



Vote Leave

Application to register as a designated
lead campaigner - referendum on the
United Kingdom's membership of the
European Union

SECTION 1

- Your organisation's details

Electoral Commission use:

Outcome you intend to campaign for:

Remain a member of the
European Union

Leave the
European Union

Name of
individual or
organisation

VOTE LEAVE LIMITED

Campaigner
name (if
different)

Address

WESTMINSTER TOWER
3 ALBERT EMBANKMENT

Town

LAMBETH

Postcode

SE1 7SP

Telephone
number

Email
address

SECTION 2

- Your organisation's objectives

Section 2 – Your organisation's objectives

2.1 - Objective

Vote Leave was founded in September 2015 to campaign for the United Kingdom to leave the European Union. The sole purpose of our organisation is to campaign to leave the European Union in this referendum and help maximise voter participation and turnout in this historic decision, both through our own efforts and in collaboration with other like-minded groups. We believe our most valuable legacy to British politics will be ensuring a majority vote for 'leave' On 23 June. But we intend to campaign in such a way that we will also create a valuable legacy for the UK's democratic process.

Vote Leave's objects are set out in Article 2A of its articles of association: *There will be a referendum in the United Kingdom held before the end of 2017 on the question 'Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?' The Company's aims are to campaign for a Leave vote; and to co-operate with other organisations espousing democratic values to achieve that object.*

These objects were added to the articles of association on 9 February 2016. As required by the Companies Act 2006 section 26, a complete copy of the articles has been filed with Companies House and is available on their website.

SECTION 3

- Support for your application

Section 3 – Support for your application

3.1 - Introduction

Vote Leave was publicly launched on 8 October 2015 following a summer of intense preparation. Parliamentary representatives from the **Conservative Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Labour Party** and **UK Independence Party** had been meeting since June in the form of an 'Exploratory Committee' to develop and oversee the launch of Vote Leave and to scrutinise the European Union Referendum Bill as it passed through Parliament.

In parallel, **Business for Britain**, (an independent campaigning organisation launched in April 2013 to represent thousands of British business leaders unhappy with the EU status quo) expanded to take on experienced campaigners capable of launching and running a nationwide referendum campaign; Conservative supporters and Parliamentarians launched '**Conservatives for Britain**'; Labour activists and Parliamentarians transitioned '**Labour for a Referendum**' (launched in May 2013) into '**Labour Leave**'; Liberal Democrat activists and a former Liberal Democrat MP launched '**Liberal Leave**' and a Green peer and activists launched '**Green Leaves**'.

Since its launch, Vote Leave has established a UK-wide campaign organisation made up of professional campaign staff working alongside thousands of volunteers and activists.

Vote Leave's structure gives the campaign considerable strength. We combine senior UK and EU Parliamentarians from major political parties with an experienced media and campaign staff based in Lambeth. This, along with our growing professional and voluntary activity in every English region, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland means that Vote Leave is well placed to both fairly represent the range of political support for leaving the EU, and mobilise and direct activists and supporters across the country.

After months of preparation, focused on building both our representativeness and our competence, we believe that Vote Leave is strongly positioned to lead the campaign for a Leave vote at the forthcoming referendum, and help to maximise voter engagement and turnout on 23 June. As Parliamentarians, campaigners and political activists we are conscious that playing a leading part in such an important moment in our national democracy is a very significant responsibility. If we are designated, we would undertake the task in this spirit, conscious of the gravity of the choice facing the British people, and clear about the limits of our remit as the designated Leave campaign.

3.2 - Details of our supporters

The total number of registered Vote Leave supporters is 43,544.

This is based upon a strict definition of 'registered supporter': people who have had positive contact with us, whether by telephone, letter, leaflet, via our website or in person (for example by visiting one of the many hundreds of stalls we have operated across the UK since autumn 2015), and have provided us with their name, home address and (where relevant) email address and/or telephone number in order to join

our campaign. This makes our figure a reliable measure of real support. So far, Vote Leave has received commitments of support from 43,544 members of the electorate from across the UK. We believe this type of engagement is meaningful, and establishes a strong basis for a national campaign which seeks to give an active role to volunteers and citizens. This number is growing on a daily basis and we expect it to increase significantly as we move into the formal campaign. We have worked hard to build a nationwide organisation capable of managing and mobilising hundreds of thousands of people.

3.2.1 – Supporters by region

We have appointed 13 National and Regional Directors, each supported by campaign assistants and a regional press team to coordinate local campaigning by our supporters and high-profile spokespeople. The first 5 Regional Directors started work in December 2015. We have followed the model of a European Parliament election and incorporated Gibraltar within the South West region.

The geographical spread of our supporters is broadly in line with the distribution of the electorate:

East Midlands	Registered Supporters	3,068 registered supporters (7.1%) 7.2% of electors live in the region
	Regional Director	Tom Harrison (UKIP)
	Regional Assistant	Tom Huxley (Con)
East of England	Registered Supporters	4,768 registered supporters (11.0%) 9.4% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	James Moyies (Ind)
	Regional Assistant	Jonathan Shilton (UKIP)
London	Registered Supporters	4,953 registered supporters (11.4%) 11.7% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Gareth Knight (Con)
	Regional Assistant	Alan Murad (Ind)
North East	Registered Supporters	1,353 registered supporters (3.1%) 4.2% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Martyn Punyer (Con)
	Regional Assistant	Jade Smith (Con)
North West	Registered Supporters	3,478 registered supporters (8.0%) 11.3% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Paul White (Con)
	Regional Assistant	Jack Holland (Lab)

South East	Registered Supporters	7,862 registered supporters (18.1%) 13.8% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Elizabeth St Clair (Berks; Bucks; Hants; IOW; Oxon) (Con)
	Regional Director	Tom Waterhouse (Kent; Surrey; W & E Sussex) (Con)
	Regional Assistant	Allrik Birch (Con)
South West & Gibraltar	Registered Supporters	3,855 registered supporters (8.9%) 8.8% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Duncan MacFarlane (Con)
	Deputy Regional Director	Andrew Barrand (Cornwall; Devon) (Con)
West Midlands	Registered Supporters	2,905 registered supporters (6.7%) 8.8% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Paul Martin (Con)
	Regional Assistant	Tom Huxley (Con)
Yorkshire and the Humber	Registered Supporters	2,714 registered supporters (6.2%) 8.3% of voters live in the region
	Regional Director	Tom Banks (Con)
	Regional Assistant	David Jeffreys (UKIP)
Scotland	Registered Supporters	1,103 registered supporters (2.5%) 8.8% of voters live in Scotland
	National Director	Tom Harris (Lab)
	National Assistant	Braden Davy (Lab)
Wales	Registered Supporters	1,346 registered supporters (3.1%) 4.9% of voters live in Wales
	National Director	Matthew MacKinnon (UKIP)
	National Assistant	Morgan Brobyn (Con)
Northern Ireland	Registered Supporters	361 registered supporters (1.0%) 2.7% of voters live in Northern Ireland
	National Director	Lee Reynolds (DUP)

We also have 493 non UK based supporters, and a further 5,285 for whom we don't have precise location data (i.e. a phone number, email, or partial address.)

All of the figures given above are capable of external audit should the Electoral Commission wish to verify them.

Vote Leave has in place a comprehensive, permanent and experienced team to deliver its campaign to the entire electorate of the UK and Gibraltar. Working alongside our team of full-time paid National and Regional Directors is a team of volunteer co-ordinators. We have used as the basic building block for our campaign the established European Parliamentary regions which the Electoral Commission will be using to count the votes in the referendum, but have split the largest of these, the South East of England, into two (South Central, comprising Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; and South East, comprising Kent, Surrey, East Sussex and West Sussex) because of its geographical size and it containing the largest electorate.

At a grassroots level, Vote Leave already has local co-ordinators in place to oversee 301 campaign areas. Our National and Regional Directors have used their experience and knowledge of the areas for which they are responsible in order to be able to structure their campaigns in the most effective manner. In London, local organisers are each in charge of campaigning in a London Borough. Across England and Wales, outside London, co-ordinators are assigned to individual Westminster parliamentary constituencies. In Scotland, co-ordinators have been appointed for each local authority. Northern Ireland comprises a single counting area for electoral purposes and our grassroots campaign is organised in a way that reflects this.

The party allegiances of our local co-ordinators demonstrates the ability of Vote Leave to reach out across the political spectrum:

	Local Co-ordinators
Conservative Party	48.8%
UKIP	30.9%
No party or Independent	16.6%
Labour Party	2.7%
Liberal Democrat	0.7%
Green	0.3%

Because the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party have officially aligned themselves with the Remain side in this referendum, there is a reluctance among experienced activists from those parties to defy their party line. We expect there to be an equivalent over-representation of Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green Party activists among the organisers of any Remain campaign.

In Labour, there is an unwillingness amongst the rank and file membership to be perceived as being disloyal to a party leadership widely seen as being under consistent attack from many of his parliamentarians who, while unrepresentative of the Party as a whole, are able to gain coverage from a hostile media. In addition, Labour activists are facing elections which are of particularly high importance because of their impact upon the national scene. In these circumstances candidates and

activists have sidelined active involvement. However many have given promises to get involved after 5 May.

Nonetheless, we have already been able to recruit committed Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green Party members to take on leadership roles in this referendum. We believe this demonstrates Vote Leave's ability to build a cross-party organisation, and represent the full range of political arguments in favour of leaving the EU. The high proportion of Independent and non-party activists who have so far volunteered to support Vote Leave's grassroots campaigning is further evidence of this.

The CVs of our core staff are set out in Appendix A1. The CVs of our National and Regional Directors are set out in Appendix A2.

In addition to Vote Leave's grassroots campaign network, our strategic partner Business for Britain has established a network of Regional Business Councils to ensure that business leaders across the whole of the UK & Gibraltar are able to contribute to this important debate, one that is too often not reflective of the wide range of views that exist across the business community. The Regional Business Councils are part of our commitment to deliver an effective campaign which reaches all parts of the electorate across the UK.

Business Councils		
East Midlands	Chairman	Nigel Baxter, RH Commercial Vehicles
	Deputy Chairman	Christopher Nieper, David Nieper Ltd
	Business Leaders	52
East of England	Chairman	John May, Hillhouse Nexus
	Deputy Chairman	Luke Morris, Larking Gowen
	Business Leaders	77
London	Chairman	Richard Patient, Thorncliffe
	Deputy Chairman	Peter Chadha, Dr Pete Technology Experts
	Business Leaders	476
North East	Chairman	Andrew Saunders, Scotchcoulthard
	Deputy Chairmen	John Elliott, Ebac, and Clive Rook, Rook, Matthews, Sayer
	Business Leaders	25
North West	Chairman	John Kersey, Kersey Hair
	Deputy Chairman	John Fifield, Fifield Glyn
	Business Leaders	77
South East	Chairman	Ian Brown, IMS Ltd

	Deputy Chairman	Emma Pullen, British Hovercraft
	Business Leaders	277
South West	Chairman	Simon Boyd, Reid Steel
	Deputy Chairman	Ian Herbert, Vistair Systems Ltd
	Business Leaders	71
West Midlands	Chairman	Johnnie Arkwright, Hatton Country World
	Deputy Chairman	Anthony Coombs, S&U Plc
	Business Leaders	71
Yorkshire and the Humber	Chairman	Carl Chambers, CNG Ltd
	Deputy Chairman	Amanda Vigar, V&A Vigar Group
	Business Leaders	76
Scotland	Chairman	Alastair Macmillan, White House Products Ltd
	Deputy Chairman	James Bromley, Quality of Sales Ltd
	Business Leaders	23
Wales	Chairman	Lee Canning, LDP Services
	Deputy Chairman	Richard Suchorzewski, Ski Marketing Ltd
	Business Leaders	14
Northern Ireland	Chairman	Jeffrey Peel, Quadriga Consulting Ltd
	Business Leaders	3

These councils have all been all launched with high-profile local and regional media events since January 2016. Coverage can be found in Appendix D1. Members of our Regional Business Councils act as regular spokespeople for the campaign in the regional and local media.

