the AGM of the People's Movement against the EU,
March 13th 2016.*

Board of Norway's No to the EU: Britain, do not listen to the scaremongering!

NEI TIL EU

From the campaign in 1994 to keep Norway out of EU, No to EU is familiar with the tactics that the British people currently are experiencing.

No to EU is watching the debate in the UK with great interest. Whether the UK leaves the EU or remains in the union is entirely for the British people to decide. The EU Commission in Brussels must also respect this fact.

We know from our own experience the EU system and the government apparatus will do everything possible to inject fear into people about the consequences of leaving the EU.

The disaster stories of lost jobs and a plummeting pound if the UK would dare leave the union, sound desperately familiar to No to EU. Prior to the referenda on EU membership in Norway in 1972 and 1994, the Norwegian people were told the industry would flee the country and 100,000 jobs would be lost if we voted no to the EU.

The reality has turned out to be quite the opposite. Since 1994, the Norwegian economy has developed and grown much more than the economies in EU member states. Norway has full sovereignty in the agricultural and fishery sectors, and the management of the Norwegian fisheries has been a great success.

British EU supporters, with the help of the Norwegian government, present Norway's association to the EU through the EEA Agreement as a disaster. The British government has repeated the myth that Norway must accept three-quarters of EU laws and regulations. The reality is that Norway has implemented less than 10 percent of the laws and regulations, which the EU has adopted in the period 2000-2013. In addition, the EEA Agreement has a clause enabling Norway to refuse the implementation of new EU rules, a right EU member states do not have.

The Norwegian Government claims the EEA Agreement is a poor model for the UK. On the other hand, it is not willing to look at alternatives to the EEA Agreement for Norway, or use the flexibility permitted by the refusal clause. No to EU wants to end this undemocratic paradox, by replacing the EEA Agreement with a modern trade agreement with EU.

From the beginning of No to EU's history, our aim has been to safeguard our democracy, defend our sovereignty and our natural resources. Our stance is based on international solidarity with people, both in the EU and in developing countries. Outside the EU, Norway has an independent voice on the international scene.

A UK outside the EU will be an interesting partner for Norway in achieving a modern trade agreement with the EU, preferably through EFTA, where we have cooperated previously.

March 11, 2016

What is the difference between EU membership and the EEA Agreement?

MORTEN HARPER

The European Economic Area (EEA) agreement encompasses less than ten percent of EU lawmaking.

The EU is both single market and a political and economic union. The EEA agreement includes Norway in the single market, but Norway is still independent from most of the European Union. This fact sheet is an updated and translated version of an earlier publication (Faktaark 5-2014).

Background

The European Economic Area (EEA) provides for the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital within the single market of the European Union (EU) between its 28 member states, as well as three of the four member states of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA): Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway.

EU and EEA year by year

Every year EU adopts about ten times the number of directives and regulations that Norway has to accept through the EEA agreement. In the period 2000–2013 (01.01.2000–31.12.2013) a total of 4,724 EU laws were incorporated into the EEA agreement. In the same period, EU adopted 52,183 pieces of legislation. Of all EU legislation, only 9.05 per cent was incorporated into the EEA agreement.

These figures are based on the annual reports from the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and the database of EU law, EUR-lex. This comparison does not take into consideration the scope of each individual piece of legislation, but it demonstrates that the EEA agreement is very limited compared to EU membership.

During the last years of the period, the number of EU laws incorporated into the EEA agreement has increased. In the period of 2010–2013, EU adopted 14,117 pieces of legislation, while 1,605

directives and regulations were incorporated into the EEA agreement. This amounts to 11.37 per cent of the total.

What does the EEA agreement include?

The EEA agreement includes:

- Free movement of goods, capital, services and persons.

Agriculture and fisheries are not covered by the EEA agreement.

- Common competition regulations (cooperation on the regulation of competition, state aid and monopolies) and harmonising company law.

- Cooperation on transport policies.

