

The
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Being UnDiplomatic:
A Message for Young Brexiteers

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On return from Vietnam I joined Western European Department at the FCO in autumn 1971. Within a few weeks I became a founder member of a department to cope with murder and violence in Ireland. We were the only department that worked directly to the Prime Minister.

During this time I became very friendly with Chris Mockler from the Conservative Research Department and his American wife, Lucy. I still followed the advice of my boss, the late Sir Kenneth James – Ken never voted, which kept his advice to Ministers impartial. Chris and Lucy thought I should think about a career change.

The Conservative Party deputy-chairman, Sir Michael Fraser, invited me for a drink at the Carlton Club. He had turned down Burgess and Maclean for the Research Department as they were probably communist agents, long before they ran to Moscow.

We got on well and I was eventually sent for by the Selection Panel.

At this time Ted Heath was Prime Minister and insisted the country should join the Common Market. I wasn't convinced and said as much to the half-dozen MPs on the panel. Despite my enthusiasm for the Commonwealth – I'd served in London, Lahore and Nicosia before Saigon – they decided that I would make a good candidate.

As I was leaving the room the senior man from Central Office slid alongside and hissed, 'Do understand that we in Central Office will never select you for any seat where you have the remotest chance of winning.'

Both main parties have been selecting candidates for the House of Commons this way ever since those far off days in the early nineteen seventies. This tunnel vision leads in a straight line to the lemming Parliament of today.

We need to modernise the way our country is governed.

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If you harbour ambitions for a political career, please read on.....

Not too often, but definitely sometimes, older people have almost a duty to pass on what they've learnt especially when events occur that are remarkably similar to others that took place before most people alive were born. Well, I hate to tell you, I've reached that seniority and want to pass on a few things that may prove useful. Now for the good news! My brain still works, it's well-oiled daily – and my body plays tennis most days in summer and skis almost as much in winter. So don't worry, I'm not gaga (*I have witnesses!*) My memory goes back to German night raids on London, long before Doodlebugs and V 1 rockets. I remember tanks on the village green before D Day which nowadays I realise were part of Patton's fake army. With my brother I watched the aerial armada flying to Arnhem throughout the whole of a sunny Sunday morning in September 1944. I well remember VE

day and the first evening all the street lamps came on, the atomic bomb and VJ day, the first day of the NHS, Atlee and Churchill as Prime Ministers. As a young man I knew Field Marshal Montgomery and Lord Louis Mountbatten. Johnnie Frost who held the Arnhem Bridge in September 1944 was my first Brigadier. I knew six prime ministers and had the honour to be friends with two VCs and one GC.

That's just to give you an idea of one's perspective at my age; now let's turn the clock forward through the swinging sixties – and they did – to the worst pair of post war governments *before* the ones this century.

Harold Wilson won the 1975 referendum when nearly 17.4 million voted to *join* the Common Market and 8.4 million of us voted to stay out. The turnout was 64.62% and the Scots were the least enthusiastic with the Outer Hebrides and Shetlands both voting no.

The nation that voted was bewildered and scared. One felt the jitters in the very air. Britain was still running a wartime economy even though rationing had ended in 1954 and the last National Servicemen left the Army in 1963. I had trained some of them. All manner of industries were owned by the government from railways to airlines, coal mines to telephones, gas to water. The government even made cars through owning British Leyland. Today it's in the same business as high street banks. There had been civil disorder in Northern Ireland for nearly five years. In 1971 the ancient coinage had been replaced by a decimal currency but with the smallest unit five times larger. Logic warned that this increased the speed at which inflation could rise. Ted Heath pushed Common Market membership through Parliament with the support of forty Labour MPs, turning our backs on the strategy that had made us the first global super power, our allies of the Commonwealth and five-hundred years of history. The trade unions were strong, they and Heath soon clashed. Heath took on the coal miners and lost. The country ran out of electricity, industry began working only three days a week. Whitehall pushed pens by candlelight. People began to wonder if the United Kingdom was no longer governable. Ted Heath had many good qualities and great personal courage was one of them, but he brought many needless troubles on his own head and was voted out in March 1974. I well remember the jolly crowd in Downing Street watching his furniture being loaded into a large cream van and a wag shouting, "And don't forget the bloody pianer', Mate."