The biographies of the Regional Business Chairmen, and brief personal statements from them, together with details of the Regional Business Councils, are given in Appendix A3.

3.2.2 – Supporters by social media

Social media is a relatively weak indicator of an organisation's active supporter base. By contrast, our 43,544 registered supporters are each individuals who have pledged their willingness and availability to support actively our campaign, and provided us with their contact details. We believe that these supporters represent a meaningful resource for our campaign, which we are well prepared to build upon. We do not regard

any number of fleeting endorsements generated on social media (for example, Facebook 'likes' or Twitter re-tweets) as comparable to this resource.

Social media will play an important role in this campaign. However, social media debate and advertising can only ever complement political campaign activity such as public meetings, door-to-door leafleting and running high street stalls. While Vote Leave plans to invest significant time and resources into online activity on networks such as Facebook and Twitter, we do not regard them as appropriate primary platforms for this historic national debate. We are also aware, from Scottish experience, that the level of vitriol and abuse common on social media can deter many users, particularly those simply seeking clarification or enlightenment. It is important that we understand all means by which the electorate interact and consume information, and social networks provide a means to ensure that knowledge is shared.

Our analysis of the Scottish Independence Referendum, by the referendum expert and Vote Leave supporter Nigel Smith, suggests that it is misleading to treat social media activity as a 'hard' measure of support of whether a particular message (or messenger) carries much resonance among the actual electorate. Following the 2015 General Election, analyses from the British Polling Council, the British Election Study, YouGov and British Social Attitudes studies into why the opinion polls failed to predict the actual outcome suggest that pollsters were misled into placing too much weight on social media activity.

Notwithstanding all of the above, and in order to ensure that our campaign maximises its ability to reach important voter groups such as the under 25-year olds, Vote Leave has established an active social media campaign, and has assembled an extensive online following since our launch in October. Our social media engagement is comparable to, and in most cases exceeds, that of similar campaigns and political parties. Raw supporter numbers are largely irrelevant, given the rise of 'bots' (non-human accounts), 'clicktivism', and paid-for supporters.

The Vote Leave core numbers for our online support are as follows:

Facebook likes: 293,961

Twitter followers: 30,600

The core numbers do not represent true level of engagement, which is the more significant factor. Our social media engagement is comparable to, and in most cases exceeds, that of similar campaigns and political parties.

3.2.3 - Supporters by public office

Organisations capable of delivering an effective message to 46 million voters need to build on existing political structures and networks as well as creating new ones. This type of temporary organisation must also understand its relationship with the political system it seeks to influence, and the limits of its fleeting remit. We believe that such an organisation should be run by capable, experienced and responsible politicians and campaign professionals able to plan and conduct a campaign which gives a role to as many activists as wish to participate from a wide range of political opinion.

We have received a remarkable volume of endorsements from across the political spectrum from figures with considerable experience of how to manage and deliver campaigns of this scale. Included with this application are endorsements from 8 present and former leaders of political parties: **Andrew RT Davies AM** (Welsh Conservative Party / Ceidwadwyr Cymreig); **Arlene Foster MLA** (Democratic Unionist Party); **Lord Howard of Lympne** (Conservative Party); **Craig Mackinlay MP** (UKIP); **Mike Nattrass** (Independence from Europe); **Lord Owen** (Social Democratic Party); **Iain Duncan Smith MP** (Conservative Party) and **Lord Trimble** (Ulster Unionist Party). These high-level political accolades represent an impressive vindication of the Vote Leave approach.

A total of 121 MPs have provided letters of support in Appendix B1. These MPs are drawn from members of four parties:

Conservative	108
DUP	8
Labour	4
UKIP	1

These MPs include five serving Cabinet Ministers: Michael Gove MP, the Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice; Chris Grayling MP, the Lord President of the Council and Leader of the House of Commons; John Whittingdale MP, the Secretary of State for Culture, Media & Sport; Theresa Villiers MP, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland; Priti Patel MP, the Minister of State for Employment (who attends Cabinet); ten other serving Government Ministers; Boris Johnson MP, the Mayor of London; and Iain Duncan Smith MP, until recently, the Secretary of State for Work & Pensions. These individuals will be some of the key public servants who will negotiate the terms of the UK's exit from the European Union if there is a vote to leave the European Union in the referendum.

Below Cabinet level, Vote Leave has been endorsed by a number of serving ministers who would also contribute to this transition. A full list would be excessive, but if we take just the campaign issue of national security, which is likely to feature as a central issue in debates, Vote Leave is backed by Security Minister John Hayes MP as well as Defence Ministers Penny Mordaunt MP and Julian Brazier MP. On CAP changes, Vote Leave has the backing of Farming Minister George Eustice MP.

Our supporters also include a range of former ministers and MPs with impressive records as campaigners. This includes Cabinet Ministers in the Coalition Government, such as the former Secretary of State for Wales **Cheryl Gillan MP**, who was Secretary of State during the 2011 referendum on extending the law-making powers of the Welsh Assembly, former Secretary of State for Defence **Liam Fox MP**, former Secretary of State for Wales **David Jones MP** and former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs **Owen Paterson MP**.

We are also supported by a significant number of prominent former Cabinet Ministers from other previous Governments, including former Chancellors of the Exchequer

Lord Lawson of Blaby and **Lord Lamont of Lerwick**, former Secretary of State for Defence and for Trade **Sir John Nott**, former Secretary of State for Scotland **Lord Forsyth of Drumlean**, former Secretary of State for Trade and for Social Security **Peter Lilley MP**, former Secretary of State for Wales **John Redwood MP**, former Leader of the House of Lords and Lord Privy Seal **the Marquess of Salisbury** and former Secretary of State for Employment and for Trade **Lord Tebbit**.

We also have the support of fifteen former Conservative ministers who served below Cabinet level: **Sir Henry Bellingham**, **Lord Blencathra**, **Christopher Chope MP**, **Michael Fabricant MP**, **Lord Hamilton**, **Lord Henley**, **Sir Gerald Howarth MP**, **Sir Greg Knight MP**, **the Marquess of Lothian**, **Tim Loughton MP**, **Andrew Murrison MP**, **Lord Robathan**, **Lord Ryder of Wensum**, **Robert Syms MP** and **Ann Widdecombe**.

We are also supported by the former Labour Minister for Welfare Reform and current Chairman of the Work and Pensions Select Committee **Frank Field MP** and **Lord Stoddart of Swindon**, who served as a Whip in the Labour Governments of both Harold Wilson and Jim Callaghan. Other supporters include **Graham Stringer MP**, who served as a member of the Labour Government under Tony Blair between 1999 and 2002, and **Eric Deakins**, the former Labour Minister for Trade, and then Social Services.

We are also supported by **Baroness Jones of Moulsecoomb**, the Green Party peer, a Member of the London Assembly since 2000, and Deputy Mayor of London (2003–04).

We are supported by nine serving House of Commons Select Committee Chairmen, including **Andrew Bridgen MP**, Chairman of the Regulatory Reform Committee; **Sir William Cash MP**, Chairman of the European Scrutiny Committee; **David T.C. Davies MP**, Chairman of the Welsh Affairs Committee; **Bernard Jenkin MP**, Chairman of the Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee; **Dr Julian Lewis MP**, Chairman of the Defence Committee; **Laurence Robertson MP**, Chairman of the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee; and **Charles Walker MP**, Chairman of the Procedure Committee.

Three of our prominent supporters, **Lord Tebbit**, **the Marquess of Lothian** and **Liam Fox MP**, served as Chairmen of the Conservative Party under three different Party leaders.

When our Chairman, **Gisela Stuart MP**, was first elected as Labour MP for Birmingham Edgbaston, she captured a constituency with a 99-year history of returning a Conservative. She has retained the seat ever since by pioneering a new form of community-based campaigning. In 2010, she was awarded *The Spectator's* 'Survivor of the Year' title for her successful re-election in that year's general election. In 2015, she doubled her majority, against the tide of the national vote. The endorsement of our approach from someone with this track record is highly significant.

A total of 7 MEPs from the UK & Gibraltar delegation to the European Parliament, drawn from members of three parties, have provided letters of support in Appendix B2:

Conservative	5
DUP	1
UKIP	1

A total of 39 Peers have provided letters of support in Appendix B3. This is drawn from members of 6 parties:

Conservative	32
DUP	3
Green Party	1
Independent Labour	1
Independent Social Democrat	1
UKIP	1

Particularly noteworthy is the endorsement we have received from **Lord Owen**. One of the key reasons he gave for leaving the Labour Party and to help found the SDP in 1981 was his opposition to the then policy of the Labour Party to advocate withdrawal from the European Economic Community.

A total of 20 Members of the devolved Parliaments and Assemblies have provided letters of support in Appendix B4, drawn from members of 2 parties:

Conservative	2
DUP	18

This group includes **Arlene Foster MLA**, the First Minister of Northern Ireland, and **Andrew R.T. Davies AM**, the leader of the Conservative Group (and Leader of the Opposition), in the National Assembly for Wales. There are a number of others who wish to wait until after the elections before declaring their support.

A total of 1,594 councillors – at county, borough, unitary authority and parish level – have declared their support for Vote Leave either verbally, in writing or online:

Conservative	1,150
DUP	32
Green Party	3
Independent	90
Labour	81

Liberal Democrat	10
UKIP	226
Ulster Unionist	2

Of these, 126 councillors have also provided personal letters of support in Appendix B5 (Conservative: 66; Labour: 3; UKIP: 48; Liberal Democrat: 2; Independents: 6; Green Party: 1). Considering that the local and devolved election campaigns have now commenced – and the fact that both the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats have officially aligned themselves with the ‘Remain’ side – we greatly appreciate the time and effort they have devoted to our cause at this time. We are also aware that a number of sitting councillors and candidates wish to find out if they survive/succeed before declaring.

The approximate geographical distribution of these councillors is:

East Midlands:	11%
Eastern:	18%
London	7%
North East	2%
North West	10%
South East	25%
South West	10%
West Midlands	8%
Yorkshire	5%
Scotland	2%
Wales	2%

In Northern Ireland, we are backed by the DUP, which has the largest representation in local government (125 councillors), as well as by 2 councillors from the Ulster Unionist Party.

All of the figures given above are capable of external audit should the Electoral Commission wish to verify them.

Appendix B6 contains personal endorsements of Vote Leave by 7 other prominent individuals. These include **Suzanne Evans**, the former Deputy Chairman of UKIP; **John Longworth**, the former Director General of the British Chambers of Commerce; **Nigel Smith**, the former chairman of Scotland Forward, the winning Yes Campaign in the 1997 Scottish Devolution Referendum and **Paul Keetch**, the former Liberal

Democrat Member of Parliament for Hereford (1997–2010) and Lib Dem Defence Spokesman.

3.2.4 - Supporters by outside organisations

The following political organisations have provided letters of support in Appendix C1 (which contains more information about each group):

- **Conservatives for Britain**
- **Conservatives for Liberty**
- **Conservative Voice**
- **Democratic Unionist Party**
- **Green Leaves**
- **Liberal Leave**

The following business-based organisations have provided letters of support in Appendix C2:

- **Bangladesh Caterers Association**
- **Business for Britain**
- **The City for Britain**
- **Farmers for Britain**
- **Lawyers for Britain**

The following community-related, minority and specialist interest groups have provided letters of support in Appendix C3:

- **Africans for Britain**
- **Americans for Britain**
- **Aussies for Britain**
- **BeLeave [youth campaigners]**
- **Christians for Britain**
- **Kiwis for Britain**
- **Muslims for Britain**
- **Out & Proud [LGBT+ campaigners]**
- **Vapers for Britain**
- **Veterans for Britain**
- **Women for Britain**

The following groups from academia have provided letters of support in Appendix C4:

- **Economists for Britain**
- **Historians for Britain**
- **Students for Britain**

Further information about each of these groups is to be found in Appendix C4.

