

Exclusive: leaked recording shows what Theresa May really thinks about Brexit

 [theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/exclusive-leaked-recording-shows-what-theresa-may-really-thinks-about-brexit](https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/25/exclusive-leaked-recording-shows-what-theresa-may-really-thinks-about-brexit)

Nick Hopkins and Rowena Mason

10/25/2016

Theresa May privately warned that companies would leave the UK if the country voted for Brexit during a secret audience with investment bankers a month before the EU referendum.

A recording of her remarks to Goldman Sachs, leaked to the Guardian, reveals she had numerous concerns about Britain leaving the EU. It contrasts with her nuanced public speeches, which dismayed remain campaigners before the vote in June.

Speaking at the bank in London on 26 May, the then home secretary appeared to go further than her public remarks to explain more clearly the economic benefits of staying in the EU. She told staff it was time the UK took a lead in [Europe](#), and that she hoped voters would look to the future rather than the past.

In an hour-long session before the City bankers, she also worried about the effect of Brexit on the British economy.

"I think the economic arguments are clear," she said. "I think being part of a 500-million trading bloc is significant for us. I think, as I was saying to you a little earlier, that one of the issues is that a lot of people will invest here in the UK because it is the UK in Europe."



May at an EU council meeting this month. [Jean-Claude Juncker replied 'Pfff' when asked how talks went.](#) Photograph: Alastair Grant/AP

"If we were not in Europe, I think there would be firms and companies who would be looking to say, do they need to develop a mainland Europe presence rather than a UK presence? So I think there are definite benefits for us in economic terms."

Her warning about the importance of the UK's membership of the EU comes in marked contrast to her [positioning in recent weeks.](#)

May said at the Conservative party conference that she wanted to [prioritise reducing immigration](#) over being part of the single market. In her speech, she said British companies needed the “maximum freedom to trade and operate in the single market” but not at the expense of “giving up control of immigration again” or accepting the jurisdiction of judges in Luxembourg.

At Goldman Sachs, May also said she was convinced Britain’s security was best served by remaining in Europe because of tools such as the European arrest warrant and the information-sharing between the police and intelligence agencies.

“There are definitely things we can do as members of the [European Union](#) that I think keep us more safe,” she said.

The disclosures could prove embarrassing for the prime minister, who faced [criticism for lying low during the referendum campaign](#) and offering only luke-warm support for the remain side.

In April, May gave a speech in which she set out some of the reasons for staying in the EU, [warning that it could have an impact on the development of the single market for the rest of the EU](#) if the UK left. But her comments at the Goldman Sachs event a month later go further in warning about the dangers to the British economy from businesses relocating to continental Europe.

During the referendum campaign, May infuriated senior Conservative colleagues on the remain side by largely staying out of the day-to-day arguments in favour of staying in the EU. One of her major pro-remain interventions was overshadowed by an announcement that she would like to take the [UK out of the European convention on human rights](#), which she quickly ditched when running for the party leadership.

Her refusal to participate much in the campaign led Craig Oliver, David Cameron’s former chief of communications, to wonder if she was secretly an “enemy agent” for the other side. However, others have suggested she believed in the arguments for staying in but was keeping her powder dry in case of a pro-Brexit vote.

May went to Goldman Sachs as a guest speaker and answered questions from the floor. In relaxed exchanges, she praised Cameron, the then prime minister, and said he had returned with [important concessions](#) from his EU summit earlier in the year.

She sidestepped a question about whether she wanted to be prime minister and focused on explaining why Britain should stay in the EU. May said: “That is one of my messages in terms of the issue of the referendum, actually we shouldn’t be voting to try to recreate the past, we should be voting for what is right for the future.”

Goldman Sachs confirmed May had spoken to staff but was not paid. She accepted an invitation as part of the bank’s Talks@GS programme, in which high achievers from all walks of life are given a chance to reflect on their experiences and answer questions.

Previous speakers in the series include double Olympic champion Dame Kelly Holmes, David Benioff, the co-creator of the Game of Thrones TV series, and Loyd Grossman, the man behind the eponymous sauces. Some of the speakers are listed online, although May is not.



Theresa May told bankers in a pre-referendum event that Britain should take the lead in Europe.
Photograph: Daniel Leal-Olivas/PA

In the US, the Democratic presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton, made three private speeches to Goldman Sachs staff in 2013, the contents of which she originally refused to divulge during a bitter primary contest with leftwing rival Bernie Sanders. She was paid \$675,000 (£554,000), and [transcripts eventually released by WikiLeaks](#) show her taking a much softer line on Wall Street than she had publicly claimed.

Introduced in her private session at the bank as the “longest-serving home secretary this century”, May spoke in much more explicit terms than ever before about the need for the UK to act from the front in Europe.

“What I do think is that the UK needs to lead in Europe,” she said. “I think over the years the UK has tended to take a view that Europe is something that is done to us, we have taken a rather backseat position to Europe, I think that when we go out there, when we can take the initiative and when we lead, we can achieve things. So I do think we need to make sure we are taking the lead.”

Analysis Theresa May's awkward EU meeting sees little progress on Brexit

She dismissed concerns of senior figures in the military who had claimed that the EU “was making life more difficult for soldiers”.

“Actually very often when people talk about it I suspect, and I haven’t spoken to them, I suspect that they are not talking about the European Union, but the European convention on human rights and the European court of human rights, which is separate from the European Union.”

Tim Farron, the Lib Dem leader, said it was “disappointing that Theresa May lacked the political courage to warn the public as she did a bunch of bankers in private about the devastating economic effects of Brexit”.

He added: “More disappointing is that now she is supposedly in charge, she is blithely ignoring her own warnings and is prepared to inflict an act of monumental self-harm on the UK economy by pulling Britain out of the single market.”

Phil Wilson, a Labour MP speaking for the Open Britain group campaigning for the UK to stay in the single

market, said: “It’s good to know that privately Theresa May thinks what many of us have been saying publicly for a long time – leaving the single market would be bad for businesses and for our economy.

“Now she is prime minister, Theresa May is in an unrivalled position to act on her previous concerns – starting by putting membership of the single market at the heart of her government’s negotiating position.”

Chuka Umunna, the Labour MP and former shadow business secretary, said May was “right then – and it underlines why single market membership should be her ambition now”.

A No 10 spokesman said: “Britain made a clear choice to vote to leave the EU and this government is determined to make a success of the fresh opportunities it presents.

“David Davis made very clear in the House of Commons last week the importance the government places on financial services across the UK in the negotiation to come, as has the chancellor in recent weeks.

“We want a smooth and orderly exit from the European Union, which would be in the interests of both Britain and the EU.”

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 EU referendum and Brexit

Theresa May's awkward EU meeting sees little progress on Brexit

Prime minister received warmer welcome in bilateral meetings, but there may be tougher messages to come



Theresa May leaves the summit. Her message that she wanted the UK to play a full role in the EU until it left was met with silence. Photograph: François Lenoir/Reuters

Anushka Asthana and Jennifer Rankin in Brussels

Friday 21 October 2016 15.10 BST

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“Pfff,” said Jean-Claude Juncker, shrugging his shoulders dismissively.

That was how the [European commission](#) president replied to a journalist asking about Theresa May’s Brexit comments during her first European council meeting.

There was no special event, he added, and he was right.

The prime minister was given just five minutes to set out her view on Britain’s exit from the EU at 1am, after a six-hour session in which the European leaders ate pan-fried scallops, crown of lamb with roast figs, and iced vanilla parfait, while discussing the migration crisis and Russian aggression in Syria.

Her “clear message” that the UK was leaving the EU but would play a full role until that point was met with silence, before the group moved on to a short final discussion on housekeeping issues about how the summit is organised.

Juncker's spluttered response may have been a momentary reaction to an issue he did not want to address; but more likely it was a deliberate attempt to offer broadcasters an enduring image of Britain being sidelined.

And it highlighted how for May the European council, like other events with her counterparts on the continent since the EU referendum, provided a somewhat awkward encounter.



Manfred Weber, leader of the Christian Democrats in the European parliament, said the behaviour of the British government was creating a lot of anger. Photograph: Thomas Trutschel/Photothek/Getty

EU summits are an unusual environment for leaders, as they haggle over texts during dinner meetings without back-up from their advisers.

But one government source said the Brexit decision had put May in “a very odd position” at the summit, far removed from the experience of her predecessors. “It is a very different personal experience from the one Cameron or Brown or Blair or Major had ... She is on her way out and we are on our way out.”

And that is why, in Brussels, Brits feel increasingly like pariahs in the room.

Despite claims from other leaders that the UK would remain a full and involved member of the EU until article 50 is triggered, May's own irritation at being cut out of a meeting of the other 27 leaders in Bratislava last month was [quickly slapped down by European politicians](#).

Manfred Weber, leader of the Christian Democrats in the European parliament, said: “When somebody wants to leave a club, it is not normal that such a member wants to decide about the future of this club. That is really creating a lot of anger about the behaviour of the British government.”

The kindest interpretation of May's short offering on Brexit is that Europe's leaders have more important things to discuss as the migration crisis balloons and Russia's actions in Syria demand a response.

Besides, what is there to discuss, ask diplomats on the fringes of the summit, given that Britain has not yet offered any proposals?

As the European parliament president, Martin Schulz, stressed in a speech to the 28 leaders, there is a “principle of no negotiation without notification” in the EU.

[François Hollande: UK must pay price for Brexit](#)

And yet there has been plenty of room for the French president, [François Hollande](#), to promise that Brexit negotiations would be “hard” and for his German counterpart, Angela Merkel, to say it would be “rough”.

There was also space for European figures to push back against what they regard as an uncompromising speech at the Tory party conference. May's promise that Britain will control immigration while keeping maximum economic access was given short shrift. “The fundamental freedoms are inseparable,” said Schulz.

But the Tory MEP leader, Syed Kamall, hit back, telling journalists in the huge media room of the Justus Lipsius building, headquarters of the European council, that it was just posturing.

No 10 sources stressed that May was a central part of discussions about the atrocities in Syria, working closely with her French and German counterparts.

Behind closed doors, she did receive a warmer welcome. With Taavi Rõivas, Estonia's prime minister, she discussed a strong defence relationship between the two countries. A source at No 10 claimed the leader even stressed that Brexit brought some opportunities.

With Klaus Iohannis, the president of Romania, the focus was on cooperation on counter-terrorism. Both he and Rõivas insisted they wanted a close relationship with the UK, and May said her hope was to guarantee the rights of their citizens already in Britain, if the same could be promised for Britons in their countries.

But British officials are advising May to be cautious about what she can negotiate in bilateral meetings, which can be warm, informal and easy to misinterpret. National leaders often rely on the EU institutions to deliver tough messages on their red lines that they prefer not to deliver in a one-to-one chat.

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EU referendum and Brexit

May: UK will remain at centre of EU decision-making until Brexit

Prime minister angers European leaders at first EU summit by saying Britain wants to maintain central role until it leaves



Prime Minister Theresa May attends the second day of an European Union leaders summit in Brussels Photograph: Getty Images

Matthew Weaver and Anushka Asthana

Friday 21 October 2016 08.41 BST

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[Theresa May](#) has angered European leaders by telling her first EU summit that she expects Britain to be at the centre of European decision-making until Brexit takes place.

In a brief speech at the end of an EU dinner in Brussels, the prime minister said Britain wanted to continue to play a central role in meetings and decisions until it leaves the EU.

The speech angered fellow leaders, according to Manfred Weber, leader of the Christian Democrats in the European parliament. He said: “When somebody wants to leave a club, it is not normal that such a member wants to decide about the future of this club. That is really creating a lot of anger about the behaviour of the British government.

Merkel and Hollande warn May that UK

“If you want to leave please do so, but don’t decide for the [European Union](#).”

faces 'rough' ride with hard Brexit

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He added: “It is not about institutions in Brussels, it’s about whether the British prime minister in the next years is still at the table, and the majority decided to not sit anymore on the centre of the European debate, and that is not good.”

The summit continues on Friday, with a meeting set to take place in the afternoon between May and the president of the European commission, Jean-Claude Juncker.

On Thursday, [May](#) was given a stark warning from both Angela Merkel and François Hollande that Britain faces a “rough” and “hard” negotiation as she pursues a tough approach to Brexit negotiations including a clampdown on immigration.

Late on Thursday night, the prime minister updated her fellow leaders with a short speech on Britain’s plans for leaving the EU after a dinner of scallops, lamb and iced vanilla parfait in Brussels that had been dominated by a tense debate on Russia.



Manfred Weber. Photograph: Thomas Trutschel/Photothek via Getty Images

Weber also threatened the UK with tougher Brexit negotiations if it continues to try to block an increase in European defence funding.

Speaking on BBC Radio 4’s Today programme, he said: “The Brits decided not to stay in. We regret this but we respect this. It is totally understandable if we as Germans, as French, as Italians, think about our long-term project. Please don’t block it, because that would have a lot of impact on the Brexit negotiations if you do so.”

Weber also stood by his call for the foreign secretary, Boris Johnson, to resign, because he said his alternative column for the Telegraph published last week showed he was convinced that the

European Union was “generally a good thing” and yet campaigned against it.

Weber claimed Britain’s difficulties since the Brexit vote had increased faith in the European Union in the rest of [Europe](#).

He said: “For the rest of the European Union I’m extremely positive for the future

because of the development in Great Britain – the pound sterling, the economic damage for Britain and the debate about the future of Scotland. You have lot of internal battles to fight on, and people all over Europe see this. So we have in Germany, Netherlands and France high support for the European Union ... People see it is risky to take the union into question.”

Lord Jonathan Hill, the UK’s former EU commissioner, took issue with Weber’s objection to Britain continuing to play a central role in the bloc. “I think Manfred is wrong about that,” he told BBC Radio 4’s Today programme. “It is important that we do continue to play an active part. Not a part that is going to frustrate things that people want to do, but to show that we want to continue to have a relationship.

“It is so important that over the months and years ahead we have as many bridges as possible and try and work through this in a way that secures what is in our mutual best interest. The danger that I can see is that we end up doing something this is mutually self-harming.”

He added: “I think there is a surprisingly widely held view that Britain might still decide to stay in. That partly explains why previously Donald Tusk talked about ‘its hard Brexit or no Brexit’. Hill said he was “keen to dispel the idea that Britain might somehow stay in, because I’m absolutely clear that we leaving and that we need my former colleagues to understand that.”

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Tusk said he would be happiest if Britain could stay in the EU after all, rowing back on the outcome of the June referendum result.

Despite May’s insistence at dinner that there would be no second referendum, the European council president said his preference would still be to keep 28 members not only for the next month, but also for the

next years and decades.

“After the decision in the UK we have to respect the decision of the referendum. If it is reversible or not, this is in the British hands,” he said, at a press conference in the early hours. “I would be the happiest one if it reversible but we now we have to start our formal works.”

Tusk had earlier warned ongoing resistance in Belgium to an attempt to sign off a Canadian-EU free trade deal that has taken seven years to hammer out could have serious consequences for the bloc.

The deal, known as CETA, “could be our last free trade agreement, if we are not able to

convince people that we negotiate to protect their interests,” he said.

The EU leaders will attempt to reach a conclusion on the issue, which is being held up because of resistance from the Belgian region of Wallonia, on Friday morning. “I hope that Belgium will once again prove that it is a true champion in compromise making, that on Friday we will have an agreement that paves the way for CETA,” he added.

The group will also discuss whether to change rules that prevent the EU from putting higher tariffs on Chinese steel in a bid to prevent dumping. Britain has been resistant to the efforts to remove the so-called lesser duty rule, claiming that it would be a protectionist move.

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 **EU referendum and Brexit**

Theresa May to tell EU's other leaders 'there will be no second referendum'

Prime minister will be allowed to speak on the matter at the end of European council meeting, but allocation signals low priority on agenda



Theresa May and the other 27 leaders are to have a working dinner in Brussels on Thursday evening. Photograph: Alastair Grant/AP

Heather Stewart and Jennifer Rankin

Thursday 20 October 2016 00.02 BST

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Theresa May is to warn her 27 fellow [European Union](#) leaders over a working dinner in Brussels that Britain’s decision to leave is irreversible and there can be no second referendum.

Thursday’s meeting of the European council will be the prime minister’s first opportunity to address the leaders of all the other member states since the UK voted to leave the European Union in June.

Donald Tusk, the European council president, has insisted Britain’s future relationship with the EU will not be on the formal agenda for the two-day meeting, but he will give May the opportunity to set out the “current state of affairs in the country” over coffee at the end of the meal.

A No 10 source said she would tell her fellow EU leaders: “The British people have made a decision and it’s right and proper that that decision is honoured. There will be

no second referendum. The priority now has got to be looking to the future, and the relationship between the UK, once we leave”.

The source added that the prime minister would also seek to reassure the other member states, amid growing fears that Brexit could unleash political and economic instability in Britain and the rest of [Europe](#).