Common veterinary regulations (but as a main rule tariffs on trade in agricultural goods still applies).

- Cooperation on environmental protection, education, research, consumer protection and social policy.

- Structures for consultations, in which the EEA-EFTA states will participate in development of future EU law that may become EEA law.

- A common decision-making process in which the EU and EEA-EFTA states must agree on adopting new EEA law, giving each EEA-EFTA state the right to veto the inclusion of new legislation.

- Institutions to manage the EEA agreement (EFTA Surveillance Authority and EFTA Court).

- The EEA and Norway Grants to reduce social and economic disparities in Europe.

- Norway contributes about 7 billion NOK to the EEA programs, including the EEA and Norway Grants, EU research programs, and EEA institutions.

What does the EEA agreement not include?

The EEA agreement is very limited compared to EU membership. Among other things, the EEA agreement does not include:

- The EU Customs Union and trade agreements with third countries. In World Trade Organisation negotiations, the
- European Commission represents all EU member states. Norway

has its own voice.

- The Common Agricultural Policy. Norway’s agricultural policy is adapted to local needs.
- The Common Fisheries Policy. Norway’s fisheries policy balances coastal fishing and offshore fishing, benefitting coastal communities and creating employment.
- The euro. Norway’s monetary policy is decided in Norway for Norway.
- EU’s attempts to coordinate taxation. Norway is free to set taxes and duties to finance our welfare state.
- The Common Foreign and Security Policy. The EU wishes to speak with one voice in international forums, such as the UN.

	Pieces of legislation adopted in EU, included agreements with third countries	Pieces of legislation incorporated into the EEA agreement
2000	4,502	216
2001	4,484	401
2002	4,019	324
2003	3,990	298
2004	3,879	309
2005	3,818	314
2006	3,884	340
2007	3,349	416
2008	3,238	218
2009	2,903	283
2010	3,377	346
2011	3,684	373
2012	3,489	486
2013	3,567	400
Total	52,183	4,724

Morten Harper is Chief Researcher at No to the EU

A new Europe of many circles

SIR RICHARD BODY

Three nation states in Western Europe remain outside the EU - Switzerland, Norway and Iceland. Despite their size - or because of it - they prosper exceedingly; and the smallest of them seems to prosper the most.

In each of these three countries there is now a higher standard of living, as measured by the UN's criteria, than in any of the 28 member states of the EU. The five giants of social evil, named by Beveridge as idleness, ignorance, squalor, poverty and disease are - but for the last one - dead.

They are, though, far from being isolationist. They are members of the Council of Europe, the Economic Commission for Europe and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They are parties also to scores of international agreements which open up frontiers in many ways without any need for intervention by the EU. A letter posted in Glasgow needs only one stamp for it to go to Geneva; a thief from Chelsea can be arrested in Oslo; and a NATO seaman

may be seen in Reykjavík. The intergovernmental agreements to make all that possible are practical and cost effective. They have been made without the tensions and drama of all-night haggling. There is no use of the Qualified Majority Vote with its subsequent coercion of a nation to act against its wishes. And it is wholly democratic because no agreement takes effect until it is ratified by the national parliaments.