Some of these groups (Business for Britain; The City for Britain; Conservatives for Britain; Economists for Britain; Historians for Britain; Liberal Leave; and Students for

Britain) are 'strategic partners' of Vote Leave. By this we mean that the degree of co-operation between us is so close that we accept that it amounts to a 'concert party' within the scope of paragraph 22 of schedule 1 to the European Union Referendum Act 2015. A single spending limit will therefore apply to these groups combined. We have arranged our internal controls and reporting systems to ensure that we remain fully compliant with the law at all times.

3.3 - The active nature of our supporters

We have 11,462 volunteer activists. By this, we mean Vote Leave supporters who we know have already played an active part in the campaign by holding a street stall, delivering leaflets, or canvassing other electors by making telephone calls or calling door-to-door. This level of engagement, with 26% of our supporters becoming active campaigners, compares very favourably with that of a political party, where in our experience volunteering levels are closer to 10%.

From a standing start of zero membership, Vote Leave has rapidly expanded its base of support across the UK. At a time when the enrolled membership of most political parties is declining, this would not be possible if Vote Leave appealed only to one particular segment of the electorate, or relied on a narrow range of argument. We are delighted by the active part that has already been played by our volunteers, which represents a genuine commitment on the part of thousands of referendum voters. We also expect these numbers to continue to rise, particularly after 5 May when supporters who are currently volunteering in local elections will feel that they are now able, both physically and politically, to campaign to leave.

In this referendum there will be an eligible electorate of 46.3 million. In recent times, however, British politics has seen the depressing sight of low turnouts and disengaged electors. There must be a question of how many of those electors will vote on 23 June. That in turn will give rise to questions about the legitimacy of any result. We want public participation and turnout to be as high as possible.

We want a decisive result in this referendum for the United Kingdom to leave the European Union. Our campaign is designed to convert as many electors into voters as possible. A key factor in this will be the dynamism and energy of Vote Leave volunteers, an infectious enthusiasm which is already being transmitted to the members of the public they contact. The campaign which can best engage and motivate its own supporters is clearly better placed to engage and motivate our electors.

3.4 - Vote Leave is led by a team of experienced campaigners

Although Vote Leave itself was incorporated in September 2015, it represents a coming-together of campaigners with a much longer history of working for Britain's exit from the European Union through the mechanism of a referendum.

- Our founding Chairman, **John Mills**, was the national election agent for the National Referendum Campaign, the official 'No' group in the 1975 referendum on the UK's membership of the then European Economic Community. John was Chairman of the People's Pledge campaign (2011–14), which campaigned

for a referendum on EU membership. He was also Chairman of Labour for a Referendum Limited, the campaign group established to lobby to change Labour Party policy, which re-launched as Labour Leave Limited in October 2015. Since 1975, John has been Secretary of the Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign. He has for many years been on the National Committee of the Campaign for an Independent Britain (established 1969) and a member of the Bruges Group (established 1989).

- Our current Chairman, **Gisela Stuart MP**, was one of the UK Parliamentary Representatives to the Convention on the Future of Europe, tasked with drafting the European Constitution (2001–03), serving as one of the 13 members of the Presidium. Together with another of our board directors, **Graham Stringer MP**, she was a member of the Advisory Board for the cross-party 'I Want A Referendum' group which campaigned for a referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon.
- One of our board directors, **Bernard Jenkin MP**, opposed the policy of the then Conservative Government to ratify the Treaty of Maastricht (1992). So too did one of our Campaign Committee members, **Iain Duncan Smith MP**. Another prominent supporter, **Priti Patel MP**, was Head of Press for Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum Party (1995–97).
- Our Outreach Director, **Alex Hickman**, was Chief Executive of Business for Sterling, and then of the No Campaign, (2000–04) whose objective was to prevent the UK from joining the euro. He was then Chief Executive of Vote 2004 and Vote No (2004–05), two cross-party campaigns calling for a referendum on the proposed European Constitution. Alex co-founded Open Europe, a think-tank lobbying for reform of the European Union, and acted as its first Chief Executive (2005–06).
- Our Campaign Director, **Dominic Cummings**, was Campaign Director of Business for Sterling, and then the 'no' campaign to stop Britain joining the euro (1999–2002).
- In establishing Vote Leave we benefited greatly from the experience and counsel of **Stuart Wheeler**. He has a long track record of supporting eurosceptic causes and was Treasurer of UKIP (2011–14). In 2008, he launched an unsuccessful legal action against the Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, and Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, to prevent ratification of the Lisbon Treaty without a prior referendum. In 2014, he sought another judicial review of the Government's decision to 'opt in' to the European Arrest Warrant without a referendum.
- Vote Leave is also supported by **Douglas Carswell MP**, who felt so strongly about the issue of Britain's membership of the European Union that he changed his political allegiance to UKIP from the Conservative Party in August 2014 and triggered a by-election which he won as the UKIP candidate. Our Founding Supporters list also includes **Paul Sykes**, a prominent donor to UKIP and **Robin Birley**, who stood for the Referendum Party in 1997 and, until 2004, was Chairman of the Democracy Movement which grew out of the Referendum Party.

- The most recent addition to our senior staff is our Labour Co-ordinator, **Ian Davidson**, who was Member of Parliament in Glasgow Govan, Pollok then South West between 1992 and 2015. Ian is also the former Parliamentary Secretary of Labour Against the Euro, Labour Against a European Superstate, Tribune Group, and the Trade Union Group of Labour MPs. He is a former Chair of Centre for a Social Europe and a former researcher for Janey Buchan MEP. He has been consistently critical of drives toward 'ever closer union', of EU waste and of the capitalist bias in its institutions.
- Our Chief Executive, **Matthew Elliott**, was the founding Chief Executive of Business for Britain between 2013 and 2015. Business for Britain campaigned for an exit from the EU in the event of a failure to secure fundamental change in the nature of Britain's relationship with the European Union. Joining with the Labour for a Referendum campaign, he launched the 'I Support A Referendum' campaign (2013–14) to support the European Union Referendum Bill which was introduced in Parliament by James Wharton MP. He also co-authored 'The Great European Rip-Off' (Random House, 2009) and worked as a Special Adviser to Timothy Kirkhope MEP when he sat on the Convention on the Future of Europe (2001-03).

3.5 - The representative nature of Vote Leave

Vote Leave is both an umbrella organisation and a campaigning group in its own right.

Our Board of Directors (see section 6(1)) is drawn from supporting groups across the political spectrum and from communities without any partisan affiliation. Our staff comprises experienced campaigners with a similarly diverse spread of political allegiances. They are able to co-ordinate our supporters across the UK and Gibraltar who are members of all political parties and none, business leaders, trade unions and other campaigning groups.

By liaising with these existing supporters and organising new volunteers drawn to our organisation in the course of the campaign, Vote Leave is able to call on the resources of people from across all of the regions and nations of the referendum electorate.

Our supporters are energised and diverse. We believe that their enthusiasm will enable Vote Leave to make the most effective case for leaving the European Union which embraces the widest possible range of opinion and appeals to the widest possible audience, whether they have been long-standing Leave supporters or recent converts to the cause.

The breadth of the support for our application indicated by the letters in the accompanying 17 Appendices is a testament to the appeal which our message has across a wide demographic range, political spectrum and coverage of interests and issues.

The wider Vote Leave family includes the young and the old, rural and urban, LGBT+ and straight, non-English speakers and members of minority communities. We are backed by full-time politicians and by people who have never engaged in politics before. Particularly noteworthy is the success with which we have reached out and

tapped into support from beyond the traditional eurosceptic community. In part this reflects the compelling nature of this historic decision: for the first time, non-committed voters are paying attention, and wanting to participate in the debate. But we also believe our success reflects our decision to campaign on this issue in a non-traditional way. The diversity of the Vote Leave family is proof of our determination to engage the significant proportion of the UK electorate who have become alienated from the UK's political process. Engaged electors become active voters. We are hopeful that the debate about the UK's membership of the EU will help to re-energise British politics, and engage a new generation in the political process.

3.6 - Legacy

Since our launch, we have tried to build a cross-party campaign capable of creating a valuable legacy for democratic politics in the UK and other democracies:

- **Political inclusion:** our work to encourage new voters and communities with a limited history of political involvement to join the Vote Leave family should create a legacy of engagement with the UK's political process.
- **Fostering cross-party relationships:** many criticise UK politics for being too tribal, especially as the main political parties are seen to be increasingly separate from British society, and their members less representative of the wider community. We are optimistic that a robustly cross-party campaign, bringing together individuals from all political parties and none, will generate valuable cross-party relationships and demonstrate that many issues rightly rise above party politics.
- **Engaging the voters of the future:** Although 16 and 17 year olds will not be able to vote on June 23rd, we are very conscious that the outcome of the referendum will have a major impact on their lives. We also believe those under 18 can play a role in the referendum campaign as discussants, debaters and influencers. We have therefore made a conscious effort to reach out to young adults aged 16 and above.
- **Sharing best practice with other democracies:** the UK's referendum on its membership of the EU is an important event in democratic politics. We will do all we can to share our experiences, lessons and best practice with political parties and pro-democracy organisations and campaigns in Europe and around the world. This outreach work has already started: on 10th March Outreach Director Alex Hickman and Vote Leave supporter and referendum expert Nigel Smith met with an international delegation from People2Power, a think tank and advocacy group celebrating referenda and direct democracy.

SECTION 4

- Representing other campaigners



Section 4 – Representing other campaigners

4.1 – Introduction

Since we launched in October 2015, Vote Leave has run a two-pronged policy.

We have recognised from the outset that multiple eurosceptic groups exist, some with a longstanding reputation and commitment to campaigning on this issue. Vote Leave has sought to work as closely with each of them as circumstances allow. The main obstacle to co-operation has been different perspectives on what should be the Leave campaign's strategy. Where differences on emphasis exist, Vote Leave has always respected the integrity and dedication of campaigners who have longstanding commitment to the eurosceptic cause. Many of our professional and voluntary campaigners come from their ranks. We have never looked to antagonise or criticise other eurosceptic campaign groups. We recognise that passions traditionally run high in some eurosceptic groups, and have completely avoided responding to unhelpful comments on Twitter or elsewhere.

We have also welcomed the arrival of new voices to this debate. We have devoted our time and resources to help these spontaneous groups establish themselves as effective campaigning organisations. Each of these organisations is a genuine group set up by ordinary people, many of whom are engaging with politics for the first time, and representing a specific community or world view. The full range of opinions arguing for a 'Leave' outcome deserves to be heard in a referendum of this significance – and has to be represented for a 'Leave' outcome to be successful. We also believe that their various legitimate concerns are equally valid, and deserve to be heard across the campaign.

4.2 – Representing specific groups

From the very outset, the key personnel behind what would become Vote Leave have been engaged in outreach with longstanding eurosceptic groups. A pivotal moment was a retreat in early 2015 held in Caistor under the chairmanship of **David Campbell Bannerman MEP**. This formed the basis of what would subsequently become the weekly **Contact Group** bringing together Vote Leave and other eurosceptic campaigns and traditional media spokesmen (see below). Mr Campbell-Bannerman has continued to assist with providing umbrella support, for example by hosting the Alternatives to the EU Conference in February which included platform appearances by 'designation-unaligned' eurosceptics and backers of other campaign groups, such as Nigel Farage MEP.