“She wants the outcome at the end of this process to be a strong UK, as a partner of a strong EU,” the source said. “She doesn’t want the process of the UK leaving to be damaging for the rest of the EU. She wants it to be a smooth, constructive, orderly process.”

With speculation rife about how Britain plans to conduct the negotiations, Tusk wants to avoid a discussion and will not invite other EU leaders to respond. May’s remarks are down as an “any other business point”, underscoring that Britain is far down the priority list for the summit despite public interest in the issue.



European council president Donald Tusk is keen to avoid a discussion on Brexit. Photograph: Yves Herman/Reuters

British diplomats in Brussels have been pressing for preparatory talks before May launches article 50, the EU exit process, which [she has promised by the end of March 2017](#). So far their entreaties have been rebuffed and EU diplomats insist the consensus on “no negotiations without notification” is intact.

All 27 member states will have to be involved in the complex two-year negotiations that will reset Britain’s future relationship with the rest of the EU, and the leaders will be

seeking clues about the stance she is likely to take.

Some were alarmed by May's rhetoric at the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, where she insisted she was determined to crack down on immigration and leave the jurisdiction of the European court of justice, which financial markets read as signalling leaving the single market.

Sylvie Goulard, a French liberal member of the European parliament, welcomed May's clarity on when article 50 would be triggered, adding that the EU27 had to defend common principles on the four freedoms: goods, services, capital and people.

"Article 50 foresees the right of a country to leave the EU, it does not foresee the right to change the nature [of the EU]," she told the Guardian. "When it is getting difficult it is more important than ever to stick to some principles."

As May prepared to leave for Brussels, Philip Hammond told MPs that he is [determined to keep Britain's negotiating options open](#) for as long as possible and appeared to criticise his pro-Brexit colleagues for narrowing the available options. He made clear that, [as the Guardian exclusively revealed this week](#), the possibility of retaining membership of the EU's customs union is still on the table.

"[Theresa May] needs the maximum possible space," he said. "My objective in supporting her is to ensure that she has the broadest range of options – properly costed and understood – and the maximum scope to deploy that broad range of options in what might be a wide-ranging negotiation."

In remarks widely interpreted as directed against Liam Fox and David Davis, Hammond said: "I would say that those that are undermining the effort are those that are seeking to close down that negotiating stance, seeking to arrive at hard decisions that we don't need at this stage. Keeping as many areas open, as many options open, as possible is the key to the strongest possible negotiating hand."



Philip Hammond, the chancellor, told the Treasury select committee that he wants to keep Britain's negotiating options open. Photograph: David Gadd/Sportsphoto Ltd./Allstar

Meanwhile, a report from the high-powered House of Lords EU committee has warned the government that simply offering parliament a vote after article 50 has already been triggered amounts to a “rubber stamp”, not effective scrutiny.

Tim Boswell, the committee's chair, said: “Ministers keep saying that they won't offer a running commentary on the negotiations. What they offer instead, namely parliamentary scrutiny after the fact, is in reality not scrutiny at all – it could be no more than a rubber stamp. That is not good enough, given that these are the most important and complex negotiations the government has ever undertaken”.

In Brussels, with Brexit off the formal agenda, EU leaders are due to discuss the migration crisis, and Russia's intervention in the Syrian conflict.

Tusk is also keen to reopen the issue of trade sanctions against countries that dump cut-price products into the EU market, and here, May is likely to irritate some member states by sticking to Britain's free market stance.

Under David Cameron, [the UK was part of a blocking group of member states that stopped the EU](#) reforming the so called “lesser duty rule”, to allow heftier penalties, including on Chinese steel imports. Number 10 sources insisted they would maintain to that position, despite hopes in Brussels that May's more interventionist stance might make her willing to accept higher tariffs.

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 **Theresa May**

Brexit: Theresa May prioritises immigration curbs over single market

Prime minister tells Tory conference that controlling immigration would be key basis for departure from European Union



Theresa May: 'We are not leaving the European Union only to give up control of immigration again.' Photograph: Stefan Rousseau/PA

Peter Walker Political correspondent

@peterwalker99

Sunday 2 October 2016 16.54 BST

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[Theresa May](#) has given her strongest indication yet that the UK’s exit from the EU will lean towards a “hard Brexit”, suggesting that regaining control of immigration was more important than access to the single market.

Addressing the Conservative party conference in Birmingham, the prime minister also promised that all EU workers’ rights would remain protected for as long as she was in power.

Controlling immigration would be the key basis for departure, May said. The government would seek access to the EU’s single market if possible, she said, adding: “But let me be clear. We are not leaving the [European Union](#) only to give up control of immigration again. And we are not leaving only to return to the jurisdiction of the European court of justice.”

Reiterating her announcement that [article 50 – the legal device to begin the process of departure – would be triggered by the end of March](#), May stressed the task of overseeing the negotiations would be entirely up to the government, which would “get on the job” without being delayed or derailed by parliament or devolved administrations.

On the final terms for Britain’s EU exit, May argued that debate over a soft or hard Brexit was “simply a false dichotomy”, mainly put forward by those who had not accepted the result of the referendum.

People were “letting their thinking about our future relationship with the EU be defined by the way the relationship has worked in the past”, May argued.

The negotiations were going to be based on “the freedom to make our own decisions on a whole host of different matters, from how we label our food to the way in which we choose to control immigration”, May said.

She continued: “It is not, therefore, a negotiation to establish a relationship anything like the one we have had for the last 40 years or more. So it is not going to be a Norway model. It’s not going to be a Switzerland model. It is going to be an agreement between an independent, sovereign United Kingdom and the European Union.

Controlling immigration would be the primary concern, May said: “We have voted to leave the European Union and become a fully independent, sovereign country. We will do what independent, sovereign countries do. We will decide for ourselves how we control immigration. And we will be free to pass our own laws.”

Earlier in the speech, the prime minister dismissed the idea of some hardline Conservative Brexiters that the government could walk away from post-article 50 negotiations if they did not go well.

“Everything we do as we leave the EU will be consistent with the law and our treaty obligations, and we must give as much certainty as possible to employers and investors,” she said. “That means there can be no sudden and unilateral withdrawal: we must leave in the way agreed in law by Britain and other member states.”

May told the conference that when the European Communities Act is repealed, the EU law would be converted into British statute, which could be changed or repealed as parliament chose.

She added: “Let me be absolutely clear: existing workers’ legal rights will continue to be guaranteed in law – and they will be guaranteed as long as I am prime minister.”

Earlier on Sunday, May promised to trigger article 50 before the end of March 2017, having also announced plans for a “great repeal bill” to incorporate all EU regulations in UK law as soon as Brexit takes effect.

May told the BBC’s Andrew Marr Show on Sunday that she wanted to give “greater degree of clarity about the sort of timetable we are following” over the process for leaving the EU.

Speaking after May at the conference, the secretary of state for Brexit, David Davis, gave no extra details on how the process might take place, while also stressing that “the clear message from the referendum is this: we must be able to control immigration”.

He said this would be balanced as best as possible with trade: “We’re looking at all the options. And we’ll be prepared for any outcome. But it certainly won’t be to anyone’s benefit to see an increase in barriers to trade, in either direction.

“So we want to maintain the freest possible trade between us, without betraying the instruction we have received from the British people to take back control of our own affairs.”

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David Cameron
The Observer

Books accuse May of leaving Cameron to fight Brexit campaign alone

Authors reveal split in Tory party over EU referendum, with new PM dubbed an ‘enemy agent’



In exposé, David Cameron, right, described the new PM as 'Submarine May' because of her lack of support over Brexit. Photograph: Jonathan Brady/AFP/Getty Images

James Tapper

Sunday 25 September 2016 01.00 BST

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The bitter divisions between [David Cameron](#) and Theresa May over Brexit have been revealed in two books about the EU referendum campaign, in which May is described as “lily-livered” and an “enemy agent” by Cameron and his allies.

Cameron’s director of communications, Sir Craig Oliver, says in his exposé of Downing Street that the former prime minister’s advisers used the nickname “Submarine May” because she never came to the surface to support his efforts.

'Well, that didn't go to plan': Cameron's spin doctor on the Brexit vote

In extracts from Oliver’s book, *[Unleashing Demons: The Inside Story of the EU Referendum](#)*, published in the *Mail on Sunday*, Cameron’s chief spin doctor says the prime minister pleaded with May to “come off the fence” about Brexit.

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Oliver also describes how [Boris Johnson](#) “flip-flopped” between Leave and Remain before finally deciding to join the Brexit campaign, and he called Michael Gove a “political suicide bomber”, who had promised Cameron that he would stay loyal at a family gathering at Chequers at Christmas.

The second book, *All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class*, by *Sunday Times* political editor Tim Shipman, claims May refused to support Cameron's hardline approach to negotiations with EU leaders and rejected his plans to ask for an “emergency brake” on immigration – a stance Cameron described as “lily-livered”.

The two books are likely to emphasise divisions within the Conservative party over Brexit with former Cameron supporters coalescing around the former chancellor, George Osborne, who said last week he wanted to champion the “liberal mainstream majority”.

Oliver's book is based on conversations with Cameron and Osborne, detailed notes from his time at Downing Street, and conversations with other politicians including Jeremy Corbyn, Boris Johnson, [Theresa May](#) and Peter Mandelson.

The former BBC News executive, who joined Cameron's Downing Street team in 2011, says the prime minister became intensely frustrated with May over her unwillingness to declare her position before the referendum campaign.

Oliver says May failed to support Cameron on 13 separate occasions before she did reluctantly “come off the fence” for Remain.

After one conversation, Oliver wrote: “From her point of view, it's a smart strategy, trying to demonstrate she is her own person, allowing her to have her cake and eat it, but it doesn't seem fair on DC, who has treated her well. “Her sphinx-like approach is becoming difficult, with the press questioning which way she will jump. The conversation turns around this being the biggest thing the PM has faced and him not even knowing if the home secretary is backing him.”

After a newspaper report that Cameron would face “last-minute opposition” to the EU reform deal, the prime minister became “visibly wound up”.



Former director of communications for David Cameron Sir Craig Oliver. Photograph: Toby Melville/Reuters

“Suddenly, he picks up his mobile and calls May, asking her to make clear we have been victorious in our plan to crackdown on ‘swindlers and fiddlers’ attempting to come into the UK,” Oliver wrote.

“When he hangs up, he seems to think he’s made an impact. Later, the home secretary issues a statement saying she believes there’s ‘the basis for a deal here’.

“This is interpreted as the moment she climbed down off the fence. After all the concern around her, it all seems to have ended not with a bang, but a whimper.”

Oliver also describes how Johnson vacillated between Leave and Remain, sending conflicting text messages to Cameron the day before he came out for Brexit. “I ask DC what makes him so sure Boris is wobbling. He reads out some parts of the text, including the phrase ‘depression is setting in’, followed by a clear sense that he’s reconsidering. Neither of us is left in any doubt,” he wrote.

“I am struck by two things: Boris is genuinely in turmoil, flip-flopping within a matter of hours; and his cavalier approach.”

The following day Cameron received a final text from Johnson saying he would be backing Leave – just nine minutes before he publicly announced his intentions in a chaotic press conference outside his London home.

Oliver said that Cameron later phoned him to say Johnson’s final message had been

clear that he did not expect to win, believing Brexit would be “crushed”.

“He says Boris is really a ‘confused Inner’, and their previous conversations confirmed that view to him,” he wrote.

Shipman’s account of May’s position tallies with Oliver’s. He says that on 27 November 2014, the day before Cameron made a major speech announcing his plan to renegotiate Britain’s relationship with the EU, the prime minister met May and Philip Hammond, then the foreign secretary, to outline his strategy.

Cameron told them he wanted to ask Angela Merkel and other EU leaders to allow Britain to limit the numbers of EU migrants – but both May and Hammond rejected the idea.

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Published: April 25, 2016

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Theresa May's speech on Brexit: full text

Thank you. Today I want to talk about the United Kingdom, our place in the world and our membership of the European Union.

But before I start, I want to make clear that – as you can see – this is not a rally. It will not be an attack or even a criticism of people who take a different view to me. It will simply be my analysis of the rights and wrongs, the opportunities and risks, of our membership of the EU.

Sovereignty and membership of multilateral institutions

In essence, the question the country has to answer on 23rd June – whether to Leave or Remain – is about how we maximise Britain's security, prosperity and influence in the world, and how we maximise our sovereignty: that is, the control we have over our own affairs in future.



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I use the word “maximise” advisedly, because no country or empire in world history has ever been totally sovereign, completely in control of its destiny. Even at the height of their power, the Roman Empire, Imperial China, the Ottomans, the British Empire, the Soviet Union, modern-day America, were never able to have everything their own way. At different points, military rivals, economic crises, diplomatic manoeuvring, competing philosophies and emerging technologies all played their part in inflicting defeats and hardships, and necessitated compromises even for states as powerful as these.

Today, those factors continue to have their effect on the sovereignty of nations large and small, rich and poor. But there is now an additional complication. International, multilateral institutions exist to try to systematise negotiations between nations, promote trade, ensure cooperation on matters like cross-border crime, and create rules and norms that reduce the risk of conflict.

These institutions invite nation states to make a trade-off: to pool and therefore cede some sovereignty in a controlled way, to prevent a greater loss of sovereignty in an uncontrolled way, through for example military conflict or economic decline.

Article 5 of NATO’s Washington Treaty is a good example of how this principle works: NATO member countries, Britain included, have agreed to be bound by the principle of collective defence. An attack on any single member will, according to the Treaty, be interpreted as an attack on all members, and collective defence measures – including full military action – can be triggered. Britain could find itself bound to go to war because of a dispute involving a different country – a clear and dramatic loss of control of our foreign policy – but on the other hand, NATO membership means we are far more secure from attack by hostile states – which increases our control of our destiny. This is an institutionalised trade-off that the vast majority of the public – and most political leaders, apart from Jeremy Corbyn – think is worthwhile.

Looking back at history – and not very distant history at that – we know what a world without international, multilateral institutions looks like. Any student of the way in which Europe stumbled its way to war in 1914 knows that the confused lines of communications between states, the ambiguity of nations’ commitments to one another, and the absence of any system to de-escalate tension and conflict were key factors in the origins of the First World War. The United Nations may be a flawed organisation that has failed to prevent conflict on many occasions, but nobody should want an end to a rules-based international system and – so long as they have the right remits – institutions that try to promote peace and trade.

How we reconcile these institutions and their rules with democratic government – and the need for politicians to be accountable to the public – remains one of the great challenges of this century. And the organisations of which the United Kingdom should become – and remain – a member will be a matter of constant judgement for our leaders and the public for many years to come.

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We need, therefore, to establish clear principles for Britain's membership of these institutions. Does it make us more influential beyond our own shores? Does it make us more secure? Does it make us more prosperous? Can we control or influence the direction of the organisation in question? To what extent does membership bind the hands of Parliament?

If membership of an international institution can pass these tests, then I believe it will be in our national interest to join or remain a member of it. And on this basis, the case for Britain remaining a member of organisations such as NATO, the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations, for example, is clear.

But as I have said before, the case for remaining a signatory of the European Convention on Human Rights – which means Britain is subject to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights – is not clear. Because, despite what people sometimes think, it wasn't the European Union that delayed for years the extradition of Abu Hamza, almost stopped the deportation of Abu Qatada, and tried to tell Parliament that – however we voted – we could not deprive prisoners of the vote. It was the European Convention on Human Rights.

The ECHR can bind the hands of Parliament, adds nothing to our prosperity, makes us less secure by preventing the deportation of dangerous foreign nationals – and does nothing to change the attitudes of governments like Russia's when it comes to human rights. So regardless of the EU referendum, my view is this. If we want to reform human rights laws in this country, it isn't the EU we should leave but the ECHR and the jurisdiction of its Court.

I can already hear certain people saying this means I'm against human rights. But human rights were not invented in 1950, when the Convention was drafted, or in 1998, when it was incorporated into our law through the Human Rights Act. This is Great Britain – the country of Magna Carta, Parliamentary democracy and the fairest courts in the world – and we can protect human rights ourselves in a way that doesn't jeopardise national security or bind the hands of Parliament. A true British Bill of Rights – decided by Parliament and amended by Parliament – would protect not only the rights set out in the Convention but could include traditional British rights not protected by the ECHR, such as the right to trial by jury.

I also know that others will say there is little point in leaving the ECHR if we remain members of the EU, with its Charter of Fundamental Rights and its Court of Justice. And I am no fan of the Charter or of many of the rulings made by the Court. But there are several problems that do apply to the Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, yet do not apply to the Court of Justice in Luxembourg. Strasbourg is in effect a final appeals court; Luxembourg has no such role. Strasbourg can issue orders preventing the deportation of foreign nationals; Luxembourg has no such power. Unlike the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Treaties are clear: "national security," they say, "remains the sole responsibility of each Member State."