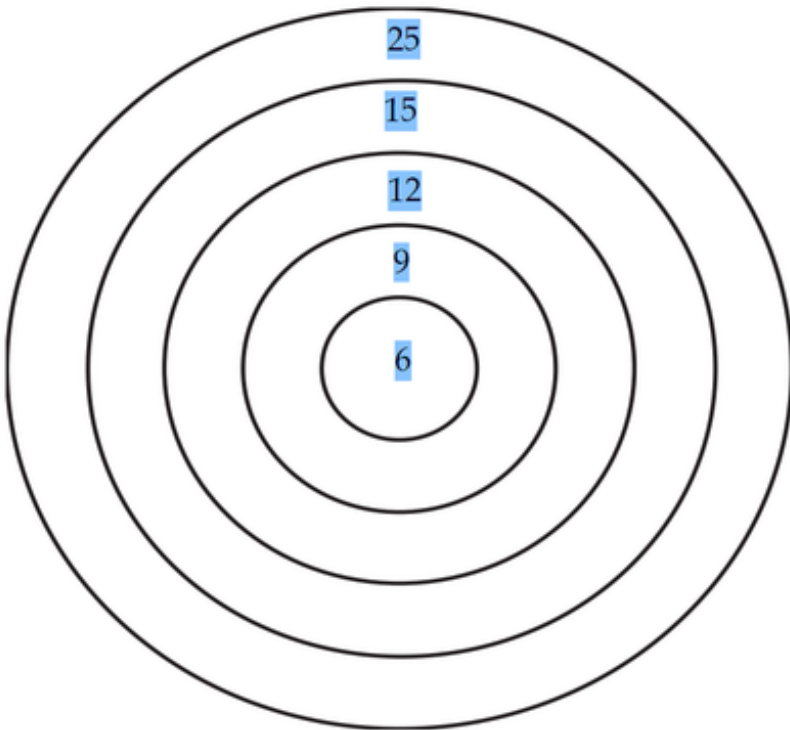
In short, it is the model to suit an association of nation states to overcome problems that cross the frontiers and which no government on its own can cope with satisfactorily.

The trouble with the EU is that it is at once too big and yet too small. It is too big for the 450 million people over whom it has supragovernmental powers to have any sense of democratic control over how they are governed. It is too small because it does not now include all Europe. Its supporters simply do not seem to appreciate

BODY

the historic significance of what has happened as a result of the fall of the Soviet empire. Throughout its long miserable history, Europe has been a continent of ceaseless wars or preparations for war, a veritable cockpit of interracial hatred and bloodshed. And now at last there can be hope of Europe's millions living together in peace. What better way is there than to cooperate together where it is in their interests to do so? The EU, constituted as it is, has disqualified itself from this role as it makes no progress unless all member states, whatever their national interests, set off together to march to the same drumbeat. Only with the greatest difficulty and opprobrium does a state gain an opt-out and then only temporarily and with the danger of being relegated to secondary status.

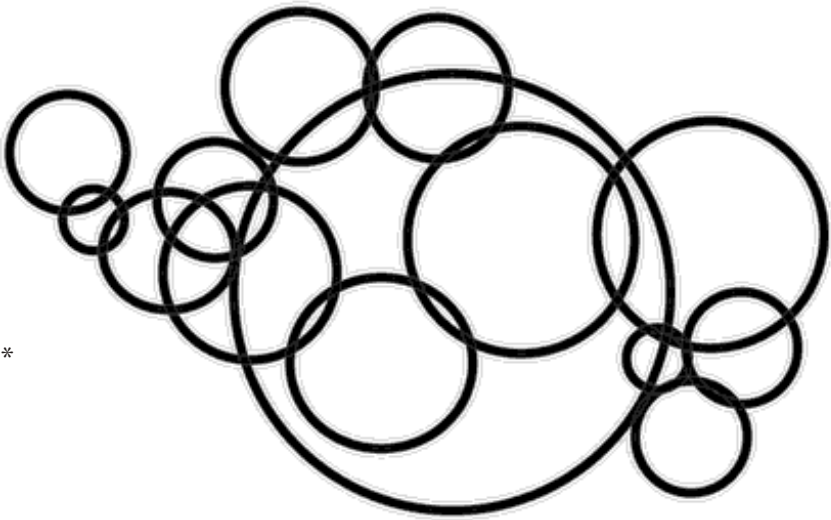
The essential difference between the supragovernmental and intergovernmental models can be put in graphic form.*



In the supragovernmental model, having begun with the Six, others join “when they are ready”, as they are advised somewhat patronisingly. Once in, new members must accept all the common policies already established, together with the many thousands of regulations and

directives that have been passed in the last half-century. What is more, all powers given by the member states to the EU institutions are transferred for ever and cannot be returned to any of the member states.