Our outreach has included talking to the leaders of other potential applicants for designation, to discuss how our activities might be co-ordinated. There have been at least six attempts to explore how Vote Leave and Leave.EU/GO/UKIP could work much more closely together and avoid duplication of resources. Unfortunately despite a consistent willingness by Vote Leave to try to bridge the major strategic gaps, nothing constructive has yet come of this, including an offer by our then Chairman **Lord Lawson of Blaby** to establish a close liaison group. More encouraging has been the spontaneous co-operation between campaigners on the ground, with supporters of different groups attending each other's local events. To encourage this spirit we have

been happy to publicise photographs of the supporters of other groups working with our own volunteers on social media.

We recognise that it is the responsibility of designated organisations to represent to the best of their reasonable endeavours not merely those who are supporting them directly, but also other campaigners advocating the same outcome.

To this end, we have consulted the register of permitted participants maintained by the Electoral Commission in order to ascertain who has registered to campaign for a 'Leave' outcome, but is not supporting our application for designation. We have considered how best we can engage with each registered campaigner, recognising that different approaches will be needed for different campaigners in light of their different backgrounds and views.

4.2.1 - Registered political parties

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) – We are delighted to have the formal backing of the Democratic Unionist Party, the largest party in the Northern Ireland Assembly and the joint fourth-largest party in the House of Commons. The DUP is backing Vote Leave's application to become the designated 'Leave' campaign, including its Leader and First Minister of Northern Ireland, **Arlene Foster MLA**, its General Secretary and Deputy Leader the **Nigel Dodds OBE MP**, and all 8 DUP Members of Parliament. With the DUP's backing come senior staff and campaigners with years of experience and extensive community links to help Vote Leave's cross-party, cross-community campaign in Northern Ireland. The DUP have already helped us organise cross-party events and visits, for instance by the former Conservative Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, **Owen Paterson MP**, on 4 April, and will enable us to deliver a ground campaign which fully engages all the voters of Northern Ireland.

It is significant that we have the formal support of **Mike Nattrass** and the party he leads, **Independence from Europe**. Mr Nattrass is a longstanding campaigner against the UK's membership of the European Union: he stood for Parliament for the Referendum Party in 1997, later joining UKIP and serving as Party Chairman (2000–02) and Deputy Leader (2002–06). He was elected as a Member of the European Parliament for the West Midlands in 2004 and served for a decade (2004–14). He founded Independence from Europe in 2013; the party won more than 235,000 votes at the 2014 European elections, and contested the 2015 general election in five parliamentary constituencies. We have been liaising with Independence from Europe since November 2015.

United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). Many prominent supporters of Vote Leave have relationships extending over many years with UKIP, its leader Nigel Farage MEP, and other prominent UKIP representatives. Some of these supporters have spoken privately to Mr Farage extensively over the past few months. We are very confident that despite that fact that Mr Farage supports GO for the designation, he would wish to maintain sensible working relations with Vote Leave if we are designated as the official campaign. There have also been discussions about how we can co-ordinate post-designation. Everybody on the 'Leave' side will have to put previous disagreements behind them and work together to avoid duplication and waste of time and resources. As certain senior members of staff have continued to maintain friendly

professional relationships with senior UKIP staffers and MEPs who support GO, we believe this is readily achievable.

4.2.2 - Other applicants for designation

GO Movement Ltd (including Grassroots Out Ltd and Leave.EU Group Ltd) – One of our key supporters, **Liam Fox MP**, attended the launch of Grassroots Out in Kettering on 23 January 2016 (his letter supporting Vote Leave's application to become the designated Leave campaign is included in Appendix B1). Vote Leave supporters have attended other meetings – for example, **Andrew Rosindell MP**, who is chairman of several All Party Parliamentary Groups (APPGs) for UK Overseas Territories, is due to speak at GO's Gibraltar Rally (his letter supporting Vote Leave's application to become the designated Leave campaign is included in Appendix B1). We also publicised GO's Manchester conference held on 5 February 2016, encouraging people to attend via our social media accounts and other networks. We used our reliable distribution network to supply campaigning material to Grassroots Out campaigners in Devon at short notice when they were provided with insufficient supplies, and continue to help GO campaigners on the ground when they have been let down. The most recent example of this was our assistance finding additional speakers for a GO rally at Colchester Town Hall on 31 March, when a number of their speakers pulled out. Vote Leave Board director **Bernard Jenkin MP** has confirmed he will speak at this rally.

On the ground there is already a lot of decentralised co-ordination between activists from different parties and campaign groups. This will continue post-designation. Senior people at Vote Leave wish to avoid the continuation of tensions between Vote Leave and GO, and are confident that senior management in other campaigns seeking designation are likely to feel the same after designation. As with UKIP it will be vital to avoid duplication and waste of resources.

4.2.3 - Trade unions

Our Labour Movement Co-ordinator **Ian Davidson** was previously a member of the Parliamentary groups of both RMT and ASLEF and has worked with them closely in the past. Similarly he has campaigned with the Bakers Union on zero hours contracts. While these unions all have policy in favour of EU withdrawal it has been made clear to us that none wish to endorse any application for designation. We respect this and to date have restricted our activity to informal discussions as to future cooperation.

Our Labour Movement Co-ordinator was also previously the Secretary of the Trade Union Group of Labour MPs for a decade and thus has extensive links throughout the Movement. The majority of Unions who have policy to remain have, nevertheless, substantial internal oppositions with whom we have developing links, based partly on previous joint working on this and other issues. We recognise that campaigning against Union policy is generally not a career enhancing move for members or full time staff and thus will proceed discretely. We have welcomed the numerous and extensive briefing that we have received from supporters in the Unions.

We are establishing a network of Trade Union activists through the structures of other groups with whom we have relationships to facilitate local gatherings and attendance

at branch meetings. We intend to make it a priority to access Trade Union events since the activists there gathered, if persuaded of the strength of our case, will be powerful advocates with their workmates and assist in creating awareness and driving up turnout.

We recognise that **Trade Unionist & Socialist Coalition (TUSC)**, as a small political party with large ambitions, will be more interested in building its own position than in working with others in a common endeavour. Where there is the possibility of sharing activities or events we will do.

Trade Unionists against the European Union (TUATEU) on the other hand is a broad based, well organised group whom our Labour Movement Coordinator, Ian Davidson, knows well and has often worked with in both its present and previous iterations, particularly against the Euro. We have already got contact and would intend to work as closely as possible with them in producing and distributing material, promoting their speakers and presence where appropriate.

As an example of best practice, this weekend at a Unison Regional event, the two speakers will be Ian Davidson from Vote Leave/Labour Leave and Brian Denny from TUATEU.

4.2.4 - Other registered campaigners

Dr Richard North – Our Campaign Director, **Dominic Cummings**, held several meetings with Dr North, the editor of the 'EU Referendum' blog. Vote Leave's **Dr Lee Rotherham** has cordial personal contacts with Dr North, and good and longstanding historical links with the other campaigns involved in supporting the 'Flexcit' model; we have developed these links and will continue to do so.

WAGTV Limited – This company is responsible for the production of 'Brexit: The Movie'. Our senior staff, including our Chief Executive **Matthew Elliott** and our Research Director, **Oliver Lewis**, have engaged with this company in order to arrange interviews with high-profile advocates of a 'Leave' vote in the referendum. Our National Organiser **Stephen Parkinson** and Head of Media **Robert Oxley** met them recently to discuss plans to work together to promote the film at the time of its première, and we are delighted that the producers have extended an invitation to a number of our affiliated groups, such as **Students for Britain**, to take a prominent role in what promises to be a high-profile event during the referendum. Our contact with WAGTV has been productive and cordial and would continue if we were designated as the lead campaign. We note that this film is intended to target younger voters and consider it to be an interesting means by which public participation in the referendum could be improved, particularly among demographics which have not thus far been engaged in the referendum campaign to the extent that they could be.

The Campaign for an Independent Britain Limited (CIB). Vote Leave's Deputy Chairman John Mills, and Special Projects Director Dr Lee Rotherham have a very long history of working with CIB and sit on its national committee. As such, they also enjoy contacts with a range of organisations with which CIB co-operates, in particular those groups which operate under the umbrella of the European Anti-Maastricht Alliance (**TEAM**) to which CIB is itself affiliated. Dr Lee Rotherham has been

developing links with those TEAM members who support Brexit, particularly existing associates in France, Iceland, the Balkans, Greece and across Scandinavia. This has also involved a trip to Dublin to discuss strategy with Irish counterparts. Norwegian eurosceptics have visited the office of Vote Leave to share their experiences. These links will be further developed as one route to assist in outreach to UK expat voters, a noted set of target audiences. CIB itself is neutral in the designation process, a stance supported throughout by Vote Leave, which sees CIB as an important part of the process of bringing groups together post-designation.

Global Britain Limited – Prominent supporters of Vote Leave have a longstanding history of engagement with leading figures in Global Britain, such as **Ian Milne**, who has been to Vote Leave HQ to meet our research team and kindly shared Global Britain research with us. Our research department is in contact with the group, and has studied and taken into account their research publications. We expect this to continue after designation.

We have also considered how we can best engage with others who are campaigning for a leave vote, but who have not yet registered as permitted participants with the Electoral Commission or do not intend to do so.

Labour Leave – Vote Leave has had a particularly strong relationship with Labour Leave, which was set up by John Mills, who is Chairman of Labour Leave, as well as being Deputy Chairman of Vote Leave.

Vote Leave provided the administrative and technical assistance to help launch Labour Leave. Unfortunately, reflecting the broader divergence of views about the best way to fight the referendum, Labour Leave was divided on the best strategy to adopt. A minority of the Parliamentary supporters have therefore chosen to support Grassroots Out, while a majority have chosen to support Vote Leave. As an organisation, Labour Leave has decided to remain neutral in the designation process, whilst allowing individual Parliamentary supporters of Labour Leave to support a specific campaign for designation.

The following Labour MPs are supporting Vote Leave for designation in an individual capacity: **Gisela Stuart MP** (Vote Leave Chair and Co-Convenor of the Campaign Committee); **Graham Stringer MP** (who sits on both the Labour Leave Board and Vote Leave Board and Campaign Committee); **Frank Field MP** (who sits on the Labour Leave Board and Vote Leave Campaign Committee); and **Roger Godsiff MP** (who is part of Labour Leave). From the Lords, Vote Leave also has the support of David, **Lord Stoddart of Swindon** (Independent Labour) and the former Labour Foreign Secretary David, **Lord Owen** (Independent Social Democrat).

Labour Leave is now being run by Vote Leave's Labour Movement Co-ordinator, Ian Davidson, working from Vote Leave's campaign headquarters. He is assisted by other Labour Party members of the Vote Leave team. These include Tom Harris, the former Labour MP for Glasgow Cathcart, now our Director for Scotland; Michael O'Sullivan, Labour Leave's Head of Digital; and Connor Higgins.

Vote Leave has provided, and continues to provide, considerable financial and administrative assistance and technical advice to Labour Leave, and continues to

provide back office finance, legal and HR support alongside research and digital support.

Labour Leave's objective is to provide a political home for those Labour MPs, MSPs, AMs, Councillors and members who feel more comfortable within a Labour family. It is intended that Labour Leave will be an essential part of the overall Vote Leave campaign, working with groups to left and right in the most mutually advantageous way.