And unlike the ECHR, which is a relatively narrow human rights convention, our membership of the EU involves cooperation – and, yes, rules and obligations – on a much wider range of issues. The country's decision in the referendum is therefore a much more complex undertaking. So I want to spend some time to go through the most important issues we need to consider.



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Arguments that do not count

But before I do that, I want to deal with several arguments that should not count. The first is that, in the twenty-first century, Britain is too small a country to cope outside the European Union. That is nonsense. We are the fifth biggest economy in the world, we are growing faster than any economy in the G7, and we attract nearly a fifth of all foreign investment in the EU. We have a military capable of projecting its power around the world, intelligence services that are second to none, and friendships and alliances that go far beyond Europe. We have the greatest soft power in the world, we sit in exactly the right time zone for global trade, and our language is the world's language. Of course Britain could cope outside the European Union. But the question is not whether we could survive without the EU, but whether we are better off, in or out.

Neither is it true that the EU is the only reason the continent has been largely peaceful since the end of the Second World War. Nor is it about "the kind of country we want to be", as the cliché is usually put. Nor is the decision we face anything to do with our shared cultural heritage with Europe. Of course we are a European country, but that in itself is not a reason to be an EU member state.

And nor is this debate about the past. Really, I cannot emphasise this enough. We are not in 1940, when Europe's liberty was in peril and Britain stood alone. We are not in 1957, when the Treaty of Rome was agreed, Europe was a Group of Six and the Cold War was a generation away from its conclusion. We are not in 1973, when Britain was the "sick man of Europe" and saw the European Economic Community as its way out of trouble. We are not even in 1992, when Maastricht was signed and the reunification of Germany had only just taken place.

We are in 2016, and when we make this important decision, we need to look ahead to the challenges we will face – and the rest of Europe will face – over the next ten, twenty, thirty years and more. Those challenges – about security, trade and the economy – are serious, complex and deserve a mature debate. We need our decision to be the result of a hard-headed analysis of what is in our national interest. There are certainly problems that are caused by EU membership, but of course there are advantages too. Our decision must come down to whether, after serious thought about the pros and the cons, we believe there is more in the credit column than in the debit column for remaining on the inside.

Security

So I want to talk now about those three big, future challenges – security, trade and the economy.

A lot has been said already during this referendum campaign about security. But I want to set out the arguments as I see them. If we were not members of the European Union, of course we would still have our relationship with America. We would still be part of the Five Eyes, the closest international intelligence-sharing arrangement in the world. We would still have our first-rate security and intelligence agencies. We would still share intelligence about terrorism and crime with our European allies, and they would do the same with us.

But that does not mean we would be as safe as if we remain. Outside the EU, for

example, we would have no access to the European Arrest Warrant, which has allowed us to extradite more than 5,000 people from Britain to Europe in the last five years, and bring 675 suspected or convicted wanted individuals to Britain to face justice. It has been used to get terror suspects out of the country and bring terrorists back here to face justice. In 2005, Hussain Osman – who tried to blow up the London Underground on 21/7 – was extradited from Italy using the Arrest Warrant in just 56 days. Before the Arrest Warrant existed, it took ten long years to extradite Rachid Ramda, another terrorist, from Britain to France.

There are other advantages too. Take the Passenger Name Records Directive. This will give law enforcement agencies access to information about the movements of terrorists, organised criminals and victims of trafficking on flights between European countries and from all other countries to the EU. When I first became Home Secretary, I was told there wasn't a chance of Britain ever getting this deal. But I won agreement in the Council of Ministers in 2012 and – thanks to Timothy Kirkhope MEP and the hard work of my Home Office team – the final Directive has now been agreed by the European Parliament and Council.

Most importantly, this agreement will make us all safer. But it also shows two advantages of remaining inside the EU. First, without the kind of institutional framework offered by the European Union, a complex agreement like this could not have been struck across the whole continent, because bilateral deals between every single member state would have been impossible to reach. And second, without British leadership and influence, a Directive would never have been on the table, let alone agreed.

These measures – the Arrest Warrant and PNR – are worthwhile because they are not about grandiose state-building and integration but because they enable practical cooperation and information sharing. Britain will never take part in a European police force, we will never sign up to a European Public Prosecutor, and two years ago we took Britain out of around a hundred unhelpful EU justice and home affairs measures. But when we took that decision, we also made sure that Britain remained signed up to the measures that make a positive difference in fighting crime and preventing terrorism.

The European Criminal Records Information System, Financial Intelligence Units, the Prisoner Transfer Framework, SIS II, Joint Investigation Teams, Prüm. These are all agreements that enable law enforcement agencies to cooperate and share information with one another in the fight against cross-border crime and terrorism. They help us to turn foreign criminals away at the border, prevent money laundering by terrorists and criminals, get foreign criminals out of our prisons and back to their home countries, investigate cases that cross borders, and share forensic data like DNA and fingerprinting much more quickly.

In the last year, we have been able to check the criminal records of foreign nationals more than 100,000 times. Checks such as these mean we have been able to deport more than 3,000 European nationals who posed a threat to the public. The police will soon be able to check DNA records for EU nationals in just fifteen minutes. Under the old system it took 143 days. Last year, the French used information exchanged through the Prüm agreement to locate one of the suspected perpetrators of the November attacks in Paris.

These are practical measures that promote effective cooperation between different European law enforcement organisations, and if we were not part of them Britain would be less safe.

Now I know some people say the EU does not make us more secure because it does not allow us to control our border. But that is not true. Free movement rules mean it is harder to control the volume of European immigration - and as I said yesterday that is clearly no good thing – but they do not mean we cannot control the border. The fact that we are not part of Schengen – the group of countries without border checks – means we have avoided the worst of the migration crisis that has hit continental Europe over the last year. It means we can conduct checks on people travelling to Britain from elsewhere in Europe. And, subject to certain rules and the availability of information, it means we can block entry for serious criminals and terrorists.

I have heard some people say – especially after the terrorist attacks in Brussels last month – that the very existence of extremists and terrorists in Belgium, France and other EU member states is reason enough to leave. But our response to Paris and Brussels cannot be to say that we should have less cooperation with countries that are not only our allies but our nearest neighbours. And anyway leaving the EU would not mean we could just close ourselves off to the world: the 9/11 attacks on New York were planned in Afghanistan. The 7/7 attackers trained in Pakistan. And most of the international terrorism casework that crosses my desk involves countries beyond Europe's borders.

So my judgement, as Home Secretary, is that remaining a member of the European Union means we will be more secure from crime and terrorism.

But now I want to turn to the other challenges we face in the coming decades: trade and the economy.

Trade and the economy

The headline facts of Britain's trade with Europe are clear. The EU is a single market of more than 500 million people, representing an economy of almost £11 trillion and a quarter of the world's GDP. 44 per cent of our goods and services exports go to the EU, compared to five per cent to India and China. We have a trade surplus in services with the rest of the EU of £17 billion. And the trading relationship is more inter-related than even these figures suggest. Our exporters rely on inputs from EU companies more than firms from anywhere else: nine per cent of the 'value added' of UK exports comes from inputs from within the EU, compared to 2.7 per cent from the United States and 1.3 per cent from China.

So the single market accounts for a huge volume of our trade, but if it is completed – so there are genuinely open markets for all services, the digital economy, energy and finance – we would see a dramatic increase in economic growth, for Britain and the rest of Europe. The Capital Markets Union – initiated and led by Britain – will allow finance to flow freely between member states: the first proposal alone could lead to £110 billion in extra lending to businesses. A completed energy single market could save up to £50 billion per year across the EU by 2030. And a digital single market is estimated to be worth up to £330 billion a year to the European economy overall. As Britain is the leading country in Europe when it comes to the digital economy, that is an enormous opportunity for us all.

These changes will mean greater economic growth in Britain, higher wages in Britain and lower prices for consumers – in Britain. But they will not happen spontaneously and they require British leadership. And that is a crucial point in this referendum: if we leave the EU it is not just that we might not have access to these parts of the single market – these parts of the single market might never be created at all.

The economic case for remaining inside the European Union isn't therefore just about risk, but about opportunity. And it isn't just about fear, but about optimism – optimism that Britain can take a lead and deliver more trade and economic growth inside Europe and beyond.

There are risks we need to weigh, of course. And there are risks in staying as well as leaving. There is a big question mark, for example, about whether Britain, as a member state that has not adopted the euro, risks being discriminated against as the countries inside the Eurozone integrate further. When the European Central Bank said clearing houses dealing in large volumes of euros had to be located in the Eurozone, it could have forced LCH.Clearnet to move its euro business out of London, probably to Paris. That was struck down by the EU's General Court, but the threat was clear. And that is why it was so important that the Prime Minister's negotiation guaranteed a principle of non-discrimination against businesses from countries outside the Eurozone.

If we were not in the European Union, however, no such deal could have been agreed. There would be little we could do to stop discriminatory policies being introduced, and London's position as the world's leading financial centre would be in danger. The banks may be unpopular, but this is no small risk: financial services account for more than seven per cent of our economic output, thirteen per cent of our exports, a trade surplus of almost £60 billion – and more than one million British jobs.

But this is all about trade with Europe. What about trade with the rest of the world? It is tempting to look at developing countries' economies, with their high growth rates, and see them as an alternative to trade with Europe. But just look at the reality of our trading relationship with China – with its dumping policies, protective tariffs and industrial-scale industrial espionage. And look at the figures. We export more to Ireland than we do to China, almost twice as much to Belgium as we do to India, and nearly three times as much to Sweden as we do to Brazil. It is not realistic to think we could just replace European trade with these new markets.

And anyway, this apparent choice is a false dichotomy. We should be aiming to increase our trade with these markets in addition to the business we win in Europe. Given that British exports in goods and services to countries outside the EU are rising, one can hardly argue that the EU prevents this from happening. Leaving the EU, on the other hand, might make it considerably harder. First, we would have to replace 36 existing trade agreements we have with non-EU countries that cover 53 markets. The EU trade deals Britain has been driving – with the US, worth £10 billion per year to the UK, with Japan, worth £5 billion a year to the UK, with Canada, worth £1.3 billion a year to the UK – would be in danger of collapse. And while we could certainly negotiate our own trade agreements, there would be no guarantee that they would be on terms as good as those we enjoy now. There would also be a considerable opportunity cost given the need to replace the existing agreements –

not least with the EU itself – that we would have torn up as a consequence of our departure.

Inside the EU, without Britain, the balance of power in the Council of Ministers and European Parliament would change for the worse. The liberal, free-trading countries would find themselves far below the 35 per cent blocking threshold needed in the Council, while the countries that tend towards protectionism would have an even greater percentage of votes. There would be a very real danger that the EU heads in a protectionist direction, which would damage wider international trade and affect for the worse Britain's future trade with the EU.

So, if we do vote to leave the European Union, we risk bringing the development of the single market to a halt, we risk a loss of investors and businesses to remaining EU member states driven by discriminatory EU policies, and we risk going backwards when it comes to international trade. But the big question is whether, in the event of Brexit, we would be able to negotiate a new free trade agreement with the EU and on what terms.

Some say we would strike deals that are the same as the EU's agreements with Norway, Switzerland or even Canada. But with all due respect to those countries, we are a bigger and more powerful nation than all three. Perhaps that means we could strike a better deal than they have. After all, Germany will still want to sell us their cars and the French will still want to sell us their wine. But in a stand-off between Britain and the EU, 44 per cent of our exports is more important to us than eight per cent of the EU's exports is to them.

With no agreement, we know that WTO rules would oblige the EU to charge ten per cent tariffs on UK car exports, in line with the tariffs they impose on Japan and the United States. They would be required to do the same for all other goods upon which they impose tariffs. Not all of these tariffs are as high as ten per cent, but some are considerably higher.

The reality is that we do not know on what terms we would win access to the single market. We do know that in a negotiation we would need to make concessions in order to access it, and those concessions could well be about accepting EU regulations, over which we would have no say, making financial contributions, just as we do now, accepting free movement rules, just as we do now, or quite possibly all three combined. It is not clear why other EU member states would give Britain a better deal than they themselves enjoy.

All of this would be negotiable, of course. For the reasons I listed earlier, Britain is big enough and strong enough to be a success story in or out of the EU. But the question is not whether we can survive Brexit: it is whether Brexit would make us better off. And that calculation has to include not only the medium to long-term effects but the immediate risks as well.

The Union with Scotland and the other risks of Brexit

Now it is sometimes suggested that Brexit could lead to other countries seeking to leave the European Union. Some even believe that Brexit might be a fatal blow to the whole EU project. And some, I know, think that this would be a good thing. But I'm afraid I disagree. The disintegration of the EU would cause massive instability

among our nearest neighbours and biggest trading partners. With the world economy in the fragile state it is, that would have real consequences for Britain.

But if Brexit isn't fatal to the European Union, we might find that it is fatal to the Union with Scotland. The SNP have already said that in the event that Britain votes to leave but Scotland votes to remain in the EU, they will press for another Scottish independence referendum. And the opinion polls show consistently that the Scottish people are more likely to be in favour of EU membership than the people of England and Wales.

If the people of Scotland are forced to choose between the United Kingdom and the European Union we do not know what the result would be. But only a little more than eighteen months after the referendum that kept the United Kingdom together, I do not want to see the country I love at risk of dismemberment once more. I do not want the people of Scotland to think that English Eurosceptics put their dislike of Brussels ahead of our bond with Edinburgh and Glasgow. I do not want the European Union to cause the destruction of an older and much more precious Union, the Union between England and Scotland.

Brexit also risks changing our friendships and alliances from further afield. In particular, as President Obama has said, it risks changing our alliance with the United States. Now I know as well as anybody the strength and importance of that partnership – our security and intelligence agencies have the closest working relationship of any two countries in the world – and I know that it would certainly survive Britain leaving the EU. But the Americans would respond to Brexit by finding a new strategic partner inside the European Union, a partner on matters of trade, diplomacy, security and defence, and our relationship with the United States would inevitably change as a result. That would not, I believe, be in our national interest.

We should remain in the EU

So I want to return to the principles I set out to help us judge whether Britain should join or remain a member of international institutions. Remaining inside the European Union does make us more secure, it does make us more prosperous and it does make us more influential beyond our shores.

Of course, we don't get anything like everything we want, and we have to put up with a lot that we do not want. And when that happens, we should be honest about it. The Common Agricultural Policy, the Common Fisheries Policy, the free movement of people: none of these things work the way we would like them to work, and we need to be smarter about how we try to change these things in future. But that does not mean we have no control over the EU. Britain can and often does lead in Europe: the creation of the single market was driven by Mrs Thatcher, the competitiveness and trade agendas now pursued by the Commission were begun at the behest of Britain and Germany, and I can tell you that on matters of counter-terrorism and security, the rest of Europe instinctively looks towards us. But it shouldn't be a notable exception when Britain leads in Europe: it must become the norm.

And turning to the final test: to what extent does EU membership bind the hands of Parliament? Of course, every directive, regulation, treaty and court ruling limits our freedom to act. Yet Parliament remains sovereign: if it voted to leave the EU, we

would do so. But unless and until the European Communities Act is repealed, Parliament has accepted that it can only act within the limits set by the European treaties and the judgments of the Court of Justice. The freedom to decide whether to remain a member of the EU or to leave will therefore always be in the hands of Parliament and the British people.

I do not want to stand here and insult people's intelligence by claiming that everything about the EU is perfect, that membership of the EU is wholly good, nor do I believe those that say the sky will fall in if we vote to leave. The reality is that there are costs and benefits of our membership and, looking to the years and decades ahead, there are risks and opportunities too. The issues the country has to weigh up before this referendum are complex. But on balance, and given the tests I set earlier in my speech, I believe the case to remain a member of the European Union is strong.

A different European policy

For each of the principles I set out earlier, however, I cannot help but think there would be more still in the credit rather than debit column if Britain adopted a different approach to our engagement with the EU. Because we should be in no doubt that, if we vote to remain, our relationship with the European Union will go on changing. And that change – with new treaties on the horizon – might be for the better or worse.

We all know the game that has been played in the past. Prime Ministers like Tony Blair and Gordon Brown went into the Council of Ministers without a positive agenda for what Britain wanted, their advisers briefed about the five red lines they were not prepared to cross, they gave way on three, and returned triumphant claiming to have stopped the Europeans in their tracks. If we go back to the same way of doing business, Britain will not get what it needs from the EU and the public will grow more cynical and more dissatisfied.

We have become so used to being in this permanently defensive crouch that when it comes to the EU, Britain has forgotten how to stand up and lead. And to those who say Britain cannot achieve what it needs in Europe, I say have more belief in what Britain can do. I say think about how Britain built the single market, and let's be that ambitious – in the British national interest – once again.