The alternative intergovernmental model can look like this



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Each circle represents an area of national interest or concern which is either shared by other nations or is better handled by some form of co-operative between governments. Thus only member states with a common interest participate in the formation of a common policy. Each common policy is not only ratified by the national parliaments but can also be revoked by them, thus public opinion becomes the ultimate arbiter.

A common policy is almost certain to require new legislation and an increase in expenditure, perhaps needing some increase in taxation. As those two powers of coercion are exercised under this model by elected representatives of the people, there is no “democratic deficit”.

The intergovernmental model has one supreme advantage for the new Europe of the twenty first century. Open to every country that, like the Council of Europe, accepts the principles of democracy and the rule of law, it can heal the divisions between East and West for the first time in history by strengthening the cause of democracy, as well as going a long way towards removing the seeds of discord.

It is very difficult to see how the EU can achieve that objective. The Treaty of European Union has enshrined the principle of *acquis communautaire*, which goes to the very heart and core of the ethos of the EU, and is the principle of all its common policies, including the Common Agricultural Policy and the Common Monetary Policy. How can those two policies be feasible for the whole vast continent of Europe?

J. A. Froude, the great historian in the nineteenth century, concluded that states could only associate successfully on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill. That spirit may have existed in the early days of the European Community among the original Six, but we see it ebb away a little more each time new members join.

What mutual trust and goodwill can be expected when they gather in Brussels to formulate any sort of common policy for agriculture, when the soils, climates, terrains and skills of the farmers are so disparate from the Atlantic to the Urals or from Donegal to Armenia?

A common monetary policy was mooted for the Community even in the 1950s. The reason was that once established, a political union would have to follow, which of course was the ultimate goal. Bank notes are intrinsically valueless pieces of paper. They are therefore a fiduciary currency valuable in so far as people have faith in those pieces of paper as useful to pass on to someone else in exchange for something of intrinsic value. Only a state will have the resources to guarantee the value of millions of pieces of paper. Of the many arguments against a single currency one ought to be mentioned here. When free trade exists between nations, the tariffs having been brought down, the rich regions will tend to become richer, and the poor ones poorer. That is why the traditional advocates of free trade recognised that there should remain one form of protection so that the less competitive had time to change their ways. Hence they believed in a system of floating exchange rates, so when a country imported more than it exported, its currency depreciated, making its exports more competitive and imports less attractive.

Equally the richer country's currency will tend to go up, making its exports more expensive. A floating exchange rate allows the law of supply and demand in the foreign exchange market to decide the value of different currencies. No policy devised in Brussels could work so quickly as that, nor could it be less arbitrary, cheaper, simpler, or more effective. In short, the EU embracing 28 national economies, let alone all 48 of Europe, is too big for a single currency and a uniform

interest rate.

But also that the EU will remain too small to serve the peoples of Europe in the twenty first century is plain when we consider what are likely to be the main problems in the next decades. Two of them seem obvious - the environment and immigration - the free movement of pollution across the frontiers and the free movement of people. Neither is likely to affect all parts of the Continent in equal measure, and conflicts of interest are so certain that cooperation or common policies will only be agreed harmoniously within limited groups of countries with the same perspective.

If the EU were to attempt to introduce common policies in either of these two subjects, its process of decision making would be so fraught with dissension that any hope of mutual trust and goodwill would be asking too much of what it can achieve.

Yet action is imperative. Of all the continents, Europe is the one that is most under attack environmentally.

To take one example, the North Sea is facing biological death. For centuries it has been the recipient of filth from Northern Europe. But over the last hundred or so years industrial and household waste, much of it toxic, has been increasingly dumped in it, along with pesticides seeping into rivers from agricultural land and heavy metals and poisonous chemicals from industrial areas. The cumulative effect is at last showing.