Bruges Group – We have had close and constructive engagement with the Bruges Group, one of the UK's oldest and most respected eurosceptic think-tanks (established in 1989). Vote Leave supporters appear regularly on its platforms. As well as sending Vote Leave representatives and campaign materials to Bruges Group meetings, we have held detailed discussions with the group's Chairman (the former Member of Parliament, **Barry Legg**) and director (**Robert Oulds**) about how we could work together to provide training to campaigners and public speakers if Vote Leave becomes the designated Leave campaign. One of Vote Leave's staff is a former adviser to the Bruges Group, an author of several of their publications, and was also parliamentary staffer to Mr Legg when he was a parliamentary select committee chairman, and is thus well placed to assist. He also provided support to the editor of the noted international eurosceptic magazine *These Tides*, now *Calgacus*, which is also associated with the work being done by the Bruges Group. The Bruges Group have informed us they wish to remain neutral over designation.

4.2.5 - Non-professional 'leave' groups

A number of informal campaigning groups have started independently and grown organically, taking inspiration from Vote Leave. These groups are run entirely voluntarily by people who are passionate about the 'leave' cause, and for most of the organisers this is their first involvement with grassroots campaigning. Many of these groups support us for designation [see Appendix C3], and we are delighted to help guide these groups with their campaigns, including promoting their media appearances, articles and events.

Our Head of Outreach, **Cleo Watson**, heads a unit responsible for developing links with these less experienced campaigning groups campaigning for a Leave vote in this referendum and providing them with advice, assistance and encouragement. Cleo has worked with a number of campaigning organisations and ran campaigns for well-known brands to help them reach new and varied supporters. These include Obama for America, the Democratic National Committee Women's Leadership Forum, the Countryside Alliance, the Tate Modern and the World Economic Forum.

Examples of the groups whose development we have fostered include **Women for Britain**, **Farmers for Britain**, **Out & Proud**, and **Muslims for Britain**. To help promote these groups and their positive campaigning messages, we have an 'Outreach Groups' page on the Vote Leave website to push interested supporters towards them.

4.3 – Strategy going forward

If we are designated we intend to contact all of the known 'Leave' campaigners not already supporting us, whether they applied for designation or not, to discuss if and how they would like their and our activities to be co-ordinated – or at least strategically deconflicted. One item we would want to discuss is whether and how best to apply the 'concert party' rule (Schedule 1, para. 22 of the Referendum Act) as it relates to the higher spending capacity of a designated campaign.

Our strategy involves assembling the widest possible coalition of 'Leave' voices. As such, we recognise the importance of working with other, more specialised, campaigners to reach and appeal to specific sections of the electorate. In our view, adopting such a role is a fundamental aspect of being a designated lead campaign group.

As indicated at the start of this section, outreach with traditional eurosceptic campaigners has been an ongoing and developing process. We believe that the existing Contact Group, which emerged from David Campbell Bannerman's Caistor retreat, is the most appropriate forum for engaging with the widest possible range of other 'Leave' campaigners post-designation. This group has been convening for nearly a year and has established a reputation as a neutral environment in which campaigners of different outlooks can freely exchange information and views in a friendly and collegiate atmosphere. Most of the long-standing eurosceptic organisations have sent representatives to its meetings and almost all of the prominent campaign groups on the 'Leave' side in this referendum have attended.

Central to the Contact Group's activity is an understanding of the priorities and concerns of allied groups; sharing forward notice of planned activity in order to deconflict with plans by others; and co-ordination of effort to better maximise impact when a campaign is launched. As an example, Vote Leave have been able to provide external research advice to **Better Off Out** to assist in the development of their leaflets, providing factual data that Better Off Out could choose to deploy as they best saw appropriate and which withstood technical scrutiny. Again, in a recent meeting, Vote Leave was able to offer advice to an attendee from **Grassroots Out** on possible contacts that might assist in their press activity in a forthcoming speaking event.

This approach avoids the need to create some other forum from scratch, with the delays and misunderstandings that would naturally occur whilst other campaign groups learned to trust, and have confidence in, the new arrangement. But this is the baseline and not the sum of planned coordination. It does not preclude developing close bilateral and multilateral contacts between campaigns, and ensuring key staffers talk, phone and meet directly with one another. It would make particular sense for example to ensure rolling deconfliction on issues of research prioritisation, media planning, and local ground activity. To assist with the former, a mechanism has already been developed and is running, to facilitate direct input by associated subject matter experts – the 'EU Research Wiki'.

As an indication of the importance and seriousness which Vote Leave attaches to the role of the Contact Group, and engagement with other campaigners, one of the Cabinet Ministers involved in our organisation (**Chris Grayling MP**) has taken over

the chairmanship of this group. This gives other campaigners confidence that Vote Leave is making a genuine commitment to work with them, and that the process of engagement is on-going and continuous. With the Contact Group restructured and enhanced in this way, it has developed into a sounding board for ideas and planning encompassing the whole of the 'Leave' movement who choose to participate.

4.4 – How our staff help this co-operation

The staff at Vote Leave consist of a mixture of long-standing eurosceptic campaigners, experienced political operators, and EU subject matter experts whose work is cited across the eurosceptic movement. We have an established practice of working with other groups and will swiftly exploit the end of current barriers administratively maintained by UKIP that presently (but temporarily) hamper co-operation.

4.4.1 - We are confident of our ability to represent other campaigners

(1) Our central campaign staff are drawn from members of different political parties, and none, who hold widely differing views about most other political questions. Vote Leave already encompasses a broad and diverse base of opinions. Members of our staff have held positions within, and been elected representatives of, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats, UKIP and the Democratic Unionist Party, as well as a number of international political parties. We are proud to employ a diverse workforce encompassing people of all ages, ethnicities, genders, sexualities, and religious beliefs.

(2) Where our personnel have established political positions or allegiances, these are openly declared and not concealed. This transparency and honesty is an essential first step to establishing effective and durable working relationships with other groups.

(3) We have good working relations with allied and supporting groups which similarly hold different positions. In the case of some of these groups we have strong links and already co-ordinate our activities closely; for example Liberal Leave is one of our strategic partners, and some members of Vote Leave staff with a Lib Dem affiliation supported **Liberal Leave** at the Liberal Democrat Spring Conference in York. With other groups, the connections are more informal and looser. For example the LGBT+ campaign group **Out & Proud** and the youth group **BeLeave** both have their own unique brands and issues, and produce extremely effective shareable content online. Our experience therefore suggests we could easily reach a mutually agreeable arrangement with any group wanting to leave the EU with whom we are not already working.

(4) We have a single agenda: to campaign to leave the European Union in the referendum. We have not registered as a third party campaigner to promote or enhance any candidate in any other election. Nor are we aligned with any political party, and have preferred to work with like-minded members as individuals. This focused and open position will enable other groups to work with us confident in the knowledge that their co-operation would not be manipulated for non-referendum purposes.

(5) Our Labour Movement Co-ordinator, **Ian Davidson**, has used his wide variety of contacts and positive reputation as having investigated blacklisting and other labour market abuses to engage with a wide variety of Left and trade union groups and individuals. He has held extensive discussions with many groups and trade unions who have opted not to endorse publicly any applicant for designation at this referendum. Following the experience of the Scottish independence referendum, where the Labour Party's decision to take part in a cross-party campaign was widely held to be one of the factors in their bruising 2015 general election results, many on the Left are more reticent to take part in a campaign which includes Conservatives, UKIP and business figures than they were before. We respect their preference for neutrality and acknowledge that their distinctive standpoint on the 'Leave' outcome needs to be heard in this referendum. On the basis of these talks we are confident that we now understand their approach and can work with them to ensure their voices are heard if we are designated.

We are confident that our outreach programme will assist and help co-ordinate a wide range of activities, particularly at a local level, where initially small numbers of activists find it easier to work together (even with the class enemy).

Our discussions have made it clear that a variety of groups will look to us to facilitate both joint and single-agent campaigning by the provision of logistical support, funding of events, provision of materials, etc. We have specifically sought and achieved understanding with groups representing ethnic minority workers. Indeed, the whole approach of Vote Leave is to seek to galvanise and enable political and labour movement groups to engage with their target groups and the wider public.

(6) Our communications team will be more than equipped to help deal with press calls and requests for the entire leave movement after designation. We have been in operation for six months and we are now already widely recognised by the media and other independent commentators as the lead campaign group on the 'Leave' side. As evidence of this, when the initial results of the Prime Minister's discussions with Donald Tusk were announced on 2 February 2016, both BBC News and ITN sent film crews to our office to record our team's reactions. ITN also sent a film crew to our offices on 18 February 2016 to record our reactions to the progress of the European Council meeting. On all major news stories concerning the referendum, the main broadcasters come to our press office to arrange interviews and comment from leading figures.

Our Outreach Director, **Alex Hickman**, uses his past experience in building cross-party coalitions on European campaign issues to recruit individuals who ensure Vote Leave fairly and effectively represents the full range of support for leaving the European Union across British society. Mr Hickman and Mr Cummings have extensive experience of working with MPs and activists during their time running the anti-euro campaign.

4.4.2 - The level of engagement with other campaigners

Our Chief Executive, **Matthew Elliott**, was a founder member of the Contact Group, a discussion and co-ordination forum for eurosceptic campaigners chaired by David Campbell Bannerman MEP, which was established in April 2015. Vote Leave has subsequently supported the activities of this forum and hosted its regular meetings at

our offices. Matthew has a proven track record of building cross-party campaigns from running the NOtoAV referendum campaign in 2010–11, which included a strong Labour NOtoAV strand of activity.

Vote Leave employs **Ian Davidson**, the former Labour and Co-Operative MP for Glasgow South West, as its Labour Movement Co-ordinator. He supports the National and Regional Directors in liaising with Labour Party members and sympathetic organisations and integrating them into our grassroots campaigning.

Vote Leave employs **Robin Hunter-Clarke**, a former UKIP Parliamentary candidate, past member of the UKIP National Executive Committee, and a serving UKIP county councillor in Lincolnshire, as its National UKIP Co-ordinator. He supports the National and Regional Directors in liaising with UKIP members and integrating them into our grassroots campaigning.

Vote Leave employs the Director of Conservatives for Britain, **Michael Dowsett**, and supports and assists that group's activities to campaign with Conservative Party members and supporters to secure a Leave vote in the referendum.

Vote Leave researchers have long-established connections with the staff at the **European Research Group** and the **European Foundation**, respected eurosceptic organisations associated with MPs now supporting Conservatives for Britain, and intend to increase co-operation with the **Fresh Start** group whose MPs have now also endorsed Brexit.

Vote Leave employs **Mark Gattleson** and **Helen Mayer**, two former Liberal Democrat councillors in the London Borough of Southwark, who assist the Liberal Leave campaign group. That group is chaired by **Paul Keetch**, the former Liberal Democrat Member of Parliament for Hereford, who is a member of Vote Leave's Campaign Committee – to liaise with members and supporters of the Liberal Democrats campaigning for a Leave vote.

A member of the Vote Leave research team, **Dr Lee Rotherham**, founded and acts as convener of a monthly liaison forum held since May 2015 to co-ordinate research and publication activities between eurosceptic groups. Dr Rotherham is Campaign Secretary of **Conservatives Against a Federal Europe (CAFE)**, and, as such, has sat on the National Executive of the **Campaign for an Independent Britain (CIB)** for the last 15 years as its corporately affiliated delegate. Informally, he represents Conservatives for Britain at the CIB. He has worked in Westminster, Brussels and the think-tank world on eurosceptic activity for the past two decades. His career progressed from advising both the "Westminster Group of Eight" group of Euro rebels to advising numerous frontbenchers, three Shadow Foreign Secretaries, a delegate to the Council of Europe, the Conservative Party's delegate to the Convention on the Future of Europe, and an alliance of eurosceptic MEPs. He therefore has extensive cross-party links and an international reputation that is unusual in standing above traditionally fractious internal party politics.