Harold Wilson was hardly through the door of Number Ten before the inflation, anticipated in part from joining the Common Market, hit like an Atlantic gale. Inflation soared from 10% to 27% within months. After two years Harold Wilson stepped down and Jim Callaghan took over with Denis Healy as Chancellor. By March 1976 we had become the first major industrial country to seek a loan from the IMF. I recall taking urgent telegrams through a blizzard to Gordon Richardson, Governor of the Bank of England, who was haggling in Basel. Britain survived thanks to an act of God called North Sea Oil. As Jim Callaghan advised me six years afterwards, "If someone makes a mess, Adrian, and Denis made one with whole economy, make them sweep up. Eventually Denis became quite a good sweeper upper."

In the end it took a woman to sort out the country. She was determined and sometimes ruthless, she made mistakes, but she modernised this country and made it the dynamic place it is today. She fought the union barons and she won. She changed the archaic employment laws concerning industrial action. She left a legacy of bitterness in mining regions but the country was simply heading for irrevocable decline and bankruptcy. There were horrendous innocent casualties, particularly in manufacturing – I remember walking through the machine tool maker, Alfred Herbert's workshops

in Coventry, in 1986 and thinking I might have been in the hangars of an empty aircraft carrier facing the scrap yard. The work force of 12,000 had been reduced to 1200 mostly making robots, nearly 11,000 highly skilled men victims of poor investment compounded by raising interest rates to 17%. Long afterwards I discussed this hardship with Geoffrey Howe, who was Chancellor at the time. He deeply regretted the harshness and wished they could have used milder measures. Nonetheless, you have to have lived through these epic times to understand how far we have come since.

We are no longer the shaken and creaking nation of the early 1970s. The Big Bang ended the City as a cosy club for a small number of people and turned the Square Mile plus into the planet's centre for finance. Our manufacturing is modern but needs to double its share of the economy. This transformation is thanks to Margaret Thatcher although you won't hear many on the left of politics admit as much, including the CBI and the Civil Service. As for the hyper-regulated EU, she told Jacques Delors, the President of the EC Commission in those days, *we have not thrown off the shackles of the state only to have them imposed at a supra-national level*. I can hear her now.

She respected the Cabinet and true collective responsibility. Ministers ran their departments; all were responsible for the government's overall results. Above all Margaret Thatcher was honest. That was remarkable. She was also a hands-on Prime Minister blessed with an incredible memory who found her Cabinet slow to catch on and often slower to catch up. None since have matched her ability to retain detail, all who follow struggle to cope with the bee hive machine she left as her legacy.

What the sums tell us

Harold Wilson promoted an image of himself as 'the man in the pub' with a pint and pipe. The dustbins behind Number Ten told another story: they were full of empty champagne bottles and cigar butts. Despite his rather fictitious propaganda machine in 1975, very few people voted to join a united European super-state. They voted to join the Common Market because they believed the government's fairy stories that it was our sole option in steep decline. That was before Margaret Thatcher came along. Forty-one years later a majority of us voted to leave a European superstate in 2016. Four decades of membership had reversed public opinion and put leave voters in the lead by a million and a half after a 72.21% turnout. Ironically, this time, the Scots were the keener on staying. More votes were cast for leaving the EU than have supported any party at an election during my lifetime, starting with Clement Atlee's Labour landslide in 1945 even though the turnout was higher – and almost matched by Winston Churchill in 1951.

Since the referendum, after thirty months of shameless hostile meddling by the EU, whatever makes so many British politicians and officials believe the long-established trend of voters towards a slow but steady rejection of the EU and all its works is in reverse? Had an individual nation's diplomatic mission behaved as the EU Representation has - and still does every day - by now most of its staff would have been declared *persona non grata*. I find it hard to draw any distinction between the EU Commission Representation and the various Russian diplomatic and trade missions. Indeed, the EU Commission lavishly funds all manner of British public bodies to steer opinion their way in this country - the CBI, the RUSI, to name only two. Only the very comfortable and rich around London and the Scottish Nationalists have spoken in favour of rejoining the EU. Threats from the European Union sound ferocious yet phoney; and while that's laughable, the supporting chorus from the

British Government and various institutions is nauseating, starting with the Cabinet Office and their choir of Remainer doom watchers. My conclusion is that all these 'opinion formers' suffer from mass brain washing. Certainly they seem to have very little knowledge of today's rapidly changing and dangerous Europe.

