



Can we look forward to a referendum on TTIP?

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership is being negotiated at present between the EU Commission and the US government. The Commission argues that the European economy could benefit to the tune of €199 billion a year. The Irish Government is firmly behind TTIP, despite staunch opposition in much of Europe.



One of the most controversial aspects of the proposed agreement is the inclusion of an investment court system, which, critics argue, would give corporations the power to sue sovereign states in trade disputes.

In a potential blow to the Government's and EI's hopes for an agreement, legal opinion seen by the *Irish Examiner* claims that such a court system to be ratified would require a referendum.

Matthias Kelly SC, former chairperson of the Bar Council of England and Wales, said that the proposed investment court would "certainly infringe" the Constitution of Ireland in two areas and possibly three. In his opinion it

- would possibly infringe article 15.2.1, which vests the sole power to make laws in the Oireachtas,

- would certainly infringe article 34.1, which vests the power to dispense justice in the Irish courts, and

- certainly infringes article 34.3.2, which makes the High Court and the appellate courts above it the sole courts in which a law may be questioned.

Perhaps it's time to prepare for another referendum?

Onward to a federal EU!

David Cameron's claim that Britain will not become part of a "United States of Europe" has been undermined by the revelation that a document exists in which leading EU politicians call for the creation of a "federal union of states."



The *Times* (London) reported that the document, which was signed last September in Rome by the speakers of the national parliaments of Germany, France, Italy, and Luxembourg, says that "concrete proposals" to deepen EU integration will be drawn up at a meeting next month. The declaration states that deeper integration "should not be limited to the field of economic and fiscal matters."

"We are convinced that new impetus must be given to European integration," it reads. "We believe that more, not less, Europe is needed to

respond to the challenges we face. It should include all matters pertaining to the European ideal—social and cultural affairs as well as foreign, security and defence policy.”

Chris Grayling, leader of the House of Commons, was sent the document. He told the *Times* that the declaration represented “serious plans for a political union.” Though Britain and Denmark would remain permanently outside, Grayling said: “This new entity will still make our laws for us ... we will have very little say in what happens.”

■ Harry Redhead, “Plans were drawn up for a United States of Europe.”

TTIP dispute system makes a mockery of justice

A leaked EU document, published on 19 May, reveals that European governments are secretly planning to introduce a special justice system for business investors throughout the EU.

The plan seeks to establish a set of legal privileges for corporations, undermining national courts and creating a parallel system open to foreign investors alone.



The proposed ISDS (investor-state dispute settlement) mechanism is already highly controversial. It would allow transnational corporations a unique power to challenge any new laws or regulations that could adversely affect their profits in future. The EU also plans to extend the power to North American corporations in the proposed TTIP and CETA (EU-Canada) agreement.

The EU public consultation on ISDS

generated a record participation of 150,000 responses, with more than 97 per cent saying they did not wish to see such powers introduced. But the EU Commission has ignored the findings of the consultation and is pressing ahead regardless with the introduction of the new powers.

The executive director of War on Want, John Hilary, said: “This latest leak shows EU governments plotting to undermine the basic principle of equality before the law. Big business will get its own parallel justice system, and with it the power to sue us for any future public policy choices that go against corporate interests. Coming just one month before the UK referendum on EU membership, this is a further sign of the death of democracy in Europe.”

The proposal was tabled in secret at last month’s EU trade policy committee by the governments of Austria, Finland, France, Germany and the Netherlands and was followed by the publication of a similar proposal on the web site of the lobbying group Business Europe in what appears to have been a co-ordinated action.

It seeks to remove the existing set of bilateral investment treaties between EU member-states and to introduce an all-embracing right for businesses to sue throughout Europe as a whole.

The document was brought to light by the European trade campaign Seattle to Brussels Network, of which War on Want is a member.

Brexit: a trade union view

Mike Johnson

We argue for a vote to leave the European Union. The EU was never a trade union idea, never a trade union vision of internationalism. A document from the London region of the Fire Brigades Union puts it this way: “Europe and the EU are not the same thing, and left-wing opponents of the EU are not ‘anti-Europe’.”