Let us set clear objectives to complete the single market, to pursue new free trade deals with other countries, to reform the European economy and make it more competitive. Let's work to ensure the countries of Europe can protect their borders from illegal immigrants, criminals and terrorists. Let's try to make sure that more of our European allies play their part in protecting western interests abroad.

We need to have a clear strategy of engagement through the Council of Ministers, seek a bigger role for Britain inside the Commission, try to stem the growth in power of the European Parliament, and work to limit the role of the Court of Justice. We need to work not only through the EU's institutions and summits, but by also pursuing more bilateral diplomacy with other European governments.

And it is time to question some of the traditional British assumptions about our engagement with the EU. Do we stop the EU going in the wrong direction by shouting on the sidelines, or by leading and making the case for taking Europe in a better direction? And do we really still think it is in our interests to support

automatically and unconditionally the EU's further expansion? The states now negotiating to join the EU include Albania, Serbia and Turkey – countries with poor populations and serious problems with organised crime, corruption, and sometimes even terrorism. We have to ask ourselves, is it really right that the EU should just continue to expand, conferring upon all new member states all the rights of membership? Do we really think now is the time to contemplate a land border between the EU and countries like Iran, Iraq and Syria? Having agreed the end of the European principle of “ever closer union”, it is time to question the principle of ever wider expansion.


Stand tall and lead

So this is my analysis of the rights and wrongs, the opportunities and risks, of our membership of the EU – and the reasons I believe it is clearly in our national interest to remain a member of the European Union.

And I want to emphasise that I think we should stay inside the EU not because I think we're too small to prosper in the world, not because I am pessimistic about Britain's ability to get things done on the international stage. I think it's right for us to remain precisely because I believe in Britain's strength, in our economic, diplomatic and military clout, because I am optimistic about our future, because I believe in our ability to lead and not just follow.

But I know what a difficult decision this is going to be for a lot of people. I know, because of the conversations I have with my constituents every Saturday. Because of the discussions I've had with members of the public – and members of the Conservative Party – up and down the country. And because I myself have already gone through the process of carefully weighing up what is in Britain's interests, now and in the future, before making my decision. Ultimately, this is a judgement for us all, and it's right that people should take their time and listen to all the arguments.

So as we approach polling day, and as the country starts to weigh up its decision, let us focus on the future. Instead of debating the peripheral, the ephemeral and the trivial, let both sides of the argument debate what matters. And let us do so in a serious and mature way. Let us concentrate on Britain's national interest. Britain's future. Our influence around the world. Our security. And our prosperity. Let us make our decision with the great challenges of the future in mind. Let us have more confidence in our ability to get things done in Europe. This is about our future. Let us, Great Britain, stand tall and lead.

 [ECONOMIC POLICY](#) [EU](#) [EU REFERENDUM](#)
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[THERESA MAY MP](#) [TRADE](#)

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98 comments for: Theresa May's speech on Brexit: full text

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JohnJCMoss -58p · 2440471 weeks ago

Unfortunately for Ms May, accepting the jurisdiction of the ECHR is written into the Good Friday Agreement so it would require a renegotiation of that Agreement for this to happen.

It is also the case that the reach of the Charter of Fundamental Rights is now being extended by the ECJ, so remaining under its jurisdiction will increasingly harm the UK's position should we remain members of the EU.

Sorry, but the central theme of this is that there is some sort of special "British solution" which can be fabricated to keep us in the EU. Just as with Dave's Dodgy Deal, I'm afraid there isn't. Whatever concessions we think we have won will be obliterated by the steamroller of European integration in a few short years.

Reply

▶ **3 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

[Report](#)



fordprefect100 87p · 2440471 weeks ago

I did a quick search for the word "migration" in this speech.
It appears twice.

Given:


- the content of Ms May's recent conference speech on immigration
- the fact that as members of the EU, we cannot limit immigration from EU member states
- the fact that immigration is the number 1 topic of concern amongst voters
- and the fact that immigration is one of her primary responsibilities as Home Secretary

her failure to discuss this topic at all means she has lost all credibility and should

be ignored for the remainder of the EU debate.

Reply

Report

 **MalcolmDunn** 131p · 2440471 weeks ago

I notice Theresa does not apologise for her failure to hit the immigration target she agreed to and proposes absolutely no solutions to address that. In most other walks of life a senior executive who did that would probably be sacked.

She also does not say why she thinks that all security cooperation will end when we leave the EU . It is in other countries as much as ours interest for it to continue.

All in all I think a rather lightweight speech that adds nothing to the debate.

Reply

► **2 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **Keith_N** 120p · 2440471 weeks ago

I understand there are about 30 Conservative MPs, such as David Davis and Dominic Grieve, who support human rights and our membership of the ECHR - so even with the UKIP MP, the government do not have a majority to repeal the HRA.

Unless it can bully or bribe most of those 30, the Conservatives will simply have to try to get a bigger majority in 2020.

Reply

► **2 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **Connaught** 85p · 2440471 weeks ago

Immigration-A crash on Marr yesterday and now this! So what was this once hopeful Leadership contender talking about last October? Birmingham in October is going to be interesting!

Reply

Report

 **RalphBaldwin** 104p · 2440471 weeks ago

Boris Johnsons article in today's Telegraph is excellent, one of his best so far in this campaign

Our party is owning the debate, is playing the most fundamental part of the campaign whether you are a remainer or an outer.

Reply

► **7 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **Nige122** 70p · 2440471 weeks ago

"Do we stop the EU going in the wrong direction by shouting on the sidelines, or by leading and making the case for taking Europe in a better direction? "

I agree with Mrs May. Better to be in the tent.

Reply

► **7 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **AngryofSE1** 92p · 2440471 weeks ago

As Guido pints out - she rubbishes the "Remain" economic argument. I expect that's going to go down like a pint of cold sick with Dave and his friends.

Reply

Report

 **Connaught** 85p · 2440471 weeks ago

We've been inside the tent for over forty years and the train is moving ever faster in the wrong direction. Influence?-pull the other one!

Reply

Report

 **EMTurner** 140p · 2440471 weeks ago

I do apologise for asking this, but what is she referring to in the phrase 'exporters rely on inputs from EU companies more than firms from anywhere else: nine per cent of the 'value added' of UK exports comes from inputs from within the EU'?

Reply

► **2 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **FanofAI** 92p · 2440471 weeks ago

She was very poor on Marr yesterday. This is little better. Another potential Leader falls way by the wayside.

Reply

Report


 **EMTurner** 140p · 2440471 weeks ago

Isn't there going to be a fairly big problem with Remaining and getting out of the ECHR (and indeed ECJ, neither of whom have been kind to us)?

Reply

► **1 reply** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **Treforion** 54p · 2440471 weeks ago

Theresa May, and indeed other Conservatives, need to remind themselves, that it was Winston Churchill who in 1948 advocated a European 'Charter of Human Rights' in direct response to the horrors of the Nazi regime and the Second World War. It was British lawyers, the Tory Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, MP, in particular, who primarily drafted what was later to become the European Convention. The Convention established the European Court of Human Rights and the UK was the first country to sign up to the Convention.

This great European institution was therefore the creation of some of the greatest Conservative Party political thinkers of the modern era.

Why modern Conservatives would wish to dismantle and indeed destroy the work of Churchill and other great Tory political thinkers is beyond me !

Reply

► **7 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **PeterBuss** 105p · 2440471 weeks ago

Way off beam this morning Mrs May. Utterly disagree with leaving the ECHR.

Reply

Report


 **PeterBuss** 105p · 2440470 weeks ago

Seemed to me that Theresa was genuflecting toward the Remain camp in order not to damage her Leadership prospects. If so I guess she has done them no favours at all as she will also have upset Remainers like yours truly!

Reply

► **5 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **surepaywill** 76p · 2440470 weeks ago

With Remain now certain to win, interesting how Number 10 are putting more definite references to the UK joining the Euro zone as in May's speech.

Brussels wil regard a strong Remain vote as the starting bell for the next stage of EU integration as outlined in the 5 President Report.

Key to this is ending the 2 tier nature of the EU and requiring the UK as the strongest economy outside the Euro to join. This has always been regarded as essential to the Euro's survival by the Commission - so we can expect rapid action on this by Brussels after June 23rd. for ensuring the Eurozone survives.

All the major Banks see the UK's adoption of the Euro as a natural conclusion of the Remain vote - and very profitable for them -hence their major contributions to the Remain campaign.

Reply

► **7 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

 **Kitty !** 109p · 2440470 weeks ago

I offer no apologies when I say politicians with their own boas agendas (on both sides) should just be quiet.

No one listens to them, trusts them or respects them.

We should have the opinions of business leaders and economists but even they have their own political leanings.

At the end of the day I wont be about bleatings from a n echo chamber or mawkish tales of patriotism

its about jobs, growth and individuals with their own lives who are not all looking under the bed for ' immigrants'.

Reply

Report

 **Lindsay_Jenkins** 98p · 2440470 weeks ago

Every one of Mrs May's sentences is specious. I give up. Is she really Home Secretary?

Reply


Report

 **AlexanderTheHog** 70p · 2440470 weeks ago

I respect Theresa May immensely, and have found her charming in person. It is a good speech in which she analysis better than any other Remainian has the arguments to stay with the EU system. These are pretty thin gruel though to justify the costs and the burdens.

Reply

Report

 **David_Cooper** 89p · 2440470 weeks ago

"So as we approach polling day, and as the country starts to weigh up its decision, let us focus on the future. Instead of debating the peripheral, the ephemeral and the trivial, let both sides of the argument debate what matters. And let us do so in a serious and mature way. Let us concentrate on Britain's national interest. Britain's future. Our influence around the world. Our security. And our prosperity. Let us make our decision with the great challenges of the future in mind. Let us have more confidence in our ability to get things done in Europe. This is about our future. Let us, Great Britain, stand tall and lead."

Ironical, perhaps, that if we took the last paragraph of her speech in complete isolation from what preceded it, we might feel that it had been delivered by one of the intellectual members of the Brexit campaign.

Could she be hedging her bets, just in case "events, dear boy, events" might give her the chance to change her mind, even at this late stage?

Reply

Report

 **cf2012** 98p · 2440470 weeks ago

"Do we stop the EU going in the wrong direction by shouting on the sidelines, or by leading and making the case for taking Europe in a better direction?"

The European Union is focussed on expanding and deepening integration in the Eurozone. Currently that is not all countries, but every country except the UK and Denmark is legally obliged to join it. The EU has been willing to damage several economies and is destroying one to maintain the integration of the eurozone. It has shown clearly that the EZ matters more than the wealth and health of even larger member nations (eg, Italy and Spain). We can't draw (current) non-Euro countries into our orbit because they are bound by treaty to join the Euro. The EZ is planning common treasury and fiscal management. The UK hasn't even got a vote on Euro measures, and in Cameron's Agreement, undertakes an obligation not to frustrate any measures taken by the Euro group (which legally is all but the UK and Denmark). How do we "lead" when we are completely outside the scope of the only thing that matters to the EU institutions? We are also outside Schengen (the other thing that matters).

Does the Government plan at some time after Remain to join the Euro so the UK can "lead"?

If so, we should be told. If not, what does "leading" mean in that situation?

"And do we really still think it is in our interests to support automatically and

unconditionally the EU's further expansion?"

That was originally a British plan! The aim was to expand the EC/EU membership with the intention of binding the old Eastern Bloc in to free trading relationships, and also to reduce the supranational direction of EC/EU policy. It was confounded by the linking of expansion with the conversion of the EC to the EU and the introduction of monetary union.

► **7 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

ALEXANDRA_1 89p · 2440470 weeks ago

Complete and utter rubbish from one of many that have no shame selling our Country down the river.

Report

ProudTory 61p · 2440470 weeks ago

She is talking balderdash !

"Laws which govern citizens in this country are decided by politicians from other nations who we never elected and can't throw out."

Mrs May.....TAKE CONTROL>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>VOTE EXIT.

Report

deleted4262146 35p · 2440470 weeks ago

All Cabinet Members who support 'Remain' must, as a matter of principle, resign, if Brexit wins the day. That goes for you too Theresa May. We must campaign for this to happen. Brexit will mean a new direction for our country and will need new people to lead it.

► **8 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

Report

AmpfieldAndy 115p · 2440470 weeks ago

If we were still on a Shakespearean theme, I would describe the speech as "much ado about nothing". We are not going to stand tall and lead in Europe. We have tried that for 40 years and the only PM to achieve anything worthwhile was Mrs Thatcher. The failed re-renegotiation that preceded the referendum campaign achieved nothing and now plays no part in the Remain campaign it was such a failure. The economy is a no win debate for Remain with the EU having no Single Market for services upon which the UK economy is dependant and the UK having a £ 60bn trade deficit with the EU but a trade surplus with the RoW, including the USA. You can't make a credible case for sovereignty with so much law being determined in Brussels and imposed on the UK and UK common law being completely disregarded. A British Bill of Rights would be totally meaningless with the UK still subject to EU directives and the ECHR was an ill thought out throw away to try and appease Leavers that can't be enacted without renegotiating the Good Friday Agreement. It's a nonsense to talk about increased security with no

effective control over own borders and immigration and with the EU states that border non-EU countries having such porous borders themselves. Co-operation with the EU would still continue post Brexit just as it did prior to the UK joining the old EEC. As my old schoolmasters used to write regularly in my school reports "must try harder".

[Reply](#) ▶ **2 replies** · active 2440470 weeks ago

[Report](#)



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 **EU referendum and Brexit**

UK must leave European convention on human rights, says Theresa May

Critics condemn home secretary’s remarks, which put her on collision course with cabinet colleagues

 [Patrick Stewart sketch: what has the ECHR done for us?](#)

Theresa May: Britain should leave European convention on human rights

Anushka Asthana and Rowena Mason

Monday 25 April 2016 19.54 BST

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This article is **6 months old**

Britain should withdraw from the European convention on human rights regardless of the [EU referendum](#) result, Theresa May has said, in comments that contradict ministers within her own government.

The shadow justice secretary, Charles Falconer, said he was appalled by the home secretary's comments, which he described as "so ignorant, so illiberal, so misguided", while the Tory MP and former attorney general Dominic Grieve said he was disappointed by the intervention.

May used a speech in central London to argue that it was the [convention](#), rather than the EU, that had caused the extradition of extremist Abu Hamza to be delayed for years and that had almost stopped the deportation of Abu Qatada.

"The ECHR can [bind the hands of parliament](#), adds nothing to our prosperity, makes us less secure by preventing the deportation of dangerous foreign nationals – and does nothing to change the attitudes of governments like Russia's when it comes to human rights," she said.

Theresa May shows Michael Gove to the other exit on the right

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"So regardless of the EU referendum, my view is this: if we want to reform human rights laws in this country, it isn't the EU we should leave but the ECHR and the jurisdiction of its court."

The home secretary, who is seen as a potential future Tory leader, used the speech to express support for membership of the EU, but also to reach out to the Eurosceptic wing of the party.

But her comments place her on a collision course with cabinet colleagues, including the justice secretary, Michael Gove, who has put forward plans for a British bill of rights based on Britain staying inside the convention.

Downing Street conceded that the comments did highlight “differences” between May and David Cameron, although it warned against overstating them.

“The PM has made clear he wants to see reform of the ECHR and has ruled absolutely nothing out if we don’t achieve that,” his official spokeswoman said. But sources admitted that the government’s position did not currently require withdrawal from the ECHR.

Labour’s Falconer accused May of “sacrificing Britain’s 68-year-old commitment to human rights for her own miserable Tory leadership ambitions”.

“That is so ignorant, so illiberal, so misguided,” he said. “Ignorant because you have to be a member of the ECHR to be a member of the EU. The [European Union](#) itself agrees to abide by the ECHR. Illiberal because ... there has to be a source external to a government determining what human rights are.

“And misguided because it will so damage the standing of the UK, a country that above all plays by the rules and that is going around the world saying we should comply as a world with human rights. This is so, so appalling.”

But it was not only Labour that reacted negatively to May’s speech. Grieve said he was “disappointed because it shows a lack of understanding of the positive impact the ECHR is for the EU”.

He accused May of underestimating the positive impact that the Abu Qatada case had on the Jordanian justice system and pointed out that both he and Abu Hamza were removed.

He said he was pleased that May was backing the EU, but warned: “Pulling out of the ECHR would be damaging to Britain’s international standing. It is a central pillar of foreign policy.”

[Patrick Stewart sketch: what has the ECHR ever done for us?](#) Warning: contains strong language.

May used the rest of her speech to attempt to strike a balanced and “optimistic” tone in favour of EU membership, with comments that will be interpreted as swipes at the prime minister, including a claim that the UK had forgotten how to lead in [Europe](#).

The home secretary denied that the UK was too small to thrive alone, saying: “I do not want to stand here and insult people’s intelligence by claiming that everything about the EU is perfect, that membership of the EU is wholly good, nor do I believe those that say the sky will fall in if we vote to leave.”