It is reported that sand eels are nearing extinction, fish in their thousands in strange shapes are being caught, and shellfish in the estuaries have now become toxic to an increasing number of people.

Other examples are the pollution causing the death of countless trees in Central Europe, and then there is the gathering tragedy of the erosion of the Alps.

In each case the EU remains silent: it is powerless to act because it does not embrace all Europe. Were it to do so and enable groups of member countries to reach agreements intergovernmentally, there would be at least a possibility of remedial steps being taken.

Then there is immigration. The free movement of people across the frontiers of its member states was reaffirmed in the Treaty of the European Union, as logically it had to be since it also accorded the same citizenship to all who live within the EU. It is, though, dangerously premature. Until the peoples of Europe have a similar standard of living we must expect huge numbers from the poorer countries to move to the richer ones. Nationalistic rumblings are

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vibrating - the very thing that the European project was intended to quell. The consequences, as much political and social as economic, can do nothing for harmony in Europe.

A policy reasonable for a Community of the Six in the 1950s has become highly dangerous for 48 or even the present 28 in the conditions of the twenty first century. Besides, a nation denied the right to decide who from another nation should belong to it may eventually cease to be a nation, becoming just a crowd of people with no sense of social or cultural cohesion.

Common sense suggests that immigration policy should be repatriated, leaving groups of countries free to co-ordinate common policies if they so wish. Sadly, under the Treaty of European Union that cannot be done, no more than it can in the case of agriculture and monetary policies.

Sir Richard Body is an English former member of parliament, a veteran EU critic and an author of several books on Agriculture and on European politics

Why the Greens must resist a European federal super state

JULIAN ROSE

The European Union is a centralised super state trading block whose conceptual origins lie in the Third Reich of Hitler's Nazi Germany.

The concept of 'global trading blocks' was already well established under Hitler's regime, but their origins go back further, with links to the British Royal Society. Post British Empire colonial ambitions were hatched around the desire to form a number of global trading empires whose leadership would be essentially elitist and corporate, with banks taking a leading role.

Here lies the origin of the 'free trade' concept. A trading pattern which is anything but 'free' due to the fact that it is designed to prevent any one country stopping any other country from resisting the import of products that it has no need or no wish for: i.e GMO maize and soya, beef raised using growth hormones or sweat shop mass produced cheap goods that undermine the ability of the blocking country to fairly trade its own quality home-made items.

Free Trade is controlled by the World Trade Organisation, another fascist institution, the majority of whose board is composed of the CEOs of the World's largest multinational and transnational corporations with a sole interest in profit and power. A hallmark of the neo-conservative and neo-liberal capitalist dream (nightmare) which is dying a painful death even as I write.

Greens, including the political faction which unwittingly or unthinkingly (or both) keeps one foot firmly inside the door of such regimes, seem oblivious to the forces that drive the corporate agenda ruling planet Earth. Maybe because their campaigning arm is obsessed with finding ways to promote the utterly meaningless multi-purpose catch-all 'sustainable development', or arguing about the effects of 'climate change' or naively encouraging the 'Agenda 21' countryside depopulation propaganda exercise.

It simply doesn't seem to matter to many Greens. That might be because leading 'Green' organisations have themselves been living out of the pocket of the corporate purse for at least two or three decades already. They probably learned that catch phrase "don't bite the hand that feeds you" and agreed that winning the war against global destruction is best done by cozying-up to the very forces that are complicit in the destruction process. This can be easily achieved by offering a little green spin as fair exchange for being bankrolled into embellishing otherwise insufferable corporate agendas.

"A Big Mac burger and a Starbucks fair-trade coffee, please. Oh, and add a dash of homogenized, ultra heat treated organic milk."

I wonder if any green consumer saviour has ever heard of or ever even read anything by or about their founding fathers? People who understood something about 'human scale' communities and the values inherent in local and regional production and consumption of quality goods produced on a relatively small scale by caring individuals for caring individuals?