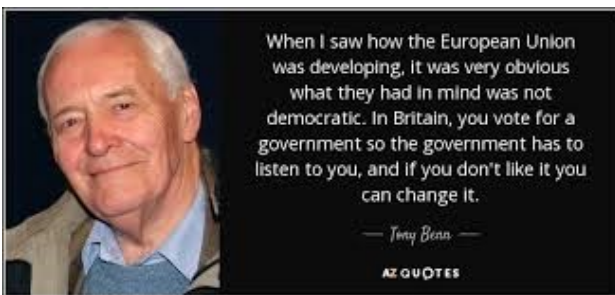
The trade union perspective focuses on pay, conditions of employment, job security and the

economy that dominates those issues. So how does the EU affect these things?

Take the voice of the RMT [Rail, Maritime and Transport Union], the transport union that is campaigning to leave. Its April 2016 newsletter speaks of EU policies for deregulation and privatisation, in the UK implemented through the break-up of the railways and the loss of work for seafarers and offshore workers, “continuous attacks on members’ jobs, wages, and terms and conditions.”

Or listen to the executive of the FBU [Fire Brigades Union], giving advice to its members on the referendum. They say that “we should have no trust or confidence in the current politicians who lead EU institutions.” And again, “... workers in the UK and elsewhere in Europe face attacks on living standards, public services and workers’ rights as the drive for austerity continues.”

But they still, on balance, recommend a vote to remain, because “withdrawal from the EU would be a victory for some of the most right-wing politicians in the UK.” Of course in part, but we can act against them, can vote them out.



It’s a debate in many unions and beyond them. The London Region of the FBU, for example, argues for a leave vote, against “the rule of market forces, privatisation, the politics of austerity and cuts ... Austerity has failed ... 23 million people are unemployed, far-right groups have emerged, public services have been decimated.”

The Remain trade union case is often grudging, choosing what they think is the lesser

of two evils. A trade union contact e-mailed an interview with the film director Ken Loach. He said: “The EU is a neo-liberal project. It’s a drive towards privatisation and a drive towards deregulation ... The most vulnerable people are told that poverty is their own fault. If you have no work, it’s your fault that you have no job.” And yet he’ll vote to remain, because of a fear of right-wing governments emerging.

My last grudging example is the economist Paul Mason, writing in the *Guardian* on 17 May. He says that “state aid to stricken industries is prohibited. The austerity we deride in Britain as a political choice is, in fact, written into the European Treaty as a non-negotiable obligation.” But he may abstain, because of two words: “Boris Johnson.”

So there’s a fear factor that is different from the alarming stories from David Cameron, George Osborne, the governor of the Bank of England, and many of the worthies of the finance and business sectors here and abroad. It’s a fear of the right in Britain. But the right is also in a mess, divided, and liable to self-combustion, and it can be fought and defeated with a bit of determination. It is not almighty.

I was taken aback when I saw a recent Oxfam [Oxford Committee for Famine Relief] report on Wales, where I recently spent a year. It is providing “emergency food support” in Wales, which it describes as being “hit by a tide of hunger and extreme poverty.” 23 per cent of the people live in poverty, according to their figures.

That’s after decades of EU membership. But can the EU help when things such as the threat to close Tata Steel come along? Here are the words of the appointed EU Commissioner for Competition, Margrethe Vestager: “*The European steel industry ... cannot rely on public funds to survive ... It is in this context that the EU state-aid rules don’t allow public support for the rescue and restructuring of failing steelmakers.*” And indeed the EU has recovered what it described as “illegal state aid” from four of its member-states.

People have always moved around for jobs, for good and bad reasons, but here's an example from the *Guardian* where the EU jobs market is producing poverty and repression: *"In the bleak flatlands of East Anglia migrant workers are controlled by criminal gangs, and some are forced to commit crimes to pay off their debts. This is what happens when cheap labour is the only priority."*

And in Greece, opposition to austerity has been crushed by the imposition of punitive, destructive debt and enforced neo-liberal policies, sell-offs, privatisation, sackings, worsening of pay and conditions, spiralling unemployment, and no relief in sight.

So what can be done? The referendum is the immediate thing. A vote to leave opens the door not to the cartoonish Boris Johnson but to being able to make decisions about industry employment, public services, and a range of issues that the EU's economic agenda at present makes illegal. The argument can begin. And as the economist Larry Elliott argues, "... the underlying problems of the economy are the result of decades of underinvestment in the economy's productive forces, not Brexit."

And that FBU discussion document: if we left *"we would still face a Tory government hell-bent on making workers' pay for the economic crisis. The FBU must fight against neo-liberalism, austerity and cuts. We must fight instead for democracy, self-government, and social and economic justice."*

And the first step is, vote Leave.