May appeared to concede that immigration from within the EU could not be controlled as long as Britain was a member, but she insisted that there was no “single bullet” to fix the immigration problem. She took a harder line than the government on the issue of new countries joining the EU, including Albania, Serbia and Turkey – in comments seized on by Vote Leave.

“We have to ask ourselves, is it really right that the EU should just continue to expand, conferring upon all new member states all the rights of membership?” said May, who also argued that leaving the EU could stop the development of the single market, lose investors, push Britain backwards on international trade and threaten the UK.

“I do not want the [European Union](#) to cause the destruction of an older and much more precious union, the union between England and Scotland,” she said.

May argued that no country had ever been totally sovereign and added that international institutions always required compromises.

David Davis, the Conservative former shadow home secretary, said it was “extraordinarily inconsistent” to want to withdraw from the ECHR and stay within the EU.

“She seems not to have understood the power and forcefulness of the European court of justice,” he said. “If we pulled out of the ECHR, for which we would get much opprobrium, and stay in the EU, all that would happen is the the European court of justice will do exactly what the ECHR did before but with more force, because the charter of fundamental rights is the European convention plus, not minus. Logically, it does not stand up.”

He said it would be better to leave the EU and stick with the European Convention on Human Rights.

“The ECHR did have an expansionist phase and that broadly came to an end after parliament’s decision on prisoner votes. Staying within the convention is sensible, having a British Bill of Rights is sensible, but staying within the EU you get all that and more,” he said.

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European court of human rights

Cameron refuses to rule out leaving European convention on human rights

PM tells Commons he would rule out ‘absolutely nothing’ if UK failed to secure right to veto judgments from European court



David Cameron gestures as he responds to a question in the House of Commons. Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

Nicholas Watt Chief political correspondent

Wednesday 3 June 2015 15.07 BST

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David Cameron has confirmed that he would be [prepared to withdraw from the European convention on human rights](#) if a series of proposed changes to Britain's human rights laws are rejected by Strasbourg.

The prime minister told the former Conservative chief whip Andrew Mitchell, a leading member of the ["Runnymede Tories"](#) who are committed to upholding British membership of the convention, that he rules out "absolutely nothing".

No 10 later confirmed that Cameron remained committed to a [policy document](#), outlined last year by former justice secretary Chris Grayling, to withdraw from the convention if parliament failed to secure the right to veto judgments from the European court of human rights.

Lord Falconer of Thoroton, the shadow justice secretary, warned that leaving the convention would inflict “incredible damage” to Britain’s standing in the world.

The prime minister clarified his thinking after Mitchell asked him to rule out withdrawing from the convention, which was drawn up by future lord chancellor David Maxwell Fyfe in the wake of the second world war to uphold human rights across Europe.

Mitchell said: “There is considerable concern on both sides of the house at the proposition that Britain might withdraw from the European convention on human rights. Will he take the opportunity today to make clear that he has no plans for us to do so?”

Cameron said he had no plans to withdraw from the convention but indicated that he wanted to keep the option in reserve if his proposals for change were rejected by the [European court of human rights](#), which upholds the convention. The prime minister told his former chief whip: “Let me be very clear about what we want, which is British judges making decisions in British courts. And also the British parliament being accountable to the British people.

“Now our plans, set out in our manifesto, don’t involve us leaving the European convention on human rights. But let’s be absolutely clear. If we can’t achieve what we need – and I’m very clear about that when we’ve got these foreign criminals committing offence after offence and we can’t send them home because of their right to a family life – that needs to change. And I rule out absolutely nothing in getting that done.”

Michael Gove, the new justice secretary, is planning to implement two key manifesto pledges: scrapping the [Human Rights Act](#) and asserting the supremacy of the UK’s supreme court over Strasbourg. The move, which is designed to “break the formal link” between British courts and Strasbourg and to make the supreme court the “ultimate arbiter of human rights matters in the UK”, has been delayed until the EU referendum, which is due to be held by the end of 2017.

Senior Tories have also warned No 10 that Gove will face a crippling revolt unless he drops the “deeply offensive” threat by Grayling in his document last year to withdraw from the convention if the reforms are rejected by Strasbourg. No 10 confirmed that the Grayling document remained party policy. A spokesman said: “We have published a policy paper on this and that makes clear our view is that we are confident, we think we can get a better deal within the convention but we don’t rule anything out if that is not possible.”

Falconer said: “The prime minister raises yet again the spectre of leaving the European convention on human rights. Withdrawing from the convention would do incredible

damage to the UK’s standing in the world and it is shocking that the government should dither over this issue.

“David Cameron and Michael Gove need to get their act together and tell us whether or not they intend to take us out of the convention. What is clear is that if they suggest scrapping people’s human rights protections, Labour will oppose them all the way.”

Meanwhile, the prime minister came under pressure on his proposed renegotiations of Britain’s EU membership terms when the German vice-chancellor challenged his plans. Sigmar Gabriel, the economy minister in Germany’s grand coalition government, made his remarks after talks between centre-left leaders in Paris.

Reuters cited Gabriel as saying: “Our idea for Europe is quite the opposite of the idea of Mr Cameron. Mr Cameron wants to reduce Europe back to a single market. Mr Cameron wants to have a level playing field for companies but no level playing field for people. [Yet] Europe is made for people.”

Gabriel is chairman of Germany’s SPD party, which is more hostile to Cameron than the centre-right CDU party led by Angela Merkel. But senior CDU figures have voiced concerns in recent days about Cameron’s plans to demand a revision of the Lisbon treaty to underpin his proposed reforms.

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Lord Justice Leveson

British judges not bound by European court of human rights, says Leveson

Judge insists UK courts no longer automatically defer to ECHR’s rulings, while lawyers rail against Britain’s potential repeal of the Human Rights Act



'We've matured in our approach to the European court, and that court has learnt from us as well,' said Sir Brian Leveson, speaking at the Hay festival on Sunday. Photograph: PA

Jessica Elgot

Sunday 24 May 2015 22.46 BST

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This article is 1 year old

Sir Brian Leveson, the judge most famous for his report into press ethics, has said he does not consider himself “crushed by the European jackboot” when it comes to applying the European convention of human rights in British courts.

Leveson told an audience at the Hay festival that UK judges were not bound by the decisions of the [European court of human rights](#) (ECHR), and instead were only obliged to take the Strasbourg court’s rulings “into consideration”.

Leveson said the convention was “devised in large part by British lawyers, reflecting British values, to ensure that the activities that we’d all heard about during the second world war never repeated themselves”.

Though cautious not to expressly pass judgment on any future or current lawmaking

around the subject, the president of the Queen's bench division intimated that ECHR rulings were less binding than is widely perceived.

"When the convention became a part of UK law it allowed our citizens to cite the convention directly. That doesn't mean we are bound [by its decisions] ... the legislation only requires us to take them into account," he said.

"So if it looks like a [British] statute could have one of two meanings, and one complies with the convention and one doesn't, we are required by statute to follow the one that complies with our convention responsibilities."

Leveson said that a British judge would never automatically defer to Strasbourg and that UK courts had "matured" in recent years in their consideration of ECHR decisions.

"The oath that every British judge takes is to try every case according to the laws and usage of the realm, which means we have to comply with the law as set out by parliament and higher courts. Parliament has required us to take account of European decisions."

"I do not consider myself 'crushed by the European jackboot'," he said, repeating the phrase used by the panel's chair, Prof Philippe Sands. "I believe that we as British judges are doing no more than parliament requires of us [in applying the convention in Britain], I have no doubt about that at all.

He added: "Some early decisions by the then House of Lords did veer to the view that 'Strasbourg has spoken, that's the end of it', but we've matured in our approach to the European court, and that court has learnt from us as well."

Other members of the panel, all human rights lawyers, were far more outspoken in their criticism of a potential UK withdrawal from the European convention and the possible repeal of the [Human Rights Act](#).

Conservatives to push forward on manifesto and scrap Human Rights Act

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Thomas Buergenthal, a former judge at the international criminal court in the Hague, said he reacted with "sadness and surprise" to those arguing that Britain should leave and said the UK's absence would be to the detriment of European citizens, particularly those with less scrupulous governments.

"I think the UK doesn't have to be in the convention because the legal system in Britain is bad," Buergenthal said. "The presence is so important because Britain influences other judges from other countries and how the law operates."

Richard Goldstone, the South African judge who was a United Nations prosecutor at the international criminal tribunal, said it would be a “great pity for the United Kingdom to set this precedent”.

“It would enable some autocratic set of leaders around the world to say, ‘why should we be bound by international law if this great font of democracy, the United Kingdom, is pulling out?’”

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 **EU referendum and Brexit**

David Cameron prepared to break with Europe on human rights

‘Nuclear option’ on table if Strasbourg rejects UK plan as prime minister seeks right to veto European court of human rights judgments



David Cameron and Angela Merkel meeting in Berlin, Germany on 29 May. Photograph: NurPhoto/Rex Shutterstock

Nicholas Watt Chief political correspondent

Tuesday 2 June 2015 00.01 BST

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David Cameron is to keep open the “nuclear option” of withdrawing from the European convention on human rights.

The prime minister is prepared to break with the convention, drawn up by British lawyers in the wake of the second world war, if [the Strasbourg-based court](#) refuses to accept reforms that are designed to break the link with the European court of human rights.

The Guardian understands that the prime minister still sees merit in a proposal, outlined last year by the then justice secretary Chris Grayling, to withdraw from the European convention if parliament failed to secure the right to veto judgments from the [court](#).

Cameron wants to keep the Grayling option in reserve, to be deployed at a later date if Strasbourg baulks at government plans to scrap the [Human Rights Act](#) and assert the

supremacy of the UK's supreme court over Strasbourg in the second half of the parliament.

The move, which is designed to ensure the UK's highest court remains the "ultimate arbiter of human rights", is to be delayed until after the referendum on Britain's EU membership which is due to take place by the end of 2017.

The prime minister, who has been told that he currently does not have the numbers on the Tory benches for his changes, believes he would overly complicate his task if he sought to change Britain's human rights laws at the same time as renegotiating the terms of Britain's EU membership. The convention is not part of the EU, although many Eurosceptics regard the EU and the 47-strong council of [Europe](#) human rights watchdog, which oversees the ECHR, with equal suspicion.

The delicate challenge faced by the prime minister on his EU renegotiations was highlighted when Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European commission, said Cameron's referendum was designed to "dock" the UK permanently in the EU. In an interview with [Süddeutsche Zeitung](#), Juncker said: "Brexit is also a question that does not arise, it is not what the British are seeking. Cameron wants to dock his country permanently to Europe."

The remarks by Juncker will fuel fears among Eurosceptics that the prime minister is determined to keep Britain in the EU regardless of the outcome of his negotiations with his fellow leaders.

Cameron sought to show that he will act in an even-handed way when he invited two of the strongest Eurosceptics on the frontbench to sit on a new cabinet committee that will oversee the EU negotiations. Iain Duncan Smith, the work and pensions secretary, and Sajid Javid, the business secretary, will be two of eight cabinet ministers on the committee that will also be attended by the Europe minister David Lidington.

The committee will examine the legal advice to ministers that one of the prime minister's key demands – imposing a four-year ban on EU migrants claiming in-work benefits – will need to be underpinned by treaty change. [Angela Merkel](#), the German chancellor, told the prime minister last week that treaty change would not be impossible.

But Norbert Röttgen, the chairman of the Bundestag's foreign affairs committee, who is a Merkel ally, said it was unrealistic to envisage revising the Lisbon treaty in time for UK referendum.

The prime minister is adamant that he will succeed in his EU negotiations. Downing Street would then press ahead with scrapping the [Human Rights Act](#) after the EU

referendum following a consultation that will be launched by Michael Gove, the new justice secretary, by this autumn.

In the first stage, Gove would deliver two goals outlined in the Conservative general election manifesto: scrapping the act and ensuring that the [UK supreme court](#) would have the ultimate say over human rights in the UK.

Downing Street clarified No 10's thinking amid reports that Cameron had ruled out a UK withdrawal from the European convention on human rights. The prime minister's spokeswoman said the government would scrap the act, break the link between the ECHR and the UK and make the "supreme court in the UK the ultimate arbiter of human rights in the UK".

[Philip Hammond](#), the foreign secretary, said that withdrawing from the convention was not on the table. He told MPs: "That is not the proposal – the proposal is to ensure that our obligations in respect of compliance with the human rights agenda are overseen by judges in this country in the context of what is happening in this country. The justice secretary is looking now at how best to deliver that in a way that is acceptable to the British people and compliant with our obligations under international law."

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FEATURES

Michael Gove vs the lawyers - his toughest fight yet

The Justice Secretary's new mission makes education reform look like child's play

Daniel Hannan



They have taken to calling themselves the 'Runnymede

Listen

Daniel Hannan

Tories': those Conservative MPs who, knowing that David Cameron has a majority of just

12, want to sabotage his manifesto commitment to end the direct jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights in Britain.

Well, sorry chaps, but that name is taken. The actual Runnymede Tories — that is, the Conservatives elected to Runnymede Borough Council — will be gathering next month on the bank of the Thames to celebrate the anniversary of Magna Carta. They — we, I should say, since I'm closely involved with the project — will be unveiling a large bronze statue of the Queen, symbolising both 800 years of the Crown's acceptance of the rule of law and the fact that the principles of Magna Carta have been disseminated, during the present monarch's reign, across many continents and archipelagos.

The statue will be unveiled by the Speaker of the House of Commons because, in this country, constitutional freedom has always been bound up with parliamentary supremacy. Magna Carta, uniquely in its time, contained its own enforcement mechanism. Instead of leaving future sovereigns to interpret its provisions, it created a form of conciliar government which evolved directly into the Parliament that meets at Westminster today.

Next week, the flesh-and-blood Queen will come before that Parliament to unveil her government's programme. Among other things, she will announce its intention to scrap the Human Rights Act, which gives direct effect to the rulings of the Strasbourg court in Britain. An unprecedented Kultur-kampf will follow. The new Justice Secretary, Michael Gove, will call forces into the field against him that make the educationalists who opposed him before look like primary school children.

23 May 2015 9:00 AM

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The origins of the row go back to 1998, when Tony Blair decided to place the European Court of Human Rights at the apex of the British legal system. Since then, we have had a stream of controversial rulings: suspected terrorists escaping extradition, illegal migrants evading repatriation, prisoners demanding the vote. The case against the ECHR is well-rehearsed: it cheapens democracy by allowing jurists to advance an agenda that would be rejected at the ballot box.

But what is the case for it? To what problem was the 1998 Human Rights Act supposed to be a solution? Were British citizens being routinely expropriated, or interned in camps, or forcibly transferred to remote exile? In truth, there was no crisis in civil freedoms; but there was a crisis in democratic legitimacy, which Tony Blair's legislation exacerbated.

As powers shifted from MPs to judges, the gap between rulers and ruled widened. Many of the grumbles that people have about the ECHR — the sense, above all, that it rewards scoundrels and punishes honest citizens — derive from the tendency of British and European judges to stretch the Convention far beyond what most of us regard as the plain meaning of its words.

Abu Qatada, for example, managed to fend off repatriation to Jordan for years despite having entered the UK illegally with forged papers. He was able to do so not because there was any danger of his facing torture there, but because some of the evidence against him may have been derived by torture. The Afghan hijackers who arrived after diverting a flight to Stansted at gunpoint are still in Britain, living on benefits, despite the best attempts of four successive home secretaries to remove them.

Then there are the less high-profile cases that may not be so familiar to cerebral *Spectator* readers, but which have dominated tabloid front pages, such as that of the Libyan alcoholic with 78 convictions

who has escaped deportation because the selling of alcohol is largely banned in Libya. I think it's fair to say that this is not what the authors of the Convention had in mind when they prohibited 'inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment'.



Michael Gove's argument is not that the Euro-judges are always wrong. It's that they are engaging in judicial activism. Consider the row over whether prisoners should have the vote. Whatever view you take — and, to be honest, it's not a question that especially exercises me — it's surely a political rather than a judicial issue. Some prisoners can vote now (those on remand, for example) while, even under the ECRH's proposal, serious felons would remain disenfranchised. So all we're arguing about is precisely where to draw the line. How is that a question of fundamental human rights rather than of policy?

Judicial activism is far older than the ECHR, of course. In 1717, Bishop Hoadly told George I, 'Whoever hath an absolute authority to interpret written or spoken laws, it is he who is truly the lawgiver to all intents and purposes, and not the person who wrote or spake them.' But the 1998 legislation has given judges far more scope to ignore what the law says in favour of what they think the law ought to say.

They're quite brazen about it. Listen to the current British judge on the ECHR, a lifelong Eurocrat called Paul Mahoney: 'The open textured language and the structure of the Convention leave the Court significant opportunities for choice in interpretation. In exercising that choice, particularly when faced with changed circumstances and attitudes in society, the Court makes new law.'