The European Union is the World's largest trading bloc and is run by an unelected executive of power hungry technocrats who sit in the offices of The European Commission. Its existence was planned and executed at the 1955 Rome meeting of 'The Bilderbergers', a secret society of elitist despots whose role is to set the agenda for a super centralised state – and ultimately world – in which the most powerful oligarchs retain 100% control over the evolution of society.

The European Common Market was established in 1958, three years after this Bilderberger meeting. Its co-founder, Jean Monnet, in a 1954 letter to a friend, unashamedly stated outright that the object was to create a 'Federal Europe'. But to do it covertly, making it seem that the ambition was to initiate a process of economic harmonization between the nation states of Europe.

So here we are in 2016, and some are still trying not to notice that 75% of UK rules and regulations have their origins in Brussels, and that the EU rule book itself is a Leviathan of 172,000 pages which nobody has ever read, cover to cover. Oh yes, the lawyers know where to look for the legal definition of 'a cabbage' and other such vital bits of information. They and they only, know where to dig up the right phrase amongst the various treaties which resulted from the 'democratic' voting procedures (read 'fixed' voting procedures) which got us all embroiled in this vast and ugly behemoth over the past five or six decades.

It was during the same post World War Two era that the entities known as The United Nations, The Bretton Woods Agreement, The International Monetary Fund and The World Bank were created. All of these are just part of one mega power structure whose ambition is to run the planet for its own despotic ends, casting aside any and all voices for an independent and self-autonomous society made up of people with values still grounded in honourable traditions of fairness, social cohesion and actual justice. A model of society which ought to be stamped all over the Greens' calling cards.

The European Union is a major step along the road towards George Bush's publicly stated dream of 'A New World Order' and a 'One World Government'. The EU ultimately serves the interests of the Monsanto and Pfizers of the world, but has to appear to be listening and acting on behalf of its constituent countries' peoples.

We know that this is a total sham: a façade to entice us into letting go of any last feeling of sympathy we might hold towards our cultural traditions; the autonomy of the nation state in which we were born; the right to elect a representative of our region to stand in a national parliamentary institution over which we have at least 'some' control.

Greens particularly, ought to have some sixth sense which tells them to buck the trend of top-down international glamour politics and start building again from the grass roots up.

Without that kind of instinct coming to the foreground – and fast – they may as well admit to simply being puppets to a green-wash parody of global trading block proportions.

TTIP with a nice green hat.

Sir Julian Rose is an earlier pioneer of UK organic farming, a writer, international campaigner and President of The International Coalition to Protect the Polish Countryside. He is author of two acclaimed books: *Changing Course for Life* and *In Defence of Life*. They are available by visiting Julian's web site www.changingcourseforlife.info

What is the antimodern condition?

DR. PETER KING

The antimodern condition is not a temporal condition: it is not against *now*. Instead it is a way of looking at the world and understanding our presence within it. In essence it is a statement against progress and the idea of human perfectibility. It is profoundly anti-utopian in that it rejects the idea that we should sacrifice the present for the future. We know that humans are not capable of perfection and that the attempt is not only bound to fail but dangerous. History tells us that the search for human perfectibility is both futile and highly dangerous.

Moreover, we only have one life, and we have ends to meet in the present and so why should we sacrifice this for a hypothetical future?

What are more concrete are the traditions that our culture is based on. These have created the sense of familiar that provides us with some comfort. They are social practices that have stood the test of time and help us to locate ourselves and to maintain a sense of home. We have inherited these traditions from our ancestors and we are charged with passing them on. In this way we link with the sacred and create a continuity of purpose based on what we share with those who are now dead and those yet unborn. These traditions ground us and provide us with a sense of home. They are what keep things close to us and they do this by imbuing our surroundings with meaning. It is in this way that we can understand what is around us.