■ Mike Johnson is a long-time activist in the University and College Union. He was active in the earlier trade union campaign against joining the euro zone, and is engaged in the current campaign to win trade unionists' votes for leaving the EU.

CETA vote in EU Council of Ministers to take place in the autumn

It now seems that there will not be a vote at the EU Council of Ministers on 13 May to

"provisionally apply" the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between the EU and Canada. This also suggests, however, that the Commission feel they can win the British referendum.

Negotiations on the free-trade agreement with Canada are concluded. In the most recent development, during the "legal scrubbing" procedures, the EU Commission managed to largely agree with Canada on including in CETA the EU's proposal for a reformed investment court system in TTIP. At the trade ministers' council on 13 May there will be a general debate on the state of play and on further steps.



No decisions will be taken on the signing of the agreement or on its provisional application. For these decisions to be taken we will still have to wait for the translation of the text into all the official EU languages. This is expected by the end of June. When sending those texts to the Council the Commission will submit its own proposals for resolutions, which will then be discussed in the Council.

The decision on the signing of CETA will not take place before the autumn. EU member-states now expect it to be a mixed agreement, which therefore must also be ratified by the member-states. So the campaign against CETA should be timed to reach a peak in the autumn of this year. Watch this space!

The picture above is from last week's demonstration against TTIP and CETA, while [this video](#) shows our banner at the Reclaim the Vision of 1916 parade on 24 April.

TTIP a “serious threat to Irish farms”



According to a new report by Friends of the Earth, quoted in the *Irish Farmers’ Journal*, TTIP could “open the floodgates to factory-farmed produce.”

The existence of the whole EU farming industry would be at risk from the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, according to a report by Friends of the Earth Europe. The report reviews modelling studies carried out in the EU and the United States on the possible impact of TTIP. It says that TTIP would massively increase imports from the United States while having far fewer benefits for EU producers.

Studies foresee a decline of up to 0.8 per cent for agriculture’s contribution to gross domestic product, while American agriculture’s contribution would increase by 1.9 per cent—a net trade benefit to American interests of more than €4 billion.

The proposed agreement would be “a bad deal for European farming,” according to Mute Schimpf of Friends of the Earth. “The majority of EU farmers are predicted to lose out and with many of them already struggling to survive this could be the final knock-out blow. There is real concern that European farming is being sacrificed to get a TTIP deal at any costs.” He also said that “any removal of EU restrictions will mean a huge increase in imports and could be the final nail in the coffin for some EU

farming sectors.”

According to the report, the existence of whole sectors of European agriculture—such as grassland beef production—would be at risk from the agreement.

The chairperson of Friends of the Earth Ireland, Dr Cara Augustenborg, said the findings confirm that TTIP would lower the value of most Irish agricultural products, particularly beef, because farming systems cannot compete on price with the intensive (and environmentally damaging) factory-farming systems of the United States.

The report says that corporate lobbying groups, in both the United States and Europe, are pushing for greater access to each other’s agricultural markets, with the United State in particular targeting Europe’s generally higher safety and animal welfare standards.

However, even if EU standards were maintained, increased imports from the United States would still flood European markets, ensuring huge export opportunities and profits for food corporations and American factory farms, at the expense of European farmers.



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European External Action Service: Another monster in the shadows

The latest figures show that the EU “high representative of the union for foreign affairs and security policy” now employs more than 3,000 officials in 120 countries—all paid for by taxpayers. There are 55 of them employed to represent the EU in the United States, 47 in Russia, 36 in Japan, and 26 in India. Even Jamaica has 13.

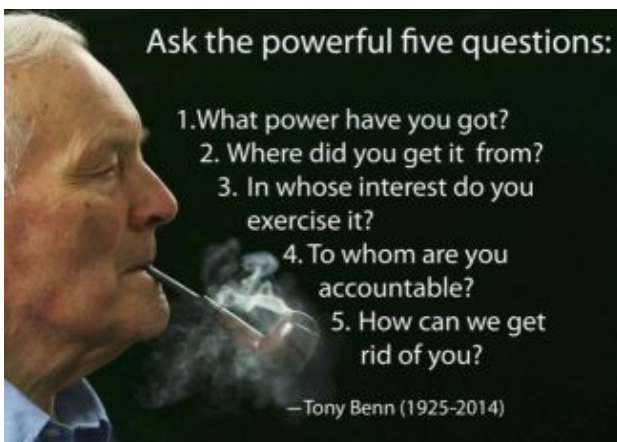
Critics warn that the European External Action Service, headed by Catherine Ashton, is ballooning out of control and threatening to

rival the diplomatic corps of member-states. The figures reveal how rapidly the operation—which cost more than €550 million to run last year—has expanded since it was launched three years ago.