Changed attitudes in society, eh? As determined by whom? Not,

obviously, by the electorate as a whole, or the law would have been altered. But a Strasbourg-based judge believes he has a direct connection with ‘attitudes in society’ that the MPs we elect lack.

This is what the courteous Aberdonian will be up against. A multi-million pound industry has grown up around human rights law — an industry which, before 1998, didn’t exist. For many lawyers, this is not an abstract question of where to find the balance between legislature and judiciary; it is a practical question of where to find the money for school fees and mortgages.

Plenty of commentators will tell you that David Cameron never wanted to be in this position. The pledge to scrap the Human Rights Act, they aver, was just a bargaining chip, something to be dropped during the expected coalition talks — perhaps in exchange for Lib Dem acquiescence in the EU referendum. Now he’s unexpectedly stuck with his own manifesto. Well, I suppose it’s possible. Still, one of the PM’s more attractive characteristics is that when he finds himself in an unwanted situation, he doesn’t sulk; he does his best to make it work. Hence his choice of minister.

Michael Gove is the politest man in Christendom, and one of the cleverest. He was able to make big and benign changes to our schools, every one of them resisted by the educational establishment. But his new task is of a different order of magnitude. A powerful, articulate and wealthy lobby will set out to destroy Mr Gove’s reputation. It will be the more vicious because it believes itself to be right. No man, especially not a barrister, is a villain in his own eyes. The grandees of Matrix Chambers won’t say, even in their innermost thoughts, ‘This awful Gove chap is threatening our livelihood!’ They will say, and will genuinely believe, that they are defending the independence of the judiciary against an overweening minister.

The Prime Minister must now stand by his minister — and, for that matter, by his manifesto. He must do so because what he said before the election was true: Blair's Human Rights Act does not guarantee human rights. The direct applicability of ECHR rulings does not make us more free. If you doubt me, look at some of the other countries that cheerfully sign up to it: Albania, Russia, Azerbaijan.

The problem is not with the rights listed in the Convention; it's with their interpretation by a biased and politicised overseas court. If Parliament wishes to replicate these freedoms in a domestic statute, fine. It has done similar things before. But there is an elegant compromise here, which may save Mr Gove some effort.

Instead of passing a wholly new Act (the Conservative manifesto promised a clunkily named 'British Bill of Rights and Responsibilities'), why not start with the greatest and most sublime such charters already on the books, namely the English Bill of Rights and its Scottish sister, the Claim of Right? Why not update those statutes, which Burke called 'our only security for law and liberty', adding the contents of the European Convention in the form of amendments? Let an amended Bill of Rights guarantee freedom of speech and expression, freedom of assembly and association, freedom of religion and worship, freedom of contract and employment, freedom from oppressive, arbitrary or punitive taxation.

Let it enshrine the equality of all citizens before the law, regardless of race or sex. Let it declare the supremacy of Parliament over foreign institutions and law-codes — thereby making EU directives and regulations advisory pending domestic implementing legislation.

Such legislation wouldn't simply salvage our sovereignty and our

democracy. It would secure the very thing that the Matrix Chambers types are fretting about. What, after all, is the average person's immediate reaction to the phrase 'human rights'? It's unlikely to be a positive one which, given the literal meaning of the words, is telling. (The same is true of the phrase 'health and safety', and for similar reasons.)

Tilting the balance back toward the MPs whom we can hire and fire will go some way to rescuing the reputation of both MPs and judges. It will revive the sense that we stand as guarantors of our own freedoms. As Aldous Huxley put it, 'Liberties are not given — they are taken'.

When addressing civil servants at his new department, Gove told them that responsibility for the justice system is the heaviest responsibility of all because 'it's upon the rule of law that civilisation depends'. He continued: 'It's the rule of law that protects the weak and the vulnerable from oppression. It's the rule of law that safeguards the rights and the liberties of every individual. It's the rule of law that allows business to proceed, individuals to become prosperous and homes to be secure.'

He might have added that it was the rule of law that lifted first England and then the United Kingdom above the run of nations, starting in June 1215. Our rights, as the slightly mawkish Kipling poem puts it, 'were won at Runnymede'. Eight centuries on, we don't need them bestowed on us by Strasbourg. Michael Gove will be making that argument with his customary erudition and charm. The rest of us should raise our voices in his support.

Listen to Daniel Hannan on the BBC Today Programme discussing a possible exit from the EU:



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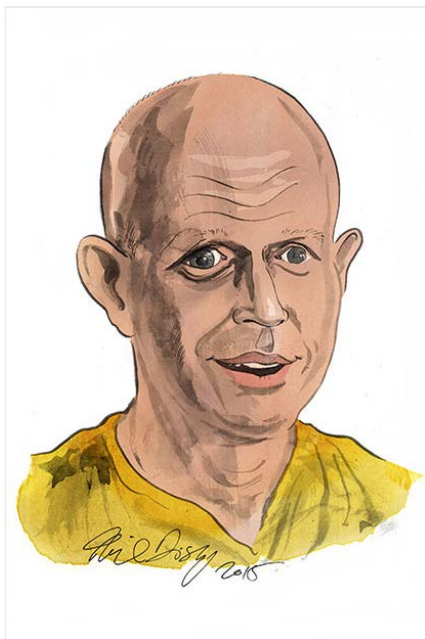
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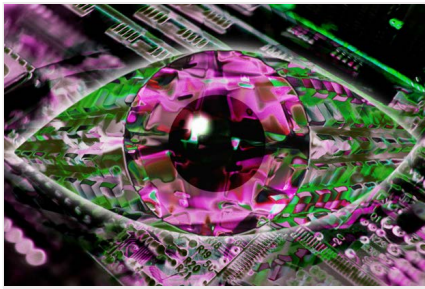
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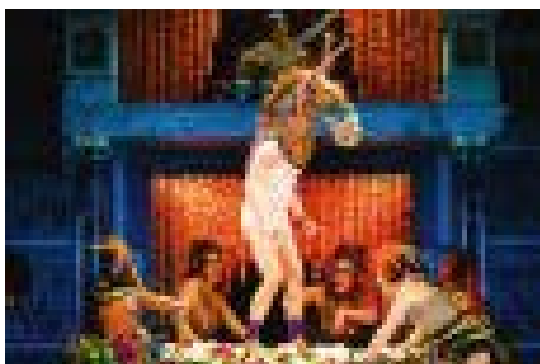
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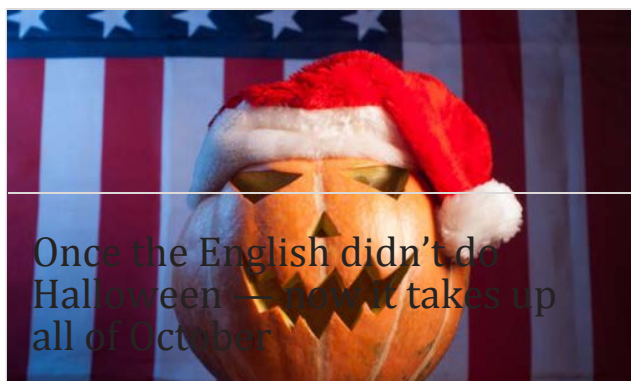


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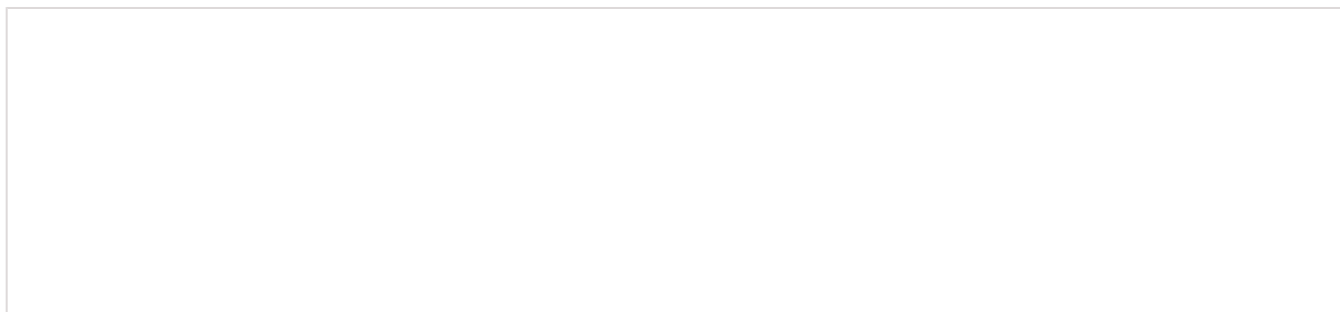


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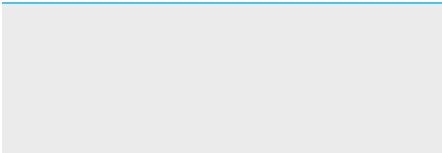
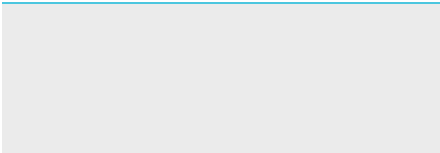
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EU referendum and Brexit

EU referendum: David Cameron wins Theresa May's backing

Home secretary gives prime minister welcome boost by approving proposals set out by European council president Donald Tusk



Theresa May supported the 'very good wins' regarding freedom of movement. Photograph: Mark Thomas/Rex/Shutterstock

Nicholas Watt, Ian Traynor and Rowena Mason

Wednesday 3 February 2016 07.17 GMT

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Theresa May has indicated that she is prepared to campaign in favour of Britain's membership of the EU, boosting [David Cameron](#) hours after Brussels tabled proposals for a new settlement following months of talks with the UK.

The home secretary, at one time considered as a possible leading figure in the no campaign, described the proposals as the "basis for a deal".

A referendum could be held in June if EU leaders sign up to the package at a summit later this month or at a special extra summit which would have to be held no later than the first week of March.

"EU free movement rules have been abused for too long and EU law has stopped us deporting dangerous foreign criminals," May said in a statement.

“That is plainly wrong and it is encouraging that the commission has agreed with the UK that we should take action to address these two issues.

“So we have made progress and negotiations continue ahead of the February council. As the prime minister has said, more work needs to be done, but this is a basis for a deal.”

Downing Street was delighted with the statement by the home secretary which was issued after the prime minister declared that, [“hand on heart”](#), the Tusk proposals showed that he had achieved his Conservative manifesto commitments on the EU.

Earlier on Tuesday, Tusk had outlined a new settlement of the UK within the EU.

The headline proposal was to introduce an emergency brake that allows EU member states to restrict access to in-work benefits for up to four years if they can prove that their welfare system is facing intolerable pressure.

Jean-Claude Juncker, the European commission president, indicated to the prime minister in Brussels last week that Britain would have the right to apply the emergency brake if the people voted yes in a referendum , although its use would have to be approved by the European council.

The prime minister said that Tusk’s proposals on the most contentious area of welfare reforms amounted a “very strong and powerful package” and added that he would even recommend EU membership if the UK were already outside the union.



European council president Donald Tusk Photograph: Emmanuel Dunand/AFP/Getty Images

Speaking at the Siemens rail automation plant in Chippenham, Wiltshire, Cameron said: "Sometimes people say to me, 'If you weren't in the EU would you opt to join the EU?' And today I can give a very clear answer: if I could get these terms for British membership, [I sure would opt in to be a member of the EU](#) because they are good terms and they are different to what other countries have."

Cameron stressed that the deal was not yet finalised and would have to be approved by EU leaders at their next summit on 18-19 February. A referendum can be held by the government's preferred date of 23 June if the prime minister finalises his negotiations at the mid-February summit or a second special summit in the first week of March.

But the prime minister indicated he would campaign for a yes vote in the referendum if the proposals are not dramatically altered and are approved by the rest of the EU. "I can say, hand on heart, I have delivered the commitments that I made in my manifesto," said Cameron.

"If, for instance, you pay people £5,000 to £10,000 additional to their wages then that is a draw to Britain ... This is a negotiation, this has to be agreed by 27 other countries. This is something no government or country has managed before: to start a renegotiation from a standing start, bring it to a conclusion and hold a referendum."

Tusk also proposed:

- To declare that members of the eurozone will "respect the rights and competences of the non-participating member states" as they make decisions.
- A statement that member states are not bound to accept further moves towards deeper European integration, re-interpreting the EU's historic commitment to create an "ever closer union of the peoples of Europe".
- A series of measures to promote economic competitiveness across the EU.

Jeremy Corbyn criticised Cameron for giving his response to Tusk outside parliament, and briefing the media rather than going to the House of Commons to answer questions.

The Labour leader said the prime minister was showing a lack of respect for MPs and appeared more concerned with internal Tory splits on the EU than explaining the deal to parliament.

"He is trumpeting the sovereignty of national parliaments as part of the renegotiations, but doesn't seem to respect the sovereignty of this parliament by coming here today to make the statement he should have done," Corbyn said.

Cameron will give a statement to MPs on Wednesday after prime minister's questions. His absence from the Commons for Corbyn's urgent question meant he was not there to hear Eurosceptic Tory backbenchers pour scorn on his deal.

Most of the cabinet's heavyweight members are now expected to line up behind the prime minister to campaign in favour of continued EU membership in the referendum, which he hopes to hold on 23 June.



Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn was critical of David Cameron's absence from the House of Commons. Photograph: Jonathan Brady/PA

Michael Gove, the justice secretary, and Boris Johnson, a member of the Tories' political cabinet and London mayor, are likely to join Cameron, George Osborne, and the foreign secretary, Philip Hammond, in campaigning to keep Britain in the EU.

But eurosceptic cabinet ministers planning to campaign for an exit expressed unease that the prime minister was effectively campaigning in favour of EU membership while they are denied the right to speak in favour of a British exit until the negotiations have been concluded.

Chris Grayling, one of at least four cabinet ministers who are expected to campaign to leave the EU, is understood to have raised his concerns at the cabinet on Tuesday morning shortly before the publication of the Tusk documents.

The prime minister is understood to have told Grayling that his rules for the suspension of collective responsibility should remain in place to avoid the spectacle of ministers

tying themselves up in knots.

Grayling will be joined by Iain Duncan Smith, the work and pensions secretary, Theresa Villiers, the Northern Ireland secretary, and John Whittingdale, the culture secretary. Priti Patel, who attends cabinet as employment minister and first made her name as a member of the late James Goldsmith's Referendum party, may also campaign to leave.

Eurosceptic Tories expressed their unease when Corbyn tabled an urgent question to the prime minister that was answered by the Europe minister, David Lidington. Sir Bill Cash, the veteran Eurosceptic, asked Lidington: "How can the minister justify this pint-sized package as a fundamental change in the relationship between the United Kingdom and the [European Union](#)?"

Steve Baker, the leader of the Conservative leave campaign, told parliament that ministers were "polishing poo" by trying to present the EU offer as a victory, while his colleague Jacob Rees-Mogg said Downing Street appeared to be trying to "make bricks out of straw".

Liam Fox, the former defence secretary who is one of the most senior Tories campaigning for a vote to leave the EU, dismissed the Tusk offer. "The very limited set of demands from our government have been watered down by the EU in every area," Fox said. "None of these changes even come close to the fundamental changes promised to the public."

The home secretary has decided to support EU membership after achieving "very good wins" on the abuse of free movement during nine trips to Brussels since September. May was pleased with a crackdown on "sham marriages" – non-EU citizens who marry a UK citizen have no automatic right to settle in the UK. But if they marry a citizen of another EU country they can move to the UK under the EU's rules on free movement.

On Tuesday night Barack Obama spoke to Cameron on the phone, and received an update on negotiations over the United Kingdom's membership in the EU. "The president reaffirmed continued US support for a strong United Kingdom in a strong European Union," the White House said.

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 **Hillary Clinton**

WikiLeaks releases what appear to be Clinton's paid Wall Street speeches

The WikiLeaks emails appear to show Clinton enjoying warm relations with Wall Street and admitting she is ‘far removed’ from ordinary citizens



Excerpts from the speeches, long kept under wraps, came to light when WikiLeaks published what it claimed were hacked campaign emails. Photograph: Timothy A Clary/AFP/Getty Images

David Smith in Washington

Saturday 8 October 2016 01.43 BST

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Speeches given by Hillary Clinton to major Wall Street banks including Goldman Sachs, long kept under wraps, have [apparently been released by WikiLeaks](#).

The lucrative speeches were a recurring theme in the Democratic primary campaign; accused of being the pro-Wall Street establishment candidate, Clinton faced calls from rival Bernie Sanders to make them public.

The speech excerpts came to light on Friday when [WikiLeaks](#) published thousands of what it claimed were hacked emails from her campaign chairman, John Podesta. The campaign refused to confirm or deny the authenticity of the documents.

On Friday the US government [formally named](#) the Russian government as responsible for recent hacks intended to interfere with the US presidential election.