Since the referendum in 2016 the track record of Parliament is appalling – most MPs in all four main parties spend much of their time trying to block the people's referendum vote. Only the Scottish Nationalists and the Liberals can claim a mandate from their voters for those tactics. Many MPs appear to believe that we're still living in the seventeenth century and that most voters don't know how to read and write. This in an age where children can read the global news on their mobile phones, anytime, anywhere. That's made worse by the largely Remain-supporting Tory MPs of the Heath party rump having crowned an unlikely Prime Minister. Downing Street is either completely out of its depth, or defaulting to following the strategy of Angela Merkel. Maybe it's a combination and a matter of dissimulation. Whatever is said in public always turns into the complete opposite done behind your back. Officials are being allowed to turn the United Kingdom into the colony of a Continental power by handing away individual civil rights that go back to Magna Carta and long before. The PM forgets that we pay for this daily nonsense with our taxes. A fuse is lit and unless it's stamped out, she has set Britain and Europe on the path to an enduring and bitter conflict.

I would also risk an opinion that one must distinguish between German ambition for submerging itself in a supra-national state which goes back to the 1940s, and the French ambitions which belong to the aftermath of the First World War. Since the referendum Brexit has been under sustained attack from both countries. Fortunately there are peaceful ways to deal with strategic tunnel vision.

Keep in mind that the German Chancellor still calls the shots. Mrs May's instructions from Frau Merkel appear to urge that she must negotiate a bad deal, so atrocious that it's worse than remaining in the EU. In parallel a fifth column of useful idiots in Parliament, Whitehall and Big Business have been set to work drumming up another referendum, the EU's tried and tested method of crushing opposing forces – us, the voters. The CBI and similar institutions are sat on the EU Commission payroll although they have little impact. Anyone who has been on the CBI Council knows that since years it has spoken only for large multi-nationals and a handful of very large trade associations. I suggest that it's long past time that these people are made to respect the same principles as the rest of us.

Frau Merkel sees Brexit as a huge threat. Should we set a centripetal precedent, other countries may follow. The EU must counter attack by supporting an obedient and subversive establishment in Britain. The background bird songs are multiple threats - immigration and customs delays, no flights and so forth, Project Fear on huge greasy sausages with dollops of onions. All of which angers the long suffering British voters.

Probably, given this environment, one might wonder if Mrs May would have been happier as a civil servant; her original choice of career was the Bank of England. She obviously prefers working with a few favourite officials rather than publicly leading the government as Chairman of the Cabinet. She also encourages officials to ignore the jungle laws although at their peril, not hers. A wiser official would have seen danger, resisted temptation, realised that sometimes officials have to decline flattery. When an official knows that he is being used to go behind the elected Cabinet's back, he should politely decline. I say that from personal experience. Officials are there to support their

Ministers, not undermine them. Sir Humphrey should stick to TV comedy. Officials like Robbins can cost you and me large amounts of money. It's not so long since Tony Blair tried to make the tax payers cough up for all political parties, and institutionalise the grip of their cronies on public life and the public purse. To such low depths has our state sunk. One thing is for sure - Brexit has given ordinary voters a new lease of political life. Let's keep it that way.

When officials spot a leadership vacuum as large as the present one, either because of a lack of ministerial grip or because the EU system confuses reporting chains, their knee-jerk reaction is to move in and take over. That's really Olly's worst blunder. He stepped forward when he should have stepped back. As with the people in the FCO charged with Brexit strategy, you are inevitably driven to speculate that Olly's probably yet another devout believer in the European project. If he hadn't been, the practicality is that he probably would have failed the civil service selection board. When that kind of penetration not only happens but does so right under their noses, Ministers are duty bound to cleanse the temple. So far, they have failed badly.

Perhaps they don't realise the FCO closely resembles a discreet religious order with surprising influence on the daily lives of ordinary people. What do these people do all day? Olly himself has no background in this order, no initiation and training either. The FCO high priests – who are very likeable and honest people, most probably his personal friends (some mine as well) – no doubt tell Olly that his boss, who seems to have no views on anything, should not abandon the European Project. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, most recently from Angela Merkel calling for a European Army and the French Finance Minister calling for declaration of a European empire, still they have faith, and believe the goddess Europa will return to a looser confederation of national states rather than create a new super state.

They see only what the doctrine allows. Europe will reform. No-one asks what happens down the line as Brussels concentrates on delivering internal security. Instead, when this empire happens, argue the FCO high priests, Britain could find itself at grave disadvantage outside this formidable continental power.

Excuse the risk of a cliché, but the fact remains that the Establishment said that about Adolf Hitler. So the recommendation to the Prime Minister goes like this: all she has to do is kid the voters that they've escaped from the EU while leaving the country with enough footholds so that our departure never actually happens. Not Switzerland or Norway, but Hotel California.

Stumbling Towards Revolution

*'F**k the f*****g IRA, they're in the f*****g queue, this mornin' - I'd like to shoot the f*****r marself.'*

- *Tough and likeable, a Metropolitan Police Personal Protection Officer from Glasgow, talking about his charge, a Northern Ireland Secretary, on a visit to South Korea.*

Sometimes the people have been known to blow their fuse. Stay in at night, Mrs May.

Now this is not Brexit. Not even the beginning of Brexit. Though, if we fight only a fraction as hard as did our forefathers, at least it's the end of the beginning of Brexit.

I was of the opposite political view, much of the time, but not all, to Tony Benn, but greatly enjoyed his company at a Labour Party Conference and respected his wisdom and downright honesty. Tony was sound as granite on constitutional matters and a good man to have on your side. Ideas and beliefs, hopes and dreams, carry people through the storms of life, not career management.

The Prime Minister boxed herself into a corner by selecting her Home Office prodigy to lead the trickiest diplomatic negotiation since Henry VIII split from Rome. Certainly similar raw emotions are aroused by those who believe in the *European project* and those of us who think it's just another attempt at European hegemony. Mrs May - and Macron – ought to have read *Der Spiegel* a year ago. Perhaps Macron did. Frau Merkel has been following the strategy leaked to the magazine. Not every German is a fan of *Mutti* – another huge diplomatic error by Mrs May, who had plenty of people who could have formed a much stronger team, starting with the expert and genuine free trader Crawford Falconer. Why isn't he leading a shadow EU team acting out the parts of Selmayr and Barnier with someone else playing Merkel? At least such gaming might have forced her to understand that the Irish border problem is a man-made mirage that doesn't exist.

Barnier's job is to make sure a Withdrawal Agreement grabs the money while a trade deal that makes the UK competitive never happens. Selmayr's task is to lock the UK in, to German economic gain. It's all about money, Geld, l'argent. And that's all explained in *Vorausshau 2040* – if you can't read German, just read my articles on the *Veterans for Britain* and *Briefings for Brexit* websites. Watch a video of Angela Merkel at the European Parliament is all that Mrs May needs do. Given the dreadful terms of the Withdrawal Agreement, and the baggage that it in turns deposits in the Political Declaration, one is almost tempted to mischievously wonder if Frau M has something over Mrs M from her past. After all, the Stasi trained their student informers.

Meanwhile, it is clear that Angela Merkel has released forces in Germany that we have not seen since the nineteen thirties. Germans my age are worried. They remember what happens when ordinary people feel ignored, when their opinions don't count, their votes suddenly are worthless. On this hundredth year since that railway coach conference where Germany surrendered its fleet to the Royal Navy and *withdrew* from France – the Kaiser had stepped down hours before and his Army was busy deserting – perhaps we should reflect on whether we should defend Europe from itself a third time.

Let's go by what their leaders say. Macron threatens that Europe must defend itself against the USA when Donald Trump merely asked Europe to pay its fair share towards NATO. German senior officers

argue that by demanding two per cent of GNP on defence and twenty per cent of that on new equipment, the Americans demand that Europe buys US equipment. There's no evidence. Europe must buy European equipment. Nobody stopped them but according to *Der Spiegel*, they didn't buy a thing. Who will control this European Army? The European Parliament will set guidelines. Really? Then there's the barbed dynamic of Russian gas on German foreign policy. To me that says we need the NATO alliance with the USA more than ever - plus some tactical nuclear weapons to deter Russia from any other blackmail deals. I have doubts about some other NATO allies, but they are not sitting astride the North German Plain and that debate is for another moment.

Yet what do we see – one example is enough. We need many more fishery patrol ships. Down in Devonshire, because there are no orders for new ships for the Royal Navy or any other task, Appledore's shipyard will close and hundreds of skilled people lose their jobs. The sooner the long-awaited Government change comes, and with it fresh policy and fresh thinkers, the better.

Why the hurry?

As the clock ticks, Mrs May finds herself trapped in an ever shrinking box. The Cabinet Office has deliberately neglected to make any preparations for a clean Brexit on the belief that this will force the Conservative Party in Parliament to vote for a version of *BRINO – ohne vorteilen* – without advantages. The effect of this would be to set the groundwork for a Labour Party application to rejoin the EU on punitive terms starting with abandoning the Pound for the German-dominated Euro.

This ambition reveals another fundamental flaw in the plan. British voters regard all politicians as habitual liars. Another referendum would result in a significantly larger vote to leave. Already the EU is no longer the same as in 2016. Those of who live here on the continent see the evidence daily. Frau Merkel and Macron make a song and dance about a European Army. Two years ago, Remain campaigners in Britain described this idea as fantasy. Still denying it even today, they think that if you spout disinformation long enough people believe.

In the British Isles that doesn't work. At this eleventh hour British MPs would do better to ignore the blathering and accept that communications with Europe through France will be difficult. Macron doesn't have to do anything. French fishermen will blockade Calais for their own protests, never mind customs, immigration and the immigrants from the *jungle*. It's long past the hour to start improving the North Kent and Suffolk ports, the roads and railways to the Channel ports and the Channel Tunnel, not to mention expand Customs and Immigration staffs. This failure sits in the lap of the Chancellor. However, personally I'm not sad, after forty years Kent will rid itself of twenty-thousand trucks a day poisoning the county. In future any trade will go by train and ship from three or four ports and probably to Belgium and Holland.

Alternative suppliers, not just markets, are required urgently. Where is the electronic version of the seventeenth century Royal Exchange? A focal point where one can buy products or components, made in Britain or friendly trading countries, rather than buy from the EU. Such a focal point would make life much less difficult for all sized companies. We have the Department of International Trade but need a minister designated with assisting in sourcing imports. Maybe we should call it the import substitution exchange? Instead we have a Government focused on trying to stay in a Customs Union

in one form or another, and only now actioning modest preparations for leaving – with or without agreement. Those hundreds of pending statutory instruments say all you need to know.

This misplaced focus (or lack of it) means we are missing an opportunity here. Brexit opens the chance to sack the rotten establishment, put the multi-nationals in their place, transform our economy and let it run free. We are on the brink of another industrial revolution. Already we see the price of the caution and indecisiveness. What else could a James Dyson do when Mrs May and her Chancellor want to keep us tied to the EU apron strings through their rule book? How long does it take the German automotive engineering lobby to find *safety* reasons to ban Dyson electric cars even if the UK is within the EU customs union? Very quickly Dyson wouldn't be allowed to sell his electric cars in the country where they are designed. Far better to part company with the EU and set free all our human energy and imagination to roam wherever native genius leads. Dyson has just won a court case over vacuum cleaners but it took him five years. Why should he go through that again? When Britain's economy overtakes Germany no-one in Ireland will give a tinker's cuss about backstops. North and South will grow happily alongside each other as good neighbours.

As things stand at the moment, Mrs May has placed our country on the brink of a watershed political crisis, risking the resumption of violence in Ireland, perhaps dwarfed by violence on the mainland that has nothing to do with Ireland but everything to do with her government. The danger now confronts our very democratic system. Let's face it, after a series of scandals over money, the Speaker is in the middle of the latest over bullying, sex and making up the rules to favour a foreign power. And now we must add yet another scandal - our elected representatives' open contempt for the votes of the electorate. What happens next? Civil disorder or a Tory wipe out? For we the voters have lost our trust in representative democracy. I can't remember any previous time when voters held their MPs in such contempt.

Fortunately there is a civilised and peaceful solution. If one includes 'don't knows', there are now perhaps as many as twenty million voters looking for a competent party we can trust. Even though Mrs May will disappear shortly, the present Tory Party has a structural fault that needs urgent design change and rebuilding. The Conservative Party used to have a huge membership and the Young Conservatives were a popular social club where young people met and some even married. As we see from the policy approach to Brexit, her version of the party is an establishment EU fan club endorsed by a few wealthy donors. All this has nothing in common with democracy. The Conservatives need to take drastic steps to reform and reinvigorate, or else they face extinction.

David Cameron tried to buy us off with internet smoke and mirrors - enough signatures on a petition will earn a debate in Parliament. The voters all know this is worthless. A debate does what the current Prime Minister does every day; kicks another can down the road. Although the voting system has been reformed over the last two centuries and the House of Lords reformed before the First World War, there has been precious little reform of the House of Commons apart from creating the Select Committees. I think it's long past time the people took charge and reformed the way we govern ourselves.

May I propose a simple reform - that significant powers are removed from Parliament and henceforth, all important choices made by the people? Four-hundred-and-eighty miles south-east of Calais another form of government has been working like clockwork for well over eight-hundred years.

Power to the people; they have more courage than their leaders

I have lived in Switzerland twice, from 1974-1978 as a diplomat at the British Embassy where I covered politics and economics, and for the last ten years as a private person. The Swiss have governed themselves through practical forms of direct democracy since the thirteenth century. They used the guilds as a simple form of parliament in the cities and mass votes at open air meetings in the countryside. The latter survive to this day in the two small cantons of Appenzell. Only Napoleon tried to force a constitution on the Swiss, which they rejected, for it offered nothing they hadn't already. Eventually the Swiss wrote their own confederal constitution in 1848 although during a time when the Radical Party was so strong that it inflicted an early form of political correctness tyranny on the Swiss people. There are remarkable similarities with the modern European Union and New Labour. Imagine a hundred years with New Labour running everything and you have the Radical tyranny.

The Swiss broke the Radicals' dictatorship by introducing the concept of a popular vote. Anyone who could gather enough signatures in their support was entitled to have a popular vote on a particular question or cause. This step ended the era when the Federal Council of seven ministers could prevent a referendum on grounds of 'national security', private or party interest. Over the years this revolutionary instrument has become much more refined and several political careers built on a local or national campaign. Today nearly all major decisions are taken by popular vote – foreign treaties, defence, overseas aid, raising or lowering taxes, immigration and legal questions, moral and medical questions.

A further safeguard was added to avoid the smaller communities in the countryside always being out-voted by the five big cities – the double yes. This requires not only that the winner gains the largest number of individual votes but also a majority of cantons. When the last vote was held on EU membership back in 1993 the popular vote was very close but those opposed to EU membership won two thirds of the cantons – a political landslide in Swiss terms. The margin against closer association with the EU has increased with every popular vote since – until the government withdrew their letter of application for membership two years ago after a vote in Parliament.

Now let's look at the Swiss rule through British political eyeballs. A glance at the British 2016 referendum results for *voting areas* shows this rule provides an essential safety net for small communities such as those engaged with fishing and farming, also specialised industries. Under the Swiss rule small remote communities cannot be swept aside by the big cities and big money.

Suppose the numbers of *voting areas* won had counted towards the final result of our June 2016 referendum. The score would show that out of 382 voting areas (one was Gibraltar), 119 voted to remain, including all 32 areas in Scotland. No less than 263 voted to leave. The map shows England and Wales and a large portion of Northern Ireland almost entirely blue save for London plus the M40 and M11 corridors. Far from a narrow victory this was a greater political landslide than the Swiss vote in 1993.

This message is for all Brexit supporters. First, think priorities. Vote only for Brexit-supporting candidates in constituencies that voted to leave. Better still, select only Brexit-supporting candidates for both main parties. The Swiss would not have negotiated with Brussels until they had sorted out their own position with the Scottish and Irish *cantons*. The EU daily tries to undermine our union but some area votes in Scotland were close, particularly where they have a fishing fleet. Only when they

had agreed a strategy would the Swiss have triggered Article 50 on the understanding that all cantons were ready to walk away without an agreement with the EU if necessary. The inevitable EU blackmail – give us your fishing grounds or we won't do a trade deal – would have been stuffed down their throats by solid wall of mental Swiss halberds and crossbows.

Nowadays in Switzerland, direct democracy takes place at three levels – Confederation, canton and local government. Swiss are citizens of one or more of their three thousand local communities, not the country. My wife, children and grandchildren are citizens of Luzern and Naeffels in Glarus where a thousand years ago an ancestor built a castle. Let's just say that a Swiss has enviable control over all three layers of government and thus his or her life. Parliament in Switzerland would have to seek the approval of the people before spending billions on their stately building. For example, I would rather spend £ 6.5 billion on the Armed Forces who do much more for our nation than our politicians. Others might wish to invest in medicine, education or filling all those potholes that daily remind of our bankers. Long ago the Swiss concluded that the best people do not go in for politics. Wisely, they decided to remove all important decisions from their political leaders – and make these themselves.

During 1993 the EU launched their first version of Project Fear against Swiss voters. The result – failure – spoke volumes, yet the EU still meddles nearly thirty years later even despite the Federal Parliament withdrawing their application to join. Eurocrats try every trick, desperate to hoodwink the Swiss. Their latest ploy is that the ECJ should arbitrate all trade disputes between both parties. The real purpose is to lure Switzerland into rule by the ECJ. The other day at our tennis club in the country just south of Bern, I asked some friends what they thought. Most are farmers, ex-professional sportsmen, businessmen; some all three. Our membership ranges from a former Swiss soccer goalie to ice-hockey forwards, and even a former British Olympic Attaché.

“Money,” they insist without the slightest delay. “You're leaving although the Germans are convinced they'll beat you, make you stay in and pay more, because they've done it to all the others. Merkel's finished but the rest of the Germans are still greedy. Now they're after our money as a fall back or a bonus. Give them a chance and they'll steal every Swiss Franc that exists.”

For younger eyes

“We are, and I hadn't understood the full extent of this, but if you look at the UK and how we trade in goods we are particularly reliant on the Dover-Calais crossing.”

This comment by Dominic Raab, Brexit Secretary, tells all you need to know about the sorry state of the workshop of the world. When I was ten years old Britain had a ten per cent surplus in manufactures. The sooner we're out of the EU and repairing the damage, the better.

There are similarities between Mrs May and Ted Heath, although his reputation was less for surrender than stubborn refusal to shift from barren ground combined with bruising frankness.

On 29 March 2019 the default is that the *UK will leave* the EU *without* any agreements, in other words *without* being tied down by a poorly-crafted international treaty. There will be *no* back stop with Ireland, our surrounding seas under *our* control, *no* obligations to the EU and *no* more meddling

by them. We can *do whatever we wish* and many countries want to trade with Britain on more open terms. I have to spell things out with italics in case any slow souls such as those occupying senior roles in the Cabinet Office read these words.

Geoffrey Cox's statement to Parliament simply confirmed how Mrs May has been the Commission's Trojan Horse. A wiser man would have let Mrs May defend herself and told the whole truth to Parliament. Instead, he offered obfuscation.

The Heath and Blairite rumps want to stop all this happening through a deal with the EU brokered by officials, and with the tacit approval of Treasury officials pushing a Customs Union on behalf of a noisy clique of multinationals. Many Brexiteers are opposed to another vote. They say reasonably that we had our peoples' vote in 2016. For reasons explained below, I personally would not have objected to a referendum - *providing* this took place under *Swiss rules*; namely, that the number of voting areas won also counts towards the overall result, not just the total number of individual votes cast. To run one now though is impossible in the timeframe.

Labour, the Liberals and Scottish Nationalists are Remain parties. The Tory Party at the ballot box consists of about seventy per cent leave voters, but in Parliament its MPs proved to be majority Remain. That's who Conservative Central Office has been selecting for the past forty odd years. Despite her key advisers backing Leave, Mrs May defied hope in some quarters and campaigned for Remain. The Chancellor is a Remain supporter, as is her informal deputy who was a critical figure in delivering Cameron's minimalist renegotiation. This does not bode well for the final phase in negotiations. And it is a critical problem that the Party managers will need to address with their candidate selection before they next go back to the polls.

The Peoples' Vote

My conclusion is that only the people, you and me, have the power to defeat this kind of extortion and blackmail from the politically correct classes. Either we fix Parliament by making it representative; or we take away many powers and decisions from Parliament which no longer governs in our interest. Parliament is openly hostile towards the majority of voters. In any other country the people would take to the streets. Look at France. The people may yet be driven to do that in the United Kingdom – a kingdom united against our political class.

The country voted in 2016 to leave the EU. Mrs May has negotiated that we have to stay in the EU on far worse terms and with no influence, effectively (though it is considered bad form to express it so bluntly) as a colony of Germany. She is the first prime minister to my knowledge who has instructed civil servants to go behind the backs of ministers and MPs, the first who in effect has taken orders from a foreign head of state, though she's not the first who has not been upfront to the voters.

Meddling in Ireland by the EU, combined with a very naïve government in Dublin, now places the latter in breach of the Belfast Agreement. The EU is not mentioned in the Belfast Agreement and therefore has no *locus standi*. The Backstop makes any agreement signed with the EU invalid. We should tear it up along with anything else Mrs May's government has signed. We should also return the favour that others have done to us, and encourage the Irish people to quit the EU.

Ulster loyalists have already warned officials in Dublin that the EU is stoking the ashes of the Troubles. If violence starts again, don't expect to see anyone from the EU or Dublin Castle on the scene – they will run for their lives. The Dublin Government assumes that London will clear up the mess and they inherit the pieces. That could prove a bigger mistake than they realise.

Sensible people need to stop this stupidity before it goes any further. Undermining the peace process, because it is a process not a finished work, is naïve and irresponsible. There will be no hard border on the British side. A new Cabinet needs someone effective as Northern Ireland Secretary who will build trust with the border communities including former IRA members. Given existing and proven systems, the border does not require any solution, other than telling the EU to mind its own business.

As for the future of NATO, according to the German Army strategy plan, *Vorausshau 2040*, they are looking at the prospect of the alliance breaking up. Hence the Merkel-Macron love-ins about a European Army, and the peculiar line that I have heard from German officers that the American complaint about underspending is only really about buying more US-made equipment. Britain's armed forces should have nothing to do with this damaging plan. Indeed, we should withdraw our forces from the Continent and sit down with the Americans, our Commonwealth friends, Norway, the Japanese and friendly Latin Americans and create a new alliance based on the ocean trading democracies. How about a new SEATO – this time more properly a Sea Treaty Organisation?

Second to none

I have worked with prime ministers, presidents, ministers and their officials from Pakistan to Cyprus, South Vietnam to Switzerland, Canada to South Korea, Jamaica to the USA. I've worked with governments, business, industry and the media all over the planet. I have endless comparisons to draw upon. My impression is that there is no shortage of potential candidates for Parliament and able party organisers from all the brilliant young people who have been running the Brexit campaign for the last three years.

The performance of Conservative Brexiteer MPs over the vote of confidence and during the legal advice vote shows the imperative for both clear-minded quality representatives and slick organisation against the limpets of the Establishment. Two hundred MPs voted to keep Mrs May. You young people would have voted her out - and I know that you would do a far better job of Brexit and its aftermath.

You have a huge advantage over the rump of the Heath party because you're all used to working with each other in a loose, free-ranging way that always produces the best results. Besides, that's how political campaigning is done in the age of quantum physics. You may have only weeks, or you may be fortunate and have a couple of years to build a new version of the Tory Party around the network that you run every day.

But time is tight. And the cost for failure will be catastrophic.

About the author



Adrian Hill served as an officer in the Royal Engineers before joining the Commonwealth Relations Office in summer 1963. He spent nearly thirty years as a diplomat and was directly involved in many of the great events of our times. After leaving HM Diplomatic Service he wrote books, worked for industry, served on the CBI Council and created a unique business.

All his life he has been a supporter of Britain as a Commonwealth nation. He opposed membership of the Common Market. He regards the 2016 referendum result as a watershed and credit to the courage of the British people. He also believes that after its utter failure to defend the voters' choice, indeed outright hostility, that Parliament should be stripped of many of its powers and these responsibilities given to the people or local governments as in Switzerland.

From nearly thirty years as a member of HM Diplomatic Service, he knows there are many brilliant and very decent people representing our country. Perhaps their views were ignored or they suffer mass tunnel vision. Certainly the Commonwealth Office ought to be revived and given the aid budget to manage.

As for the FCO – their leadership set themselves a low standard which they failed to maintain.