Normally only states need embassies; so who does the EEAS represent? It seems to be the unelected EU Commission. More credibly, however, it is just another step in the process of federalisation, along with plans for a common defence or single EU army.

The European External Action Service says that “the EEAS complements national diplomatic services, and in no way whatsoever threatens to supplant them. That never was the intention and never will be. They play entirely separate, but complementary roles.” Indeed!

This site may give you an of idea of what the EU “ambassador” to the United States—our own David O’Sullivan, who never stood for election to anything but nevertheless served as “Irish commissioner”—gets up to.



Germany not opposed to Britain finding a “quick solution” with Ireland following a possible withdrawal

A member of the German parliament’s finance committee, Dr Jens Zimmermann, said it would be in Britain’s interest to find a “quick solution” with Ireland, and that he believed the German government would not block it.

Any agreement with Britain following a withdrawal, he said, would have to be backed

by all EU member-states. But he said there might be the possibility of a “bilateral solution” for Ireland, with the other EU countries acknowledging the “special relationship” between Ireland and Britain.

“I think it would be in the interests of the UK to find a quick solution, especially concerning the relationship to Ireland, and I think Germany wouldn’t be in opposition to that,” Zimmermann told the *Sunday Independent*. “But it’s complicated.”

Ireland is expected to be the EU country worst hit by a possible British withdrawal from the EU, given its close economic, political and social links. The impact on the peace process, the border with the North and trade between Britain and Ireland are the main issues of concern for the Irish Government.

Zimmermann said the negotiations following a possible vote to withdraw would be very difficult to complete within the two-year period, given their complexity. “I think there might be a bilateral solution for Ireland in that situation,” he said, “and I think the other European member-states would acknowledge that there is a special relationship between Ireland and the UK. But nobody knows.”



Zimmerman also said he believed that David Cameron would have to resign as prime minister if the British people vote to pull out, or “the Tories would force him out.”

Meanwhile an international expert in regional and urban economics has warned that a British withdrawal could lead to the break-up of the EU. “You’ve got a lot of nationalist

tensions in most of the continent, particularly in Hungary [and] Poland,” said Dr Leslie Budd, who is also an economic adviser to the Enterprise, Trade and Investment Committee of the Northern Ireland Assembly. “There’s the rise of Le Pen, Pegida in Germany. You’ve still got the negotiations going on in Greece about the euro-zone crisis. Most of the discussion about Brexit is focused on the UK economy, but there’s a big feedback loop ... The whole of the EU economy could be damaged.

“Given those political tensions, you could start to see some sort of fracture and break-up.”

Draft of TTIP impact assessment released—a year late

Ecorys, a Dutch consultancy company, has published an **initial study** (financed by the EU Commission) on the impact of an EU-US free-trade agreement. The interim report will be formally presented on 30 May, with written comments due by 9 June.

Some quotations from Jean-Claude Juncker



The former prime minister of Luxembourg and president of the EU Commission has a pragmatic approach to politics, the press, and the public—and is rarely afraid to show it.

On Greece’s economic meltdown in 2011:
“When it becomes serious, you have to lie.”

On EU monetary policy:
“I’m ready to be insulted as being insufficiently

democratic, but I want to be serious ... I am for secret, dark debates.”

On British calls for a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty:

“Of course there will be transfers of sovereignty. But would I be intelligent to draw the attention of public opinion to this fact?”

On the French referendum on the EU constitution:

“If it’s a Yes we will say, ‘On we go,’ and if it’s a No we will say, ‘We continue’.”

On the introduction of the euro:

“We decide on something, leave it lying around, and wait and see what happens. If no-one kicks up a fuss, because most people don’t understand what has been decided, we continue step by step until there is no turning back.”

On euro-zone economic policy and democracy:

“We all know what to do, we just don’t know how to get re-elected after we’ve done it.”