Glen Caplin, Clinton campaign national spokesman,

US officially accuses Russia of hacking DNC and interfering with election

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said: “We are not going to confirm the authenticity of stolen documents released by Julian Assange [of WikiLeaks] who has made no secret of his desire to damage [Hillary Clinton](#). Guccifer 2.0 has already proven the warnings of top national security officials that documents can be faked as part of a sophisticated Russian misinformation campaign.”

If genuine, the WikiLeaks emails appear to show Clinton enjoying warm relations with Wall Street and admitting she is “far removed” from ordinary citizens.

In a speech to the Goldman Sachs Builders And Innovators Summit in October 2013, Clinton apparently complained of “a bias” against successful people in Washington that stops them retaining their wealth.

“Well, you know what Bob Rubin said about that,” she is quoted as saying. “He said, you know, when he came to Washington, he had a fortune. And when he left Washington, he had a small ...”

A man called Mr Blanfein interjected: “That’s how you have a small fortune, is you go to Washington.”

Clinton resumed: “You go to Washington. Right. But, you know, part of the problem with the political situation, too, is that there is such a bias against people who have led successful and/or complicated lives. You know, the divestment of assets, the stripping of all kinds of positions, the sale of stocks. It just becomes very onerous and unnecessary.”

At the same event, Clinton appears to have discussed the 2008 financial crisis. “I think that there’s a lot that could have been avoided in terms of both misunderstanding and really politicizing what happened with greater transparency, with greater openness on all sides, you know, what happened, how did it happen, how do we prevent it from happening?”

The former senator and secretary of state added: “The people that know the industry better than anybody are the people who work in the industry” – a comment that might have been seized on by Sanders, who was demanding that Wall Street not be given a free hand to self-regulate.

After leaving office as secretary of state in 2013, Clinton embarked on a career speaking to banks, securities firms and other financial institutions. Tax returns show that her minimum fee was \$225,000 per speech.

In remarks to Banco Itaú, she allegedly spoke in favor of trade in a tone very different from her current opposition to Barack Obama's Trans-Pacific Partnership. "My dream is a hemispheric common market, with open trade and open borders, some time in the future with energy that is as green and sustainable as we can get it, powering growth and opportunity for every person in the hemisphere.

Trump supporters split on his opposition to TPP, survey shows

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"Secondly, I think we have to have a concerted plan to increase trade already under the current circumstances, you know, that Inter-American Development Bank figure is pretty surprising. There is so much more we can do, there is a lot of low-hanging fruit but businesses on both sides have to make it a priority and it's not for governments to do

but governments can either make it easy or make it hard and we have to resist, protectionism, other kinds of barriers to market access and to trade"

The excerpts were revealed in a January 2016 email from Tony Carrk, research director of the Clinton campaign, to Podesta and other senior campaign officials, highlighting politically sensitive sections.

In an address to Goldman Sachs/BlackRock in April 2014, Clinton allegedly said: "I am not taking a position on any policy, but I do think there is a growing sense of anxiety and even anger in the country over the feeling that the game is rigged. And I never had that feeling when I was growing up. Never. I mean, were there really rich people, of course there were. My father loved to complain about big business and big government, but we had a solid middle-class upbringing.

"We had good public schools. We had accessible healthcare. We had our little, you know, one-family house that, you know, he saved up his money, didn't believe in mortgages. So I lived that. And now, obviously, I'm kind of far removed because the life I've lived and the economic, you know, fortunes that my husband and I now enjoy, but I haven't forgotten it."



Clinton had previously faced calls from rival Bernie Sanders to make the speeches public. Photograph: Melanie Maxwell/AP

In a speech to the National Multi-Housing Council in April 2013, she admitted a need for a private and public position on policy. “Politics is like sausage being made,” she said. “It is unsavory, and it always has been that way, but we usually end up where we need to be. But if everybody’s watching, you know, all of the back room discussions and the deals, you know, then people get a little nervous, to say the least. So, you need both a public and a private position.”

And in a speech for General Electric’s global leadership meeting in Boca Raton, Florida, in January 2014, Clinton acknowledged that anyone who runs for president must raise vast sums of money. “I would like it not to be so expensive,” she said. “I have no idea how you do that.

“I mean, in my campaign – I lose track, but I think I raised \$250m or some such enormous amount, and in the last campaign President Obama raised 1.1bn, and that was before the Super Pacs and all of this other money just rushing in, and it’s so ridiculous that we have this kind of free-for-all with all of this financial interest at stake, but, you know, the supreme court said that’s basically what we’re in for.

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From: tcarrk@hillaryclinton.com

To: jpalmieri@hillaryclinton.com, john.podesta@gmail.com,
slatham@hillaryclinton.com, kschake@hillaryclinton.com,
creynolds@hillaryclinton.com, bfallon@hillaryclinton.com

Date: 2016-01-25 00:28

Subject: HRC Paid Speeches

Team,

Attached are the flags from HRC's paid speeches we have from
HWA. I put
some highlights below. There is a lot of policy positions that
we should
give an extra scrub with Policy.



In terms of what was opened to the press and what was not, the Washington Examiner got a hold of one of the private speech contracts (her speeches to universities were typically open press), so this is worth a read <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/clintons-speeches-are-cozy-for-wall-streeters-but-closed-to-journalists/article/2553294/section/author/dan-friedman>

CLINTON ADMITS SHE IS OUT OF TOUCH

*Hillary Clinton: "I'm Kind Of Far Removed" From The Struggles Of The Middle Class "Because The Life I've Lived And The Economic, You Know, Fortunes That My Husband And I Now Enjoy." *"And I am not taking a position on any policy, but I do think there is a growing sense of anxiety and even anger in the country over the feeling that the game is rigged. And I never had that feeling when I was growing up. Never. I mean, were there really rich people, of course there were. My father loved to complain about big business and big government, but we had a solid middle class upbringing. We had good public schools. We had accessible health care. We had our little, you know, one-family house that, you know, he saved up his money, didn't believe in mortgages. So I lived that. And now,

obviously, I'm

kind of far removed because the life I've lived and the economic, you know,

fortunes that my husband and I now enjoy, but I haven't forgotten it."

[Hillary Clinton Remarks at Goldman-Black Rock, 2/4/14]

CLINTON SAYS YOU NEED TO HAVE A PRIVATE AND PUBLIC POSITION ON POLICY

*Clinton: "But If Everybody's Watching, You Know, All Of The Back Room

Discussions And The Deals, You Know, Then People Get A Little Nervous, To

Say The Least. So, You Need Both A Public And A Private Position."*

CLINTON: You just have to sort of figure out how to -- getting back to that

word, "balance" -- how to balance the public and the private efforts that

are necessary to be successful, politically, and that's not just a comment

about today. That, I think, has probably been true for all of our history,

and if you saw the Spielberg movie, Lincoln, and how he was maneuvering and

working to get the 13th Amendment passed, and he called one of my favorite

predecessors, Secretary Seward, who had been the governor and senator from

New York, ran against Lincoln for president, and he told Seward, I need

your help to get this done. And Seward called some of his lobbyist friends who knew how to make a deal, and they just kept going at it. I mean, politics is like sausage being made. It is unsavory, and it always has been that way, but we usually end up where we need to be. But if everybody's watching, you know, all of the back room discussions and the deals, you know, then people get a little nervous, to say the least. So, you need both a public and a private position. And finally, I think -- I believe in evidence-based decision making. I want to know what the facts are. I mean, it's like when you guys go into some kind of a deal, you know, are you going to do that development or not, are you going to do that renovation or not, you know, you look at the numbers. You try to figure out what's going to work and what's not going to work. [Clinton Speech For National Multi-Housing Council, 4/24/13]

CLINTON TALKS ABOUT HOLDING WALL STREET ACCOUNTABLE ONLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS

*Clinton Said That The Blame Placed On The United States Banking System For

The Crisis "Could Have Been Avoided In Terms Of Both Misunderstanding And Really Politicizing What Happened."* "That was one of the reasons that I started traveling in February of '09, so people could, you know, literally yell at me for the United States and our banking system causing this everywhere. Now, that's an oversimplification we know, but it was the conventional wisdom. And I think that there's a lot that could have been avoided in terms of both misunderstanding and really politicizing what happened with greater transparency, with greater openness on all sides, you know, what happened, how did it happen, how do we prevent it from happening? You guys help us figure it out and let's make sure that we do it right this time. And I think that everybody was desperately trying to fend off the worst effects institutionally, governmentally, and there just wasn't that opportunity to try to sort this out, and that came later."

[Goldman Sachs AIMS Alternative Investments Symposium, 10/24/13]

*Clinton: "Even If It May Not Be 100 Percent True, If The Perception Is That Somehow The Game Is Rigged, That Should Be A Problem For All Of

Us." *"Now,
it's important to recognize the vital role that the financial
markets play
in our economy and that so many of you are contributing to. To
function
effectively those markets and the men and women who shape them
have to
command trust and confidence, because we all rely on the
market's
transparency and integrity. So even if it may not be 100 percent
true, if
the perception is that somehow the game is rigged, that should
be a problem
for all of us, and we have to be willing to make that absolutely
clear.
And if there are issues, if there's wrongdoing, people have to
be held
accountable and we have to try to deter future bad behavior,
because the
public trust is at the core of both a free market economy and a
democracy."

[Clinton Remarks to Deutsche Bank, 10/7/14]

*CLINTON SUGGESTS WALL STREET INSIDERS ARE WHAT IS NEEDED TO FIX
WALL
STREET*

*Clinton Said Financial Reform "Really Has To Come From The
Industry
Itself." *"Remember what Teddy Roosevelt did. Yes, he took on
what he saw
as the excesses in the economy, but he also stood against the

excesses in
politics. He didn't want to unleash a lot of nationalist,
populistic
reaction. He wanted to try to figure out how to get back into
that balance
that has served America so well over our entire nationhood.
Today, there's
more that can and should be done that really has to come from
the industry
itself, and how we can strengthen our economy, create more jobs
at a time
where that's increasingly challenging, to get back to Teddy
Roosevelt's
square deal. And I really believe that our country and all of
you are up
to that job." [Clinton Remarks to Deutsche Bank, 10/7/14]

*Speaking About The Importance Of Proper Regulation, Clinton
Said "The
People That Know The Industry Better Than Anybody Are The People
Who Work
In The Industry."* "I mean, it's still happening, as you know.
People are
looking back and trying to, you know, get compensation for bad
mortgages
and all the rest of it in some of the agreements that are being
reached.
There's nothing magic about regulations, too much is bad, too
little is
bad. How do you get to the golden key, how do we figure out what
works?
And the people that know the industry better than anybody are

the people
who work in the industry. And I think there has to be a
recognition that,
you know, there's so much at stake now, I mean, the business has
changed so
much and decisions are made so quickly, in nano seconds
basically. We
spend trillions of dollars to travel around the world, but it's
in
everybody's interest that we have a better framework, and not
just for the
United States but for the entire world, in which to operate and
trade."

[Goldman Sachs AIMS Alternative Investments Symposium, 10/24/13]

CLINTON ADMITS NEEDING WALL STREET FUNDING

*Clinton Said That Because Candidates Needed Money From Wall
Street To Run
For Office, People In New York Needed To Ask Tough Questions
About The
Economy Before Handing Over Campaign Contributions. *"Secondly,
running for
office in our country takes a lot of money, and candidates have
to go out
and raise it. New York is probably the leading site for
contributions for
fundraising for candidates on both sides of the aisle, and it's
also our
economic center. And there are a lot of people here who should
ask some
tough questions before handing over campaign contributions to

people who

were really playing chicken with our whole economy." [Goldman Sachs AIMS Alternative Investments Symposium, 10/24/13]

*Clinton: "It Would Be Very Difficult To Run For President Without Raising

A Huge Amount Of Money And Without Having Other People Supporting You

Because Your Opponent Will Have Their Supporters."* "So our system is, in

many ways, more difficult, certainly far more expensive and much longer

than a parliamentary system, and I really admire the people who subject

themselves to it. Even when I, you know, think they should not be elected

president, I still think, well, you know, good for you I guess, you're out

there promoting democracy and those crazy ideas of yours. So I think that

it's something -- I would like -- you know, obviously as somebody who has

been through it, I would like it not to last as long because I think it's

very distracting from what we should be doing every day in our public

business. I would like it not to be so expensive. I have no idea how you

do that. I mean, in my campaign -- I lose track, but I think I raised \$250

million or some such enormous amount, and in the last campaign

President

Obama raised 1.1 billion, and that was before the Super PACs and all of

this other money just rushing in, and it's so ridiculous that we have this

kind of free for all with all of this financial interest at stake, but, you

know, the Supreme Court said that's basically what we're in for. So we're

kind of in the wild west, and, you know, it would be very difficult to run

for president without raising a huge amount of money and without having

other people supporting you because your opponent will have their

supporters. So I think as hard as it was when I ran, I think it's even

harder now." [Clinton Speech For General Electric's Global Leadership

Meeting - Boca Raton, FL, 1/6/14]

CLINTON TOUTS HER RELATIONSHIP TO WALL STREET AS A SENATOR

*Clinton: As Senator, "I Represented And Worked With" So Many On Wall

Street And "Did All I Could To Make Sure They Continued To Prosper" But

Still Called For Closing Carried Interest Loophole. *In remarks at Robbins,

Gellar, Rudman & Dowd in San Diego, Hillary Clinton said, "When I was a

Senator from New York, I represented and worked with so many

talented
principled people who made their living in finance. But even
thought I
represented them and did all I could to make sure they continued
to
prosper, I called for closing the carried interest loophole and
addressing
skyrocketing CEO pay. I also was calling in '06, '07 for doing
something
about the mortgage crisis, because I saw every day from Wall
Street
literally to main streets across New York how a well-functioning
financial
system is essential. So when I raised early warnings about early
warnings
about subprime mortgages and called for regulating derivatives
and over
complex financial products, I didn't get some big arguments,
because people
sort of said, no, that makes sense. But boy, have we had fights
about it
ever since." [Hillary Clinton's Remarks at Robbins Geller Rudman
& Dowd in
San Diego, 9/04/14]

*Clinton On Wall Street: "I Had Great Relations And Worked So
Close
Together After 9/11 To Rebuild Downtown, And A Lot Of Respect
For The Work
You Do And The People Who Do It." *"Now, without going over how
we got to
where we are right now, what would be your advice to the Wall

Street

community and the big banks as to the way forward with those two important

decisions? SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, I represented all of you for eight

years. I had great relations and worked so close together after 9/11 to

rebuild downtown, and a lot of respect for the work you do and the people

who do it, but I do -- I think that when we talk about the regulators and

the politicians, the economic consequences of bad decisions back in '08,

you know, were devastating, and they had repercussions throughout the

world." [Goldman Sachs AIMS Alternative Investments Symposium, 10/24/13]

CLINTON TALKS ABOUT THE CHALLENGES RUNNING FOR OFFICE

*Hillary Clinton Said There Was "A Bias Against People Who Have Led

Successful And/Or Complicated Lives," Citing The Need To Divest Of Assets,

Positions, And Stocks.* "SECRETARY CLINTON: Yeah. Well, you know what

Bob Rubin said about that. He said, you know, when he came to Washington,

he had a fortune. And when he left Washington, he had a small

-- MR. BLANKFEIN: That's how you have a small fortune, is you go to Washington. SECRETARY CLINTON: You go to Washington.

Right. But, you know, part of the problem with the political

situation, too, is that there is such a bias against people who have led successful and/or complicated lives. You know, the divestment of assets, the stripping of all kinds of positions, the sale of stocks. It just becomes very onerous and unnecessary." [Goldman Sachs Builders And Innovators Summit, 10/29/13]

CLINTON SUGGESTS SHE IS A MODERATE

*Clinton Said That Both The Democratic And Republican Parties Should Be

"Moderate." *URSULA BURNS: Interesting. Democrats? SECRETARY CLINTON:

Oh, long, definitely. URSULA BURNS: Republicans? SECRETARY CLINTON:

Unfortunately, at the time, short. URSULA BURNS: Okay. We'll go back to

questions. SECRETARY CLINTON: We need two parties. URSULA BURNS: Yeah, we

do need two parties. SECRETARY CLINTON: Two sensible, moderate, pragmatic

parties." [Hillary Clinton Remarks, Remarks at Xerox, 3/18/14]

*Clinton: "Simpson-Bowles... Put Forth The Right Framework.