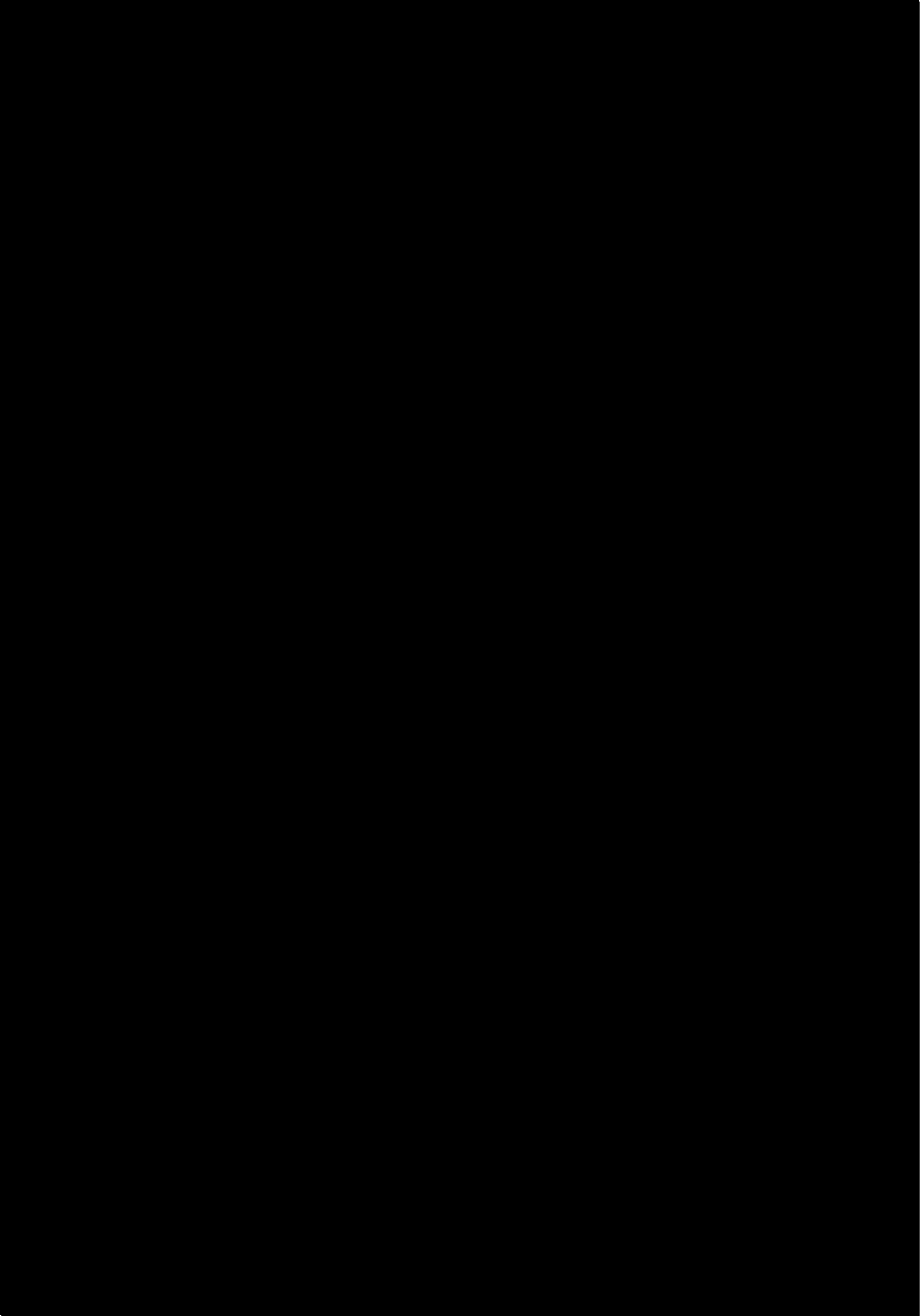
Dr Rotherham's extensive and longstanding outreach with other groups has continued over the past months. He has for example been involved in co-operation with the Norwegian **Nei til EU** campaign; in March 2016 he went to Dublin to discuss campaign

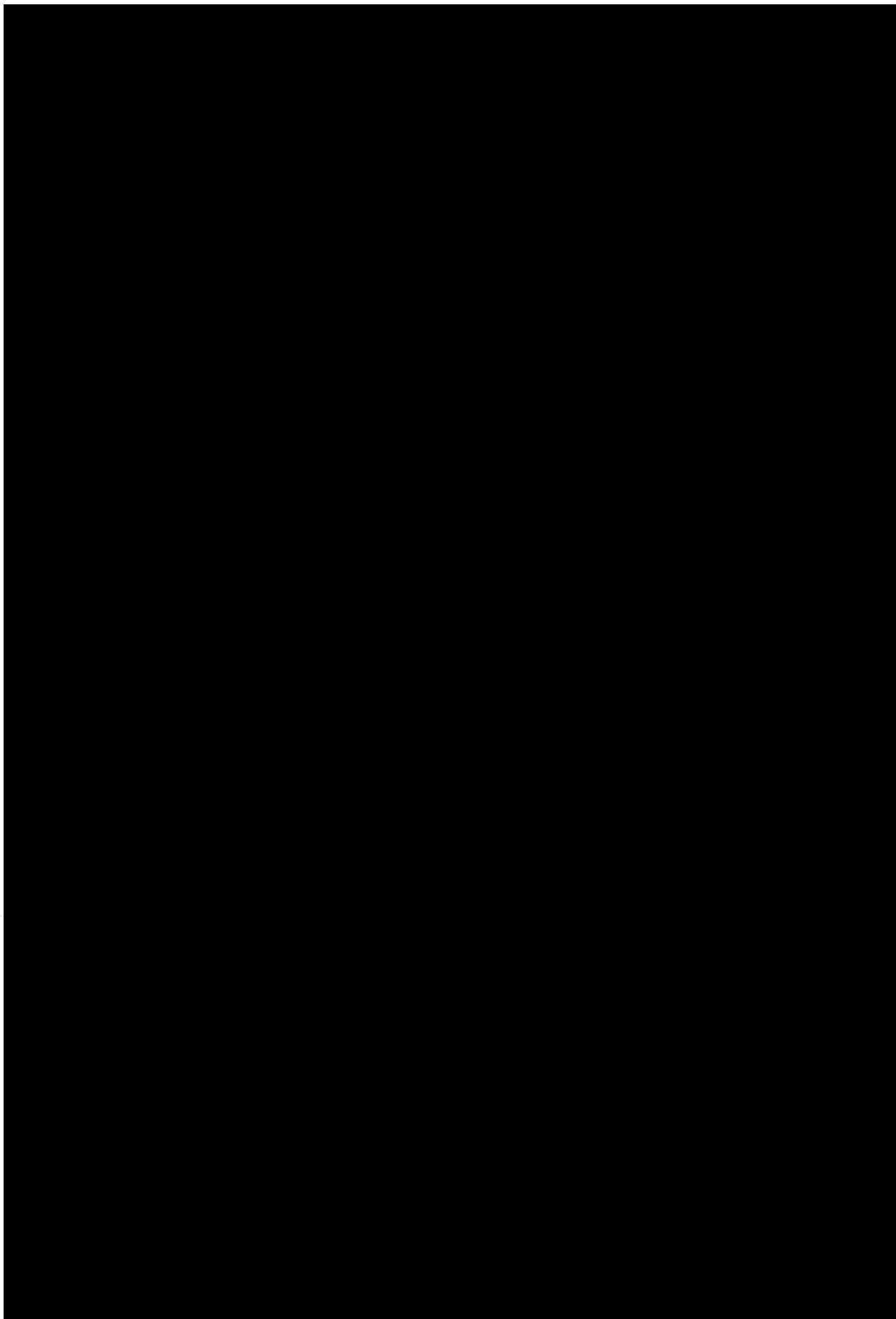
engagement with the Director of the **National Platform** and its associates in the UK and in the Irish Republic; and he corresponds across the continent with key affiliates of the **European Alliance of EU-Critical Movements (TEAM)**. Four major analysis papers researched by him, together with a Brexit-related historical paper, were published by Better Off Out in 2016. A major policy article, reviewing post-Brexit, was circulated in association with **Get Britain Out**. His corpus of research continues to be regularly cited by campaigners across all groups as authoritative studies.

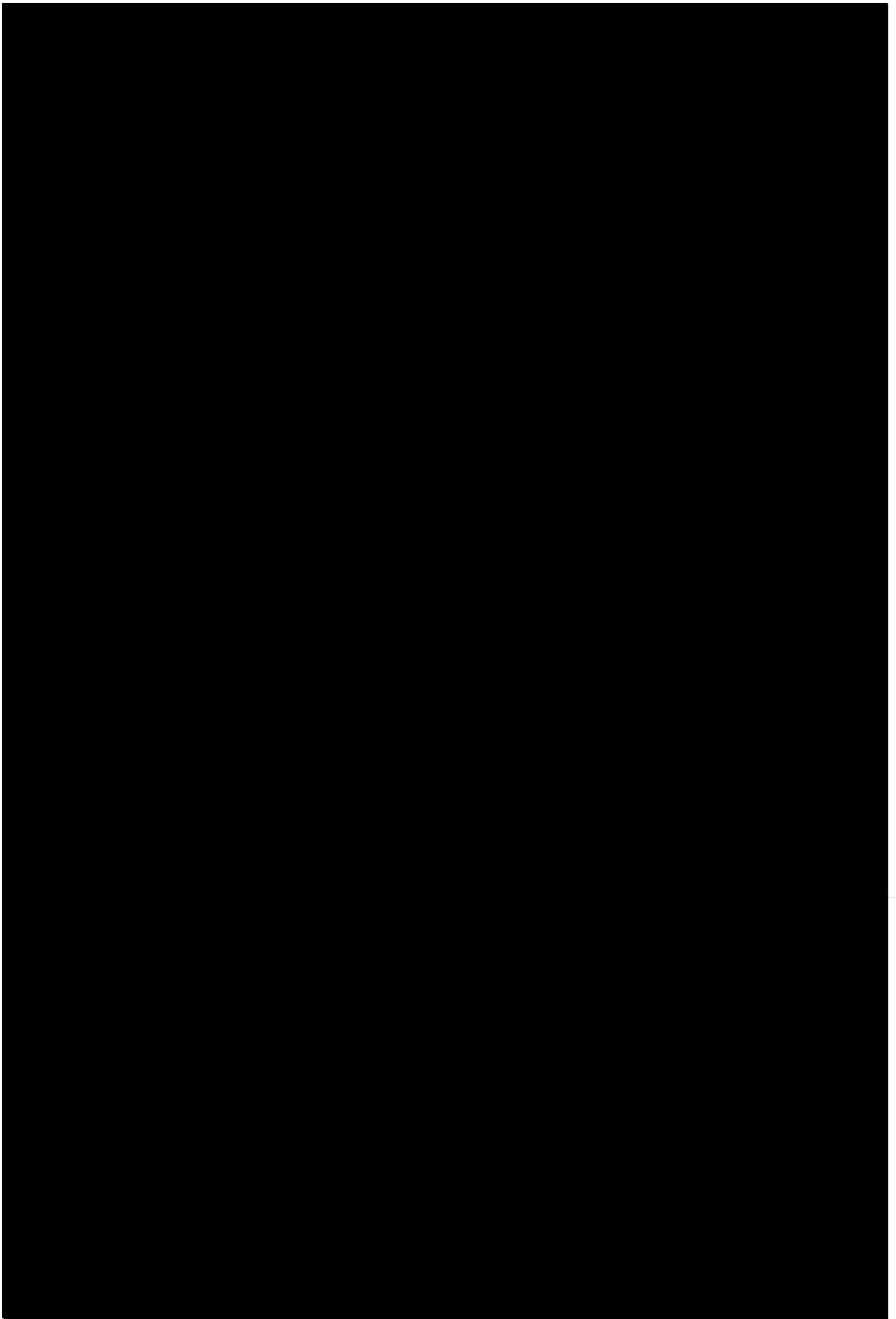
As a result of our constructive and practical support for other groups, we are delighted to have recruited a number of key activists who had previously been campaigning primarily with other organisations – and key members of staff such as our Activist Support Manager, **Caroline Stephens** who came from Leave.EU.

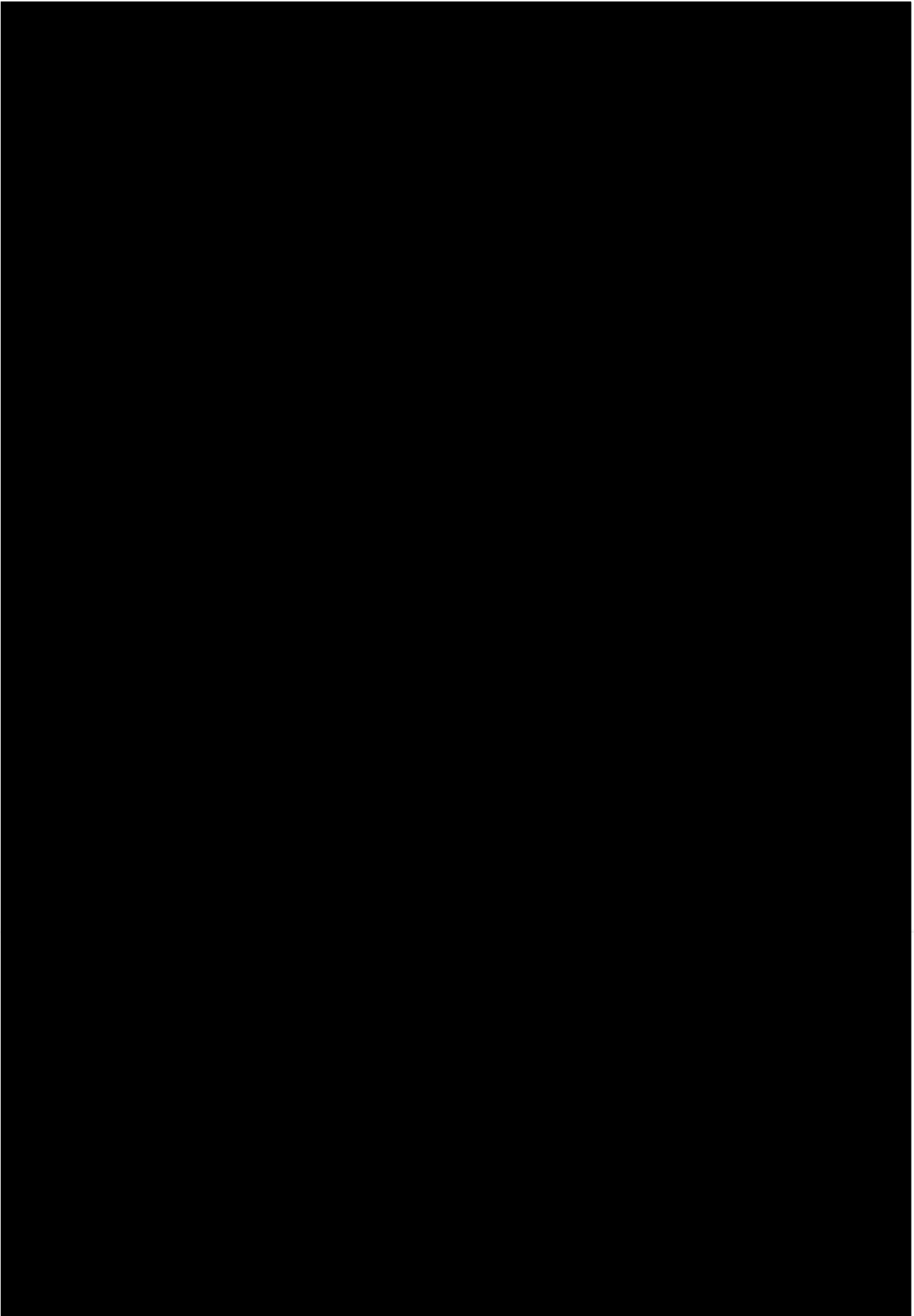
SECTION 5
- Campaigning capacity

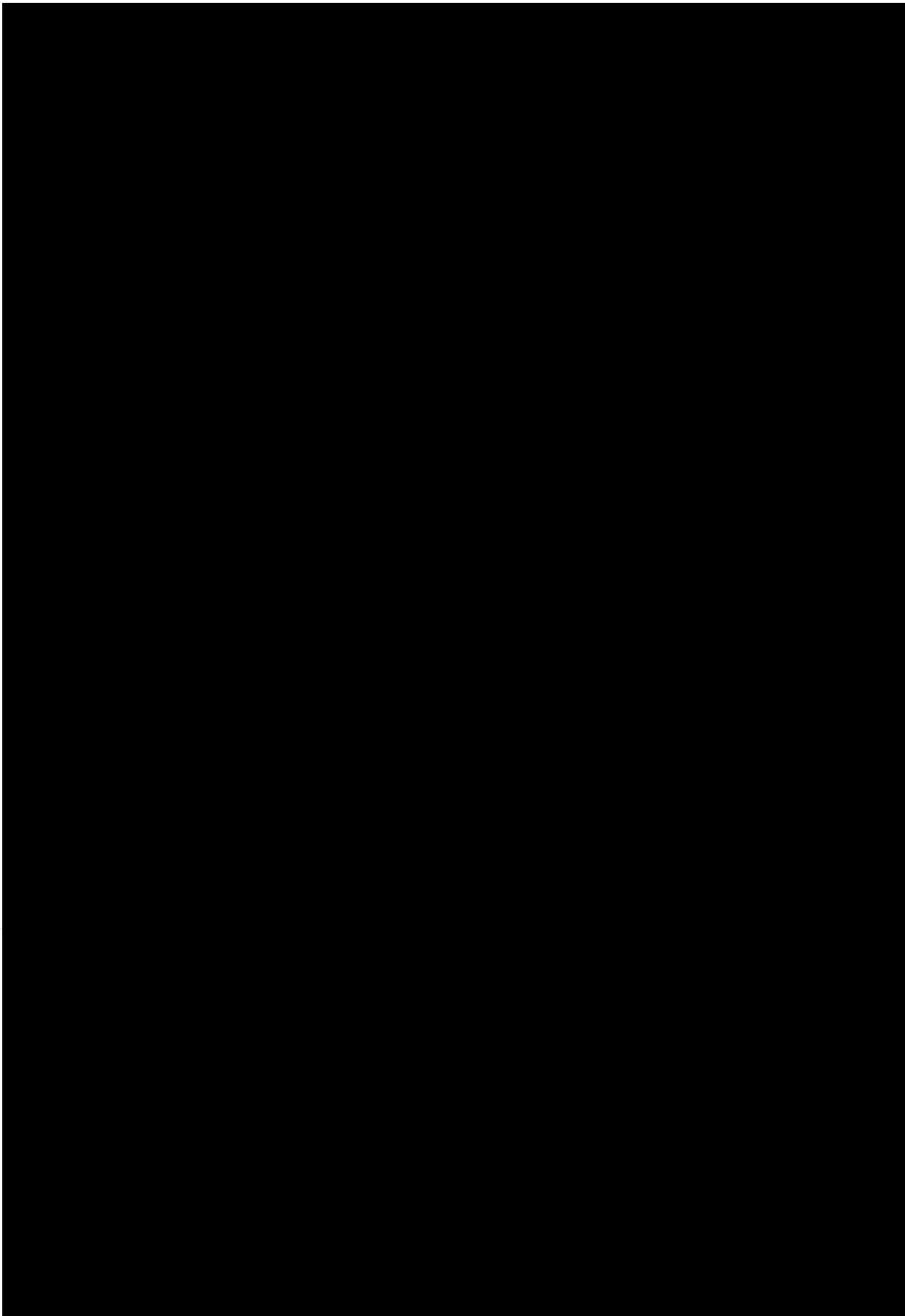
Section 5 – Campaigning capacity

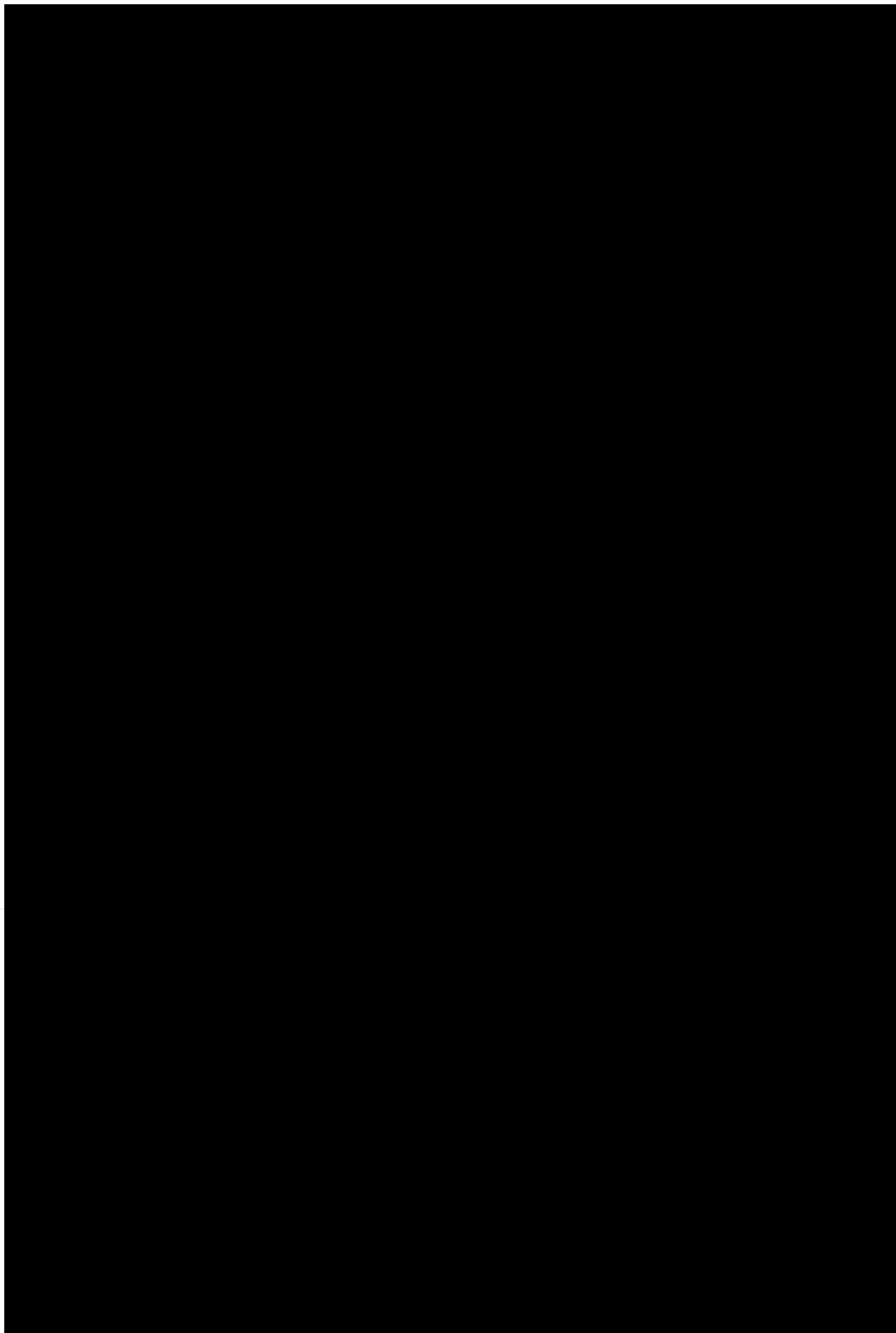


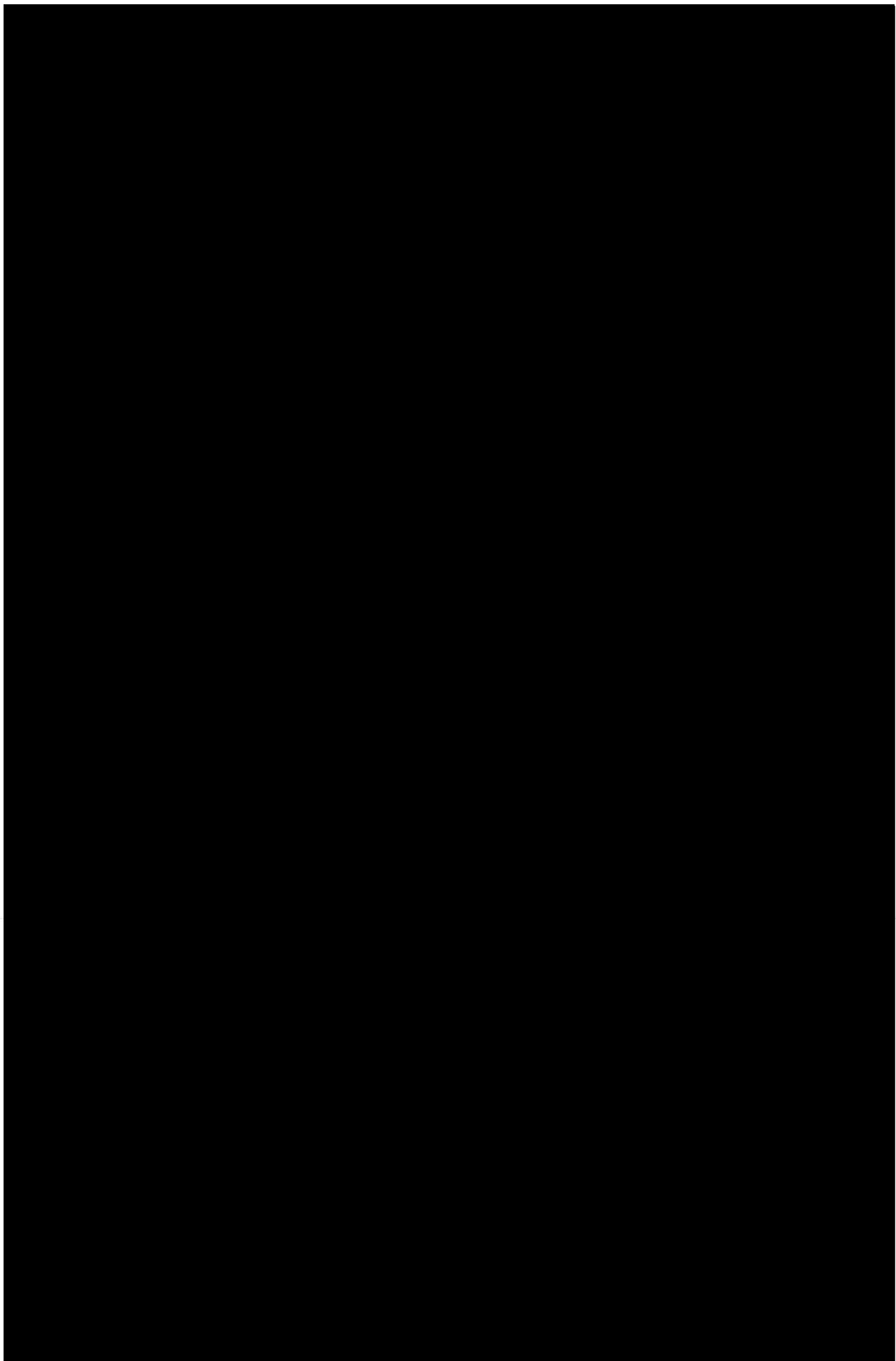


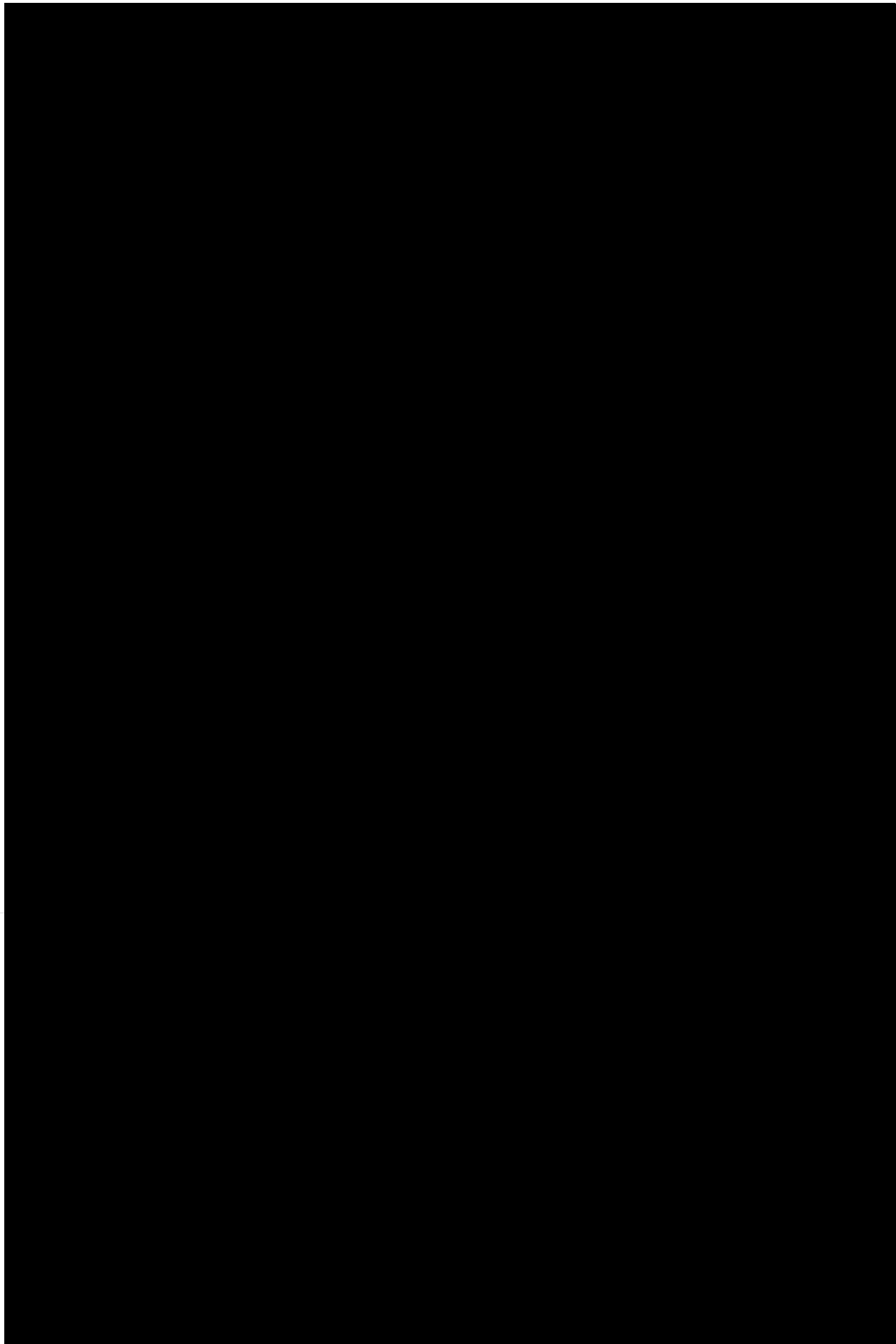


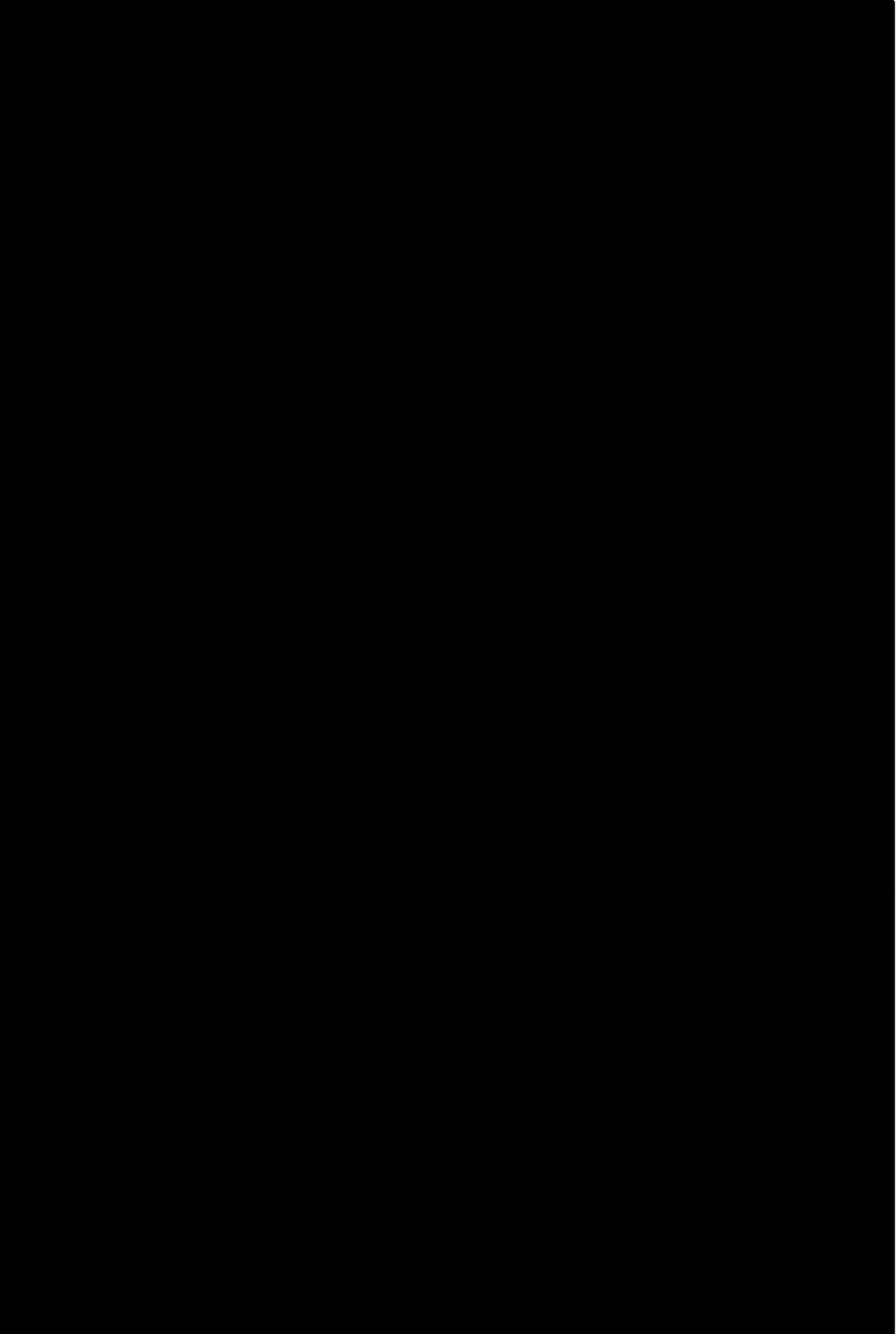