Vote on Roundup fails to materialise



EU experts failed again to take a decision on whether to renew a licence for glyphosate, the world’s most widely used weedkiller, during a meeting on 18 and 19 May. The EU Standing Committee on Plants, Animals, Food and Feed, which brings together experts from all EU member-states, failed to organise a vote. There was no qualified majority for such a decision.

The existing licence expires on 30 June. The standing committee was previously expected to settle the matter in March, but it postponed the vote after France, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden raised objections, mainly over the effect of glyphosate on human health.

The EU Commission has since put forward two new proposals, both of which failed to convince the member-states. The EU commissioner for health, Vytenis Andriukaitis,

insists that member-states decide with a qualified majority because of the controversies involved.

A spokesperson said the Commission will reflect on the discussions. "If no decision is taken before 30 June, glyphosate will be no longer authorised in the EU and member-states will have to withdraw authorisations for all glyphosate-based products."

Glyphosate is the core ingredient of the American firm Monsanto's flagship product, Roundup, but is also sold by other companies under other names. Some crops have become resistant to the substance.

Last year the cancer agency of the World Health Organisation classified glyphosate as "probably carcinogenic to humans." But in November the European Food Safety Authority drew a different conclusion, stating that there is no scientific evidence of a link with cancer. The Joint Meeting on Pesticide Residues, an ad hoc expert committee administered jointly by the WHO and the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, also said glyphosate is "unlikely to pose a carcinogenic risk to humans from exposure through the diet."

Monsanto, TTIP, and the EU

There are about 500 million people in the EU, and they want EU officials to uphold the public interest and to be independent of commercial influence. They do not want them to serve and profit from commercial interests at the cost of the public's health and safety.

However, what they too often get are massive conflicts of interest and the "revolving door" problem within official EU bodies. Read this document about the European Food and Safety Authority's "independence problem," and this about "chemical conflicts" in the EU Commission's scientific committees for consumer issues.

And they get governing bodies that are beholden to massive corporate lobbying: see here about "the firepower of the financial

lobby" and here about who lobbies most for TTIP, with agribusiness being the biggest lobbying group behind the secretive and corrupt trade deal that is attempting to drive a policy agenda over the heads of European peoples and contrary to their wishes. (See here on TTIP as well.)

Regulators turn a blind eye to the deleterious effects of products that pose a serious systemic risk to the public: see here about "the glyphosate toxicity studies you're not allowed to see," and here about "case closed by EFSA on Roundup, despite new evidence."

And they give the nod to products based not on independent research but on a company's statements, or secretive studies taken at face value, and then deliberately keep the public in the dark: for example, see here about Roundup and birth defects.

What people get are public institutions that serve a corporate agenda: see this document about the "black book" on the corporate agenda of the EU Commission.

Last year Arthur Neslen, the environment correspondent of the *Guardian* (London), noted that as many as thirty-one pesticides with a value running into billions of pounds could have been banned in the EU because of potential health risks if a blocked EU paper on hormone-mimicking chemicals had been acted upon.

A study by Sebastian Stehle and Ralph Schultz of the University of Koblenz found that 45 per cent of the 1,566 measured insecticide concentrations in EU surface waters exceeded their regulatory acceptable concentrations. The meta-analysis challenges the efficacy of the regulatory environmental risk assessment conducted for pesticide authorisation in the EU.

Our food and agriculture system is in big trouble. This is because global agritech and agribusiness are poisoning us and the environment with their pesticides, herbicides, GMOs, and various other chemical inputs. This

is made possible because of the agro-chemical industry's lavish funds, massive lobbying, slick PR, compliant politicians and scientists, and undermining and capture of regulatory and policy decision-making bodies that supposedly serve the public interest.

The situation in the United States is possibly even worse; and, with TTIP on the horizon, Europeans could be in line for exposure to even more chemicals. Some 34,000 pesticides are registered at present for use in the United States. Drinking water is often contaminated by pesticides, chemicals show up in breast milk, and more babies are being born with preventable birth defects resulting from exposure to pesticides.

Illnesses are on the rise too, including asthma, autism and learning disabilities, birth defects and reproductive dysfunction, diabetes, Parkinson's disease and Alzheimer's disease, and several types of cancer. The link with exposure to pesticides is becoming increasingly evident.

Elected politicians and "public servants" are allowing this to happen. In 2014 the authors of "The Record of a Captive Commission" concluded that the outgoing Barroso Commission's trade and investment policy involved a bunch of unelected technocrats who cared little about what ordinary people want and instead negotiate on behalf of big business.