The antimodern condition is where we accept things as they are. As such, we focus on the surface of things. We do not believe that there are any hidden structures below everyday reality. There are no necessary outcomes dictated by history. History has no purpose and there are no means by which human destiny can be determined.

The antimodernist knows that any attempts to explain history and to reduce all knowledge to the material level are merely strategies to explain outcomes that do not fit preconceived theoretical assumptions.

The world is as we see it and its nature is open to us.

We have no desire to repudiate the past or to destroy those institutions built by our ancestors. We acknowledge that they were building for us as well as for themselves. We reject any sense that we are more advanced than those who preceded us and that we are in any position to judge them. Rather we acknowledge that we are the mere repositories of their achievements and that we would be nothing without them. This leaves us with an epistemological modesty. We are where we are not because of ourselves but due to the labours of others. But we are also aware that there is much we do not know.

We expect to make no discoveries in morality and politics. We do not believe that we will find a new morality or a better means for governing society. Instead we believe that we can understand our actions through the template handed down to us by our ancestors and we can govern ourselves through established forms that have stood the time of prime and proven their utility. We do not seek to avoid all change but see change as a necessary evil, which can only be sanctioned if it protects or corrects existing institutions. Longstanding institutions have a proven purpose and utility and this is to be preferred to any attempt to build new modes of governing based on abstract principles. This means that we should not feel the need to justify or explain the past. Rather we should understand that the past justifies and explains us.

We know that the past is fundamentally different from the future. The past is closed and settled while the future is open to possibility. We know that change will always be unpredictable and quite possibly uncontrollable. We are aware that it is easier to destroy than to create, and that once we start to dismantle longstanding institutions we cannot rebuild them, and that once we set up new institutions we also know that they will develop in ways that we could not possibly predict.

Society has no end point and no purpose other than its own continuance. The purpose of any society is to transmit knowledge and traditions from one generation to the next. It is this knowledge and traditions that allow individuals to flourish and prosper. But this is not because these individuals have licence to remake or to discard what has been inherited. Rather they flourish because of what has been gifted to them, and so we should see each individual as the repository of a society's knowledge and thus it is their duty to preserve this and pass it on.

Our principal aim therefore should be to protect and support our own culture.

The key problem with modernity is that it prevents us from accepting what we are. Instead it forces us always to look forwards and never to accept where we are now. But the failure that naturally follows creates a sense of anxiety. We are told that we should aspire for change, but we tend to fall short and so judge ourselves, and others, harshly. Thus we can say that anxiety is the symbol of modernity. This anxiety manifests itself through egoism, where we put ourselves above others. We are right to recognise our own uniqueness, but we fail to recognise the uniqueness of others. We place ourselves at the centre of things and so tend to use others as commodities. We do things because of what it supposedly says about us, and this arises out of the imperative to aspire.

The antimodern condition is where aspiration is replaced by complacency. Our sanguine acceptance of the world and our place in it allows us to find some comfort. We find solace in the banality of the ordinary and complacency helps us to assuage the implacability of the world. We can face the materiality of the world through our meaningful relationships with things. We find ourselves absorbed by a world of meaningful things and so we find can absorb these elements into our ordinary lives.

So, the very essence of the antimodern condition is acceptance. To be antimodern is to accept what we are and where we are. We know that we need fixed points to relate ourselves to the world. We put down roots and traverse well-worn ruts that keep us located. We depend on a sense of stability and permanence and through this we can be complacent within the world. Acceptance is indeed the opposite of aspiration. It is where we can accommodate others apart from our own needs. We are able to see the world as others do and come to terms with things as they are rather than as we would like them to be.

The rejection of aspiration means that we are able to know when we have enough and to appreciate what it means to have a sufficiency for ourselves. We know that we should limit ourselves and the principle reason for this self-constraint is that others too have needs. In limiting ourselves we allow others the freedom to act. We recognise that society depends on freedom, but that freedom depends on order. This sense of order comes from the constraints that are placed on each of us. The antimodern condition is accepting what we are and where we are.

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