Namely, We Have

To Restrain Spending, We Have To Have Adequate Revenues, And We Have To

Incentivize Growth. It's A Three-Part Formula... And They Reached An

Agreement. But what is very hard to do is to then take that Agreement if you don't believe that you're going to be able to move the other side."*

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, this may be borne more out of hope than experience in the last few years. But Simpson-Bowles -- and I know you heard from Erskine earlier today -- put forth the right framework. Namely, we have to restrain spending, we have to have adequate revenues, and we have to incentivize growth. It's a three-part formula. The specifics can be negotiated depending upon whether we're acting in good faith or not. And what Senator Simpson and Erskine did was to bring Republicans and Democrats alike to the table, and you had the full range of ideological views from I think Tom Coburn to Dick Durbin. And they reached an agreement. But what is very hard to do is to then take that agreement if you don't believe that you're going to be able to move the other side. And where we are now is in this gridlocked dysfunction. So you've got Democrats saying that, you know, you have to have more revenues; that's the sine qua non of any kind of agreement. You have Republicans saying no, no, no on revenues; you have to cut much more deeply into spending. Well, looks what's happened.

We are
slowly returning to growth. It's not as much or as fast as many
of us
would like to see, but, you know, we're certainly better off
than our
European friends, and we're beginning to, I believe, kind of
come out of
the long aftermath of the '08 crisis. [Clinton Speech For Morgan
Stanley,
4/18/13]

*Clinton: "The Simpson-Bowles Framework And The Big Elements Of
It Were
Right... You Have To Restrain Spending, You Have To Have Adequate
Revenues,
And You Have To Have Growth."* CLINTON: So, you know, the
Simpson-Bowles
framework and the big elements of it were right. The specifics
can be
negotiated and argued over. But you got to do all three. You
have to
restrain spending, you have to have adequate revenues, and you
have to have
growth. And I think we are smart enough to figure out how to do
that.

[Clinton Speech For Morgan Stanley, 4/18/13]

CLINTON IS AWARE OF SECURITY CONCERNS AROUND BLACKBERRIES

*Clinton: "At The State Department We Were Attacked Every Hour,
More Than
Once An Hour By Incoming Efforts To Penetrate Everything We Had.

And That

Was True Across The U.S. Government."* CLINTON: But, at the

State

Department we were attacked every hour, more than once an hour

by incoming

efforts to penetrate everything we had. And that was true across

the U.S.

government. And we knew it was going on when I would go to

China, or I

would go to Russia, we would leave all of our electronic

equipment on the

plane, with the batteries out, because this is a new frontier.

And they're

trying to find out not just about what we do in our government.

They're

trying to find out about what a lot of companies do and they

were going

after the personal emails of people who worked in the State

Department. So

it's not like the only government in the world that is doing

anything is

the United States. But, the United States compared to a number

of our

competitors is the only government in the world with any kind of

safeguards, any kind of checks and balances. They may in many

respects

need to be strengthened and people need to be reassured, and

they need to

have their protections embodied in law. But, I think turning

over a lot of

that material intentionally or unintentionally, because of the

way it can

be drained, gave all kinds of information not only to big countries, but to networks and terrorist groups, and the like. So I have a hard time thinking that somebody who is a champion of privacy and liberty has taken refuge in Russia under Putin's authority. And then he calls into a Putin talk show and says, President Putin, do you spy on people? And President Putin says, well, from one intelligence professional to another, of course not. Oh, thank you so much. I mean, really, I don't know. I have a hard time following it. [Clinton Speech At UConn, 4/23/14]

*Hillary Clinton: "When I Got To The State Department, It Was Still Against The Rules To Let Most -- Or Let All Foreign Service Officers Have Access To

A Blackberry." *"I mean, let's face it, our government is woefully, woefully behind in all of its policies that affect the use of technology.

When I got to the State Department, it was still against the rules to let most -- or let all Foreign Service Officers have access to a Blackberry.

You couldn't have desktop computers when Colin Powell was there. Everything that you are taking advantage of, inventing and using, is still a generation or two behind when it comes to our government."

[Hillary

Clinton Remarks at Nexenta, 8/28/14]

*Hillary Clinton: "We Couldn't Take Our Computers, We Couldn't Take Our Personal Devices" Off The Plane In China And Russia. *"I mean, probably the most frustrating part of this whole debate are countries acting like we're the only people in the world trying to figure out what's going on. I mean, every time I went to countries like China or Russia, I mean, we couldn't take our computers, we couldn't take our personal devices, we couldn't take anything off the plane because they're so good, they would penetrate them in a minute, less, a nanosecond. So we would take the batteries out, we'd leave them on the plane." [Hillary Clinton Remarks at Nexenta, 8/28/14]

Clinton Said When She Got To State, Employees "Were Not Mostly Permitted To Have Handheld Devices." "You know, when Colin Powell showed up as Secretary of State in 2001, most State Department employees still didn't even have computers on their desks. When I got there they were not mostly permitted to have handheld devices. I mean, so you're thinking how do we

operate in this new environment dominated by technology,
globalizing
forces? We have to change, and I can't expect people to change
if I don't
try to model it and lead it." [Clinton Speech For General
Electric's Global
Leadership Meeting - Boca Raton, FL, 1/6/14]

*Hillary Clinton Said You Know You Can't Bring Your Phone And
Computer When
Traveling To China And Russia And She Had To Take Her Batteries
Out And Put
them In A Special Box. *"And anybody who has ever traveled in
other
countries, some of which shall remain nameless, except for
Russia and
China, you know that you can't bring your phones and your
computers. And
if you do, good luck. I mean, we would not only take the
batteries out, we
would leave the batteries and the devices on the plane in
special boxes.
Now, we didn't do that because we thought it would be fun to
tell somebody
about. We did it because we knew that we were all targets and
that we
would be totally vulnerable. So it's not only what others do to
us and what
we do to them and how many people are involved in it. It's
what's the
purpose of it, what is being collected, and how can it be used.
And there

are clearly people in this room who know a lot about this, and some of you could be very useful contributors to that conversation because you're sophisticated enough to know that it's not just, do it, don't do it. We have to have a way of doing it, and then we have to have a way of analyzing it, and then we have to have a way of sharing it." [Goldman Sachs Builders And Innovators Summit, 10/29/13]

*Hillary Clinton Lamented How Far Behind The State Department Was In Technology, Saying "People Were Not Even Allowed To Use Mobile Devices Because Of Security Issues." *"Personally, having, you know, lived and worked in the White House, having been a senator, having been Secretary of State, there has traditionally been a great pool of very talented, hard-working people. And just as I was saying about the credit market, our personnel policies haven't kept up with the changes necessary in government. We have a lot of difficulties in getting—when I got to the State Department, we were so far behind in technology, it was embarrassing. And, you know, people were not even allowed to use mobile devices because of security issues and cost issues, and we really had to

try to push into the last part of the 20th Century in order to
get people
functioning in 2009 and '10." [Goldman Sachs Builders And
Innovators
Summit, 10/29/13]

CLINTON REMARKS ARE PRO KEYSTONE AND PRO TRADE

*Clinton: "So I Think That Keystone Is A Contentious Issue, And
Of Course
It Is Important On Both Sides Of The Border For Different And
Sometimes
Opposing Reasons..." *"So I think that Keystone is a contentious
issue, and
of course it is important on both sides of the border for
different and
sometimes opposing reasons, but that is not our relationship.
And I think
our relationship will get deeper and stronger and put us in a
position to
really be global leaders in energy and climate change if we
worked more
closely together. And that's what I would like to see us do."
[Remarks at
tinePublic, 6/18/14]

*Hillary Clinton Said Her Dream Is A Hemispheric Common Market,
With Open
Trade And Open Markets. *"My dream is a hemispheric common
market, with
open trade and open borders, some time in the future with energy
that is as

green and sustainable as we can get it, powering growth and opportunity for every person in the hemisphere." [05162013 Remarks to Banco Itau.doc, p. 28]

*Hillary Clinton Said We Have To Have A Concerted Plan To Increase Trade;

We Have To Resist Protectionism And Other Kinds Of Barriers To Trade.

*"Secondly,

I think we have to have a concerted plan to increase trade already under

the current circumstances, you know, that Inter-American Development Bank

figure is pretty surprising. There is so much more we can do, there is a

lot of low hanging fruit but businesses on both sides have to make it a

priority and it's not for governments to do but governments can either

make it easy or make it hard and we have to resist, protectionism, other

kinds of barriers to market access and to trade and I would like to see

this get much more attention and be not just a policy for a year under

president X or president Y but a consistent one." [05162013 Remarks to

Banco Itau.doc, p. 32]

*CLINTON IS MORE FAVORABLE TO CANADIAN HEALTH CARE AND SINGLE

PAYER*

*Clinton Said Single-Payer Health Care Systems "Can Get Costs Down," And
"Is As Good Or Better On Primary Care," But "They Do Impose Things Like
Waiting Times." *"If you look at countries that are comparable, like
Switzerland or Germany, for example, they have mixed systems. They don't
have just a single-payer system, but they have very clear controls over
budgeting and accountability. If you look at the single-payer systems,
like Scandinavia, Canada, and elsewhere, they can get costs down because,
you know, although their care, according to statistics, overall is as good
or better on primary care, in particular, they do impose things like
waiting times, you know. It takes longer to get like a hip replacement
than it might take here." [Hillary Clinton remarks to ECGR Grand Rapids,
6/17/13]

*Clinton Cited President Johnson's Success In Establishing Medicare And
Medicaid And Said She Wanted To See The U.S. Have Universal Health Care
Like In Canada.* "You know, on healthcare we are the prisoner of our past.

The way we got to develop any kind of medical insurance program was during World War II when companies facing shortages of workers began to offer healthcare benefits as an inducement for employment. So from the early 1940s healthcare was seen as a privilege connected to employment. And after the war when soldiers came back and went back into the market there was a lot of competition, because the economy was so heated up. So that model continued. And then of course our large labor unions bargained for healthcare with the employers that their members worked for. So from the early 1940s until the early 1960s we did not have any Medicare, or our program for the poor called Medicaid until President Johnson was able to get both passed in 1965. So the employer model continued as the primary means by which working people got health insurance. People over 65 were eligible for Medicare. Medicaid, which was a partnership, a funding partnership between the federal government and state governments, provided some, but by no means all poor people with access to healthcare. So what we've been struggling with certainly Harry Truman, then Johnson was

successful on Medicare and Medicaid, but didn't touch the employer based system, then actually Richard Nixon made a proposal that didn't go anywhere, but was quite far reaching. Then with my husband's administration we worked very hard to come up with a system, but we were very much constricted by the political realities that if you had your insurance from your employer you were reluctant to try anything else. And so we were trying to build a universal system around the employer-based system. And indeed now with President Obama's legislative success in getting the Affordable Care Act passed that is what we've done. We still have primarily an employer-based system, but we now have people able to get subsidized insurance. So we have health insurance companies playing a major role in the provision of healthcare, both to the employed whose employers provide health insurance, and to those who are working but on their own are not able to afford it and their employers either don't provide it, or don't provide it at an affordable price. We are still struggling. We've made a lot of progress. Ten million Americans now have insurance who didn't have it before the Affordable Care Act, and

that is a
great step forward. (Applause.) And what we're going to have to
continue
to do is monitor what the costs are and watch closely to see
whether
employers drop more people from insurance so that they go into
what we call
the health exchange system. So we're really just at the
beginning. But we
do have Medicare for people over 65. And you couldn't, I don't
think, take
it away if you tried, because people are very satisfied with it,
but we
also have a lot of political and financial resistance to
expanding that
system to more people. So we're in a learning period as we move
forward
with the implementation of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm
hoping that
whatever the shortfalls or the glitches have been, which in a
big piece of
legislation you're going to have, those will be remedied and we
can really
take a hard look at what's succeeding, fix what isn't, and keep
moving
forward to get to affordable universal healthcare coverage like
you have
here in Canada. [Clinton Speech For timePublic - Saskatoon, CA,
1/21/15]

Top



Tor is an encrypted anonymising network that makes it harder to intercept internet communications, or see where communications are coming from or going to.



Tails is a live operating system, that you can start on almost any computer from a DVD, USB stick, or SD card. It aims at preserving your privacy and anonymity.

COURAGE



The Courage Foundation is an international organisation that supports those who risk life or liberty to make significant contributions to the historical record.

Bitcoin uses peer-to-peer technology to operate with no central authority or banks; managing transactions and the issuing of bitcoins is carried out collectively by the network.



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US officially accuses Russia of hacking DNC and interfering with election

Administration says 'only Russia's senior-most officials' could have signed off on cyber-attacks and urges states to seek federal security aid for voting systems



The accusation against Russia came shortly after the US also called for the country to be investigated for war crimes in Syria. Photograph: Misha Japaridze/AP

Spencer Ackerman and Sam Thielman in New York

Saturday 8 October 2016 14.09 BST

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The US government has formally accused [Russia](#) of hacking the Democratic party's computer networks and said that Moscow was attempting to "interfere" with the US presidential election.

Hillary Clinton and US officials have blamed Russian hackers [for stealing more than 19,000 emails from Democratic party officials](#), but Friday's announcement marked the first time that the Obama administration has pointed the finger at Moscow.

"We believe, based on the scope and sensitivity of these efforts, that only Russia's senior-most officials could have authorized these activities," said the office of the director of national intelligence and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) [in a joint statement](#).

The accusation marked a new escalation of tensions with Russia and came shortly after the US secretary of state, John Kerry, called for Russia to be investigated [for war crimes](#)

[in Syria.](#)

Vladimir Putin's spokesman dismissed the accusation as "rubbish."

"Every day Putin's website gets attacked by several tens of thousand of hackers. A lot of these attacks are traced to the territory of the USA, but we do not blame the White House or Langley each time," he told the Interfax news agency.

The Russian foreign ministry said Washington lacked any evidence for its accusations, which were an attempt to fan "unprecedented anti-Russian hysteria".

The deputy foreign minister Sergei Ryabkov said: "This whipping up of emotions regarding 'Russian hackers' is used in the US election campaign, and the current US administration, taking part in this fight, is not averse to using dirty tricks."

He said Moscow reiterated an offer to US officials, first made last year, to hold talks on fighting cybercrime together.

The White House declined to say whether the formal attribution would trigger sanctions against Russia.

The US agencies said that some US states had detected attempts to breach their election systems, and that most of those attempts originated from servers operated by a Russian company. "However, we are not now in a position to attribute this activity to the Russian Government," the statement said.

The agencies said that the "decentralized nature" of the US voting systems, as well the lack of connectivity between voting machines themselves, would protect against Russian-sponsored electoral tampering.

But they urged states across the country to seek additional cybersecurity aid from the DHS. On Wednesday, the homeland security secretary, Jeh Johnson, said that [21 of the 50 states in the US had sought to improve cybersecurity](#) at the voting booth thus far.

Cozy Bear and Fancy Bear: did Russians hack Democratic party and if so, why?

[Read more](#)

US intelligence and the Obama administration had concluded over the summer that sophisticated Russian hackers were [responsible for hacking the servers](#) of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and leaking emails that embarrassed senior Democratic officeholders.

But for months, White House and other US officials have stopped short of publicly accusing Putin's government, a rhetorical reluctance that Republicans have criticized and which has intensified a debate about how to deter

digital attacks.

On Friday, both agencies went further than many expected, calling out not only the Russian government but implying the transparency group WikiLeaks and others involved in spreading the Democrats' emails were Kremlin cutouts.

The hack of the DNC's computer systems was initially claimed by Guccifer 2.0, who claimed to be an independent Romanian hacker, but who security analysts have concluded was more likely to be the public persona of a Russian hacking group.

"The recent disclosures of alleged hacked e-mails on sites like DCLeaks.com and WikiLeaks and by the Guccifer 2.0 online persona are consistent with the methods and motivations of Russian-directed efforts," the statement said.

Over the past four months, websites including media outlets and WikiLeaks have widely distributed information stolen not just from the campaigns of US Democrats but of the World Anti-Doping Agency (Wada) and of the ruling party of the Turkish government.

[The Wada hack](#) was perceived to have been launched in revenge against whistleblowing athletes who revealed corruption among Russian anti-doping officials. An internal investigation by Wada itself this week found that the leaked information had been partially falsified before it was distributed.

Security firms believe a single operation is behind the attacks into the closed digital systems. The hacking group has been assigned different shorthand names by different analysts – including the flamboyant moniker Fancy Bear – as well as Advanced Persistent Threat (APT) 28 and the Sofacy group. Fancy Bear is believed to be operating under the aegis of the GRU, Russia's largest intelligence service.

A second group, codenamed Cozy Bear or CozyDuke, appears to have broken into the DNC as well, but has not yet distributed whatever information it may have retrieved. Cozy Bear is believed to be affiliated to the FSB, the Russian intelligence agency most directly descended from the KGB.

Democratic lawmakers had long pushed the administration to lay the blame for the digital intrusion on the Kremlin's doorstep.

"I applaud the administration's decision to publicly name Russia as the source of hacks into US political institutions. We should now work with our European allies who have been the victim of similar and even more malicious cyber interference by Russia to develop a concerted response that protects our institutions and deters further meddling," said congressman Adam Schiff, the senior Democrat on the US House intelligence committee.

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