The report states that the Commission had a one-sided relationship with agribusiness on GMOs and pesticides. Far from shifting Europe to a more sustainable food and agriculture system, the opposite had happened, as agribusiness and its lobbyists continued to dominate the Brussels scene. The report stated that the industry had been exerting strong pressure to prevent action by the EU on endocrine-disruptors and pesticides.

Failure to expose and challenge the corruption, lobbying, back-room "free trade" deals and revolving door that exist between agribusiness and decision-making and

regulatory bodies will result in these corporations continuing to prosper at everyone else's expense.

EU long past its sell-by date



In 1988 the then president of the EU Commission, Jacques Delors, told the EU Parliament that by the year 2000 the EU would make 70 per cent of the laws of all its member-states. In other words, the EU, not their own parliaments, would be making most of the laws for Britain, Ireland, and the other EU members.

This prompted one observer to remark that if Delors was right it meant that republicans were being republican and unionists were being unionist over who was to exercise the remaining 30 per cent!

In 2016 one might argue about the percentages of laws made in Brussels; but this was and is the reality, and EU power is all the more potent for being invisible and not embodied in a foreign army and the other more obvious trappings of domination but in citizens having to obey laws made mainly by others, which means being ruled by others. It is the opposite of being independent, sovereign, and democratic.

It is hard to think of a single area of political life now that is not affected by EU law. In most years the majority of laws and statutory instruments that are put through the national parliaments of the member-states come from Brussels, though most citizens at the national level are not aware of this. In 2015 Eur-Lex (the web site for EU laws) showed that there were more than 134,000 EU rules, international agreements and legal acts binding on or affecting citizens throughout the EU. If a member-state does not obey any one of these, the EU Court of Justice can impose heavy daily fines to enforce compliance.

A member-state on its own cannot decide a single EU law. Its people, parliament and

government may be opposed to such a law, its government representatives on the Council of Ministers may vote against it, but they must obey it nonetheless once it is adopted by qualified majority vote in the EU Council.

The EU leaves the traditional governmental institutions of its twenty-eight member-states formally in place (with the accompanying salaries, pensions and other perks of office for those running them) but with most of their important functions transferred outside to the external, supranational EU level.

This reduces the political ability of citizens to decide what is the common good. It deprives them of the most fundamental rights of membership of a democracy: the right to make their own laws, to elect their representatives to make them, and to change those representatives if they dislike the laws they make.

Any move entailing changes to the EU treaties requires the unanimous agreement of the governments of all twenty-eight member-states, and any change to these other rules requires either unanimity or a qualified majority vote.



This is the practical problem facing those who contend that "another Europe is possible" by "reforming" the EU at the supranational level in the hope of making it more democratic, and those who think that the EU can be transformed into a so-called "Social Europe."

Those calling for such reforms offer no practical way of achieving them. At the same time most of them balk at calling for the repatriation of powers back to the member-

states, because that would draw public attention to how the EU has eroded the national democracy that local politicians were elected to protect.

A few weeks after he had made his prediction about the relentless increase in the Commission's power, Delors wooed the leading trade unionists in Ireland and Britain by promising that the Commission would introduce pro-labour legislation in a "Social Europe." Trade unions would thus achieve supra-nationally what they were too weak to achieve nationally.

This pipe-dream appealed to people who had no feeling for national democracy and independence. Many of them became zealots for the EU, using the rhetoric of "Social Europe." The post-2008 financial crisis has disabused many people of this illusion

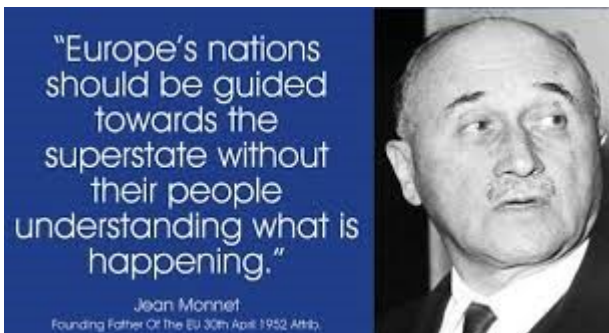
The "European project" has been pushed through for decades with ruthless contempt for democratic norms. For example, the decision in 1999 to abolish national currencies, an essential pillar of all sovereign states, and replace them with the supranational euro, was taken by a tiny number of politicians and technocrats.



When the Irish people voted No to the Nice Treaty in 2001 and to the Lisbon Treaty in 2008 they were made to re-run their referendums on exactly the same treaties to obtain a different result.

During the euro crisis in 2012 the euro-zone elite pressured Italy and Greece to replace their democratically elected leaders with more eurozone-compliant technocrats. When the Greek people voted No to a euro-zone bail-out in a referendum in 2015, the EU Central Bank and the Euro Group of ministers cut off lending to Greek banks, which led to daily limits on ATM withdrawals and the imposition of capital controls to bring the Greek government to heel.

The European Union now has its own government, with a legislative, executive and judicial arm, its own political president, its own human and civil rights code, its own currency, economic policy and revenue, its own international treaty-making powers, foreign policy, foreign minister, diplomatic corps, and United Nations voice, and its own crime and justice code and public prosecutor's office. It already possesses such state symbols as its own flag, anthem, motto, and annual official holiday, "Europe Day."



As regards the "state authority" of the EU, this is embodied in its own executive, legislative and judicial institutions: the European Council, Council of Ministers, Commission, Parliament, and Court of Justice. It is embodied also in the member-states and their authorities as they implement and apply EU law and interpret and apply national law in conformity with Union law. This they are constitutionally required to do under the Lisbon Treaty, just as in any federal state.

EU "state authorities," as represented by EU soldiers and policemen patrolling Europe's streets in EU uniforms, are not needed as such.

Their absence makes it all the easier to hide from ordinary citizens the reality of Europe's hollowed-out nation-states and the failure of their own mainstream politicians to defend their national democracies.

Most court cases before the EU Court of Justice are concerned with enforcing the EU's foundational "four freedoms": the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour. These erect the basic principles of classical laissez-faire into constitutional imperatives. No government or elected parliament may legally violate or change them, regardless of the wishes of their voters.



The constitution of the EU, the Treaty of Rome and its amending treaties, is in reality the first state or quasi-state constitution in modern history to be drawn up without the slightest democratic element, entirely in the interest of transnational Big Business.

The EU treaties provide justification nowadays for almost any intervention by Brussels in the domestic legal system of the EU member-countries. It is hard to find a sphere of human life that is not affected by EU law.

The translation of supranational EU laws into national laws is usually done by the twenty-eight member-state parliaments without debate, for EU law, because it has primacy, cannot be altered at the national level. In the sixty years since the Treaty of Rome there is not a single example of a national power that has passed from the member-states to the European Community, now the European Union, reverting back to the national level.

Once a power has been surrendered to Brussels, it never comes back; it becomes part of the *acquis communautaire*, the totality of laws and powers that have been “acquired” by the EU and that are binding on all EU members. This is sometimes referred to as “the doctrine of the occupied field”: once a field of policy has been occupied by Brussels, it stays occupied.

The EU is a form of supranational corporatism, a fusion of political, bureaucratic, financial and business interests that interact with one another at the Brussels level while being freed from democratic accountability and control at the member-state level.

Not surprisingly, European transnational capital, business and financial firms with branches in different EU countries are the principal lobbyists for ever further integration. American businesses in Europe have a similar interest.

According to EU supporters, to trade with “Europe” one needs to be part of the EU and accept EU laws, policies, institutions, passports, flag, anthem, diplomatic service, parliament, and court of justice. This is a ridiculous claim. It is up to EU supporters to explain why trade with the EU should necessitate any of this.

Opposition to the EU is growing in virtually every one of the twenty-eight member states.

By 2050 there will be some 9 billion people in the world. The EU will then account for 6 per cent of the world’s population, as against 20

per cent before 1950. The EU’s share of the world’s gross product will have shrunk to some 10 per cent by 2050, as against 30 per cent in 1950.



In the coming decades most growth in GDP, market size and investment returns will tend to occur outside continental Europe. Most EU countries will have a shrinking and ageing population. The EU generally is likely to decline economically, politically and culturally relative to the rest of the world, and in particular Asia, where the bulk of humanity lives.

As American power declines from its post-war zenith there will be growing resistance to those who see the EU as a collective junior partner of the United States in world politics. European states that seek to advance the best interests of their peoples will wish to develop economic and political relations with the international community as a whole. They will look to the wide world to play a part in rather than subsume themselves in an inward-looking, out-of-date bureaucratic bloc whose *raison d'être* has long passed into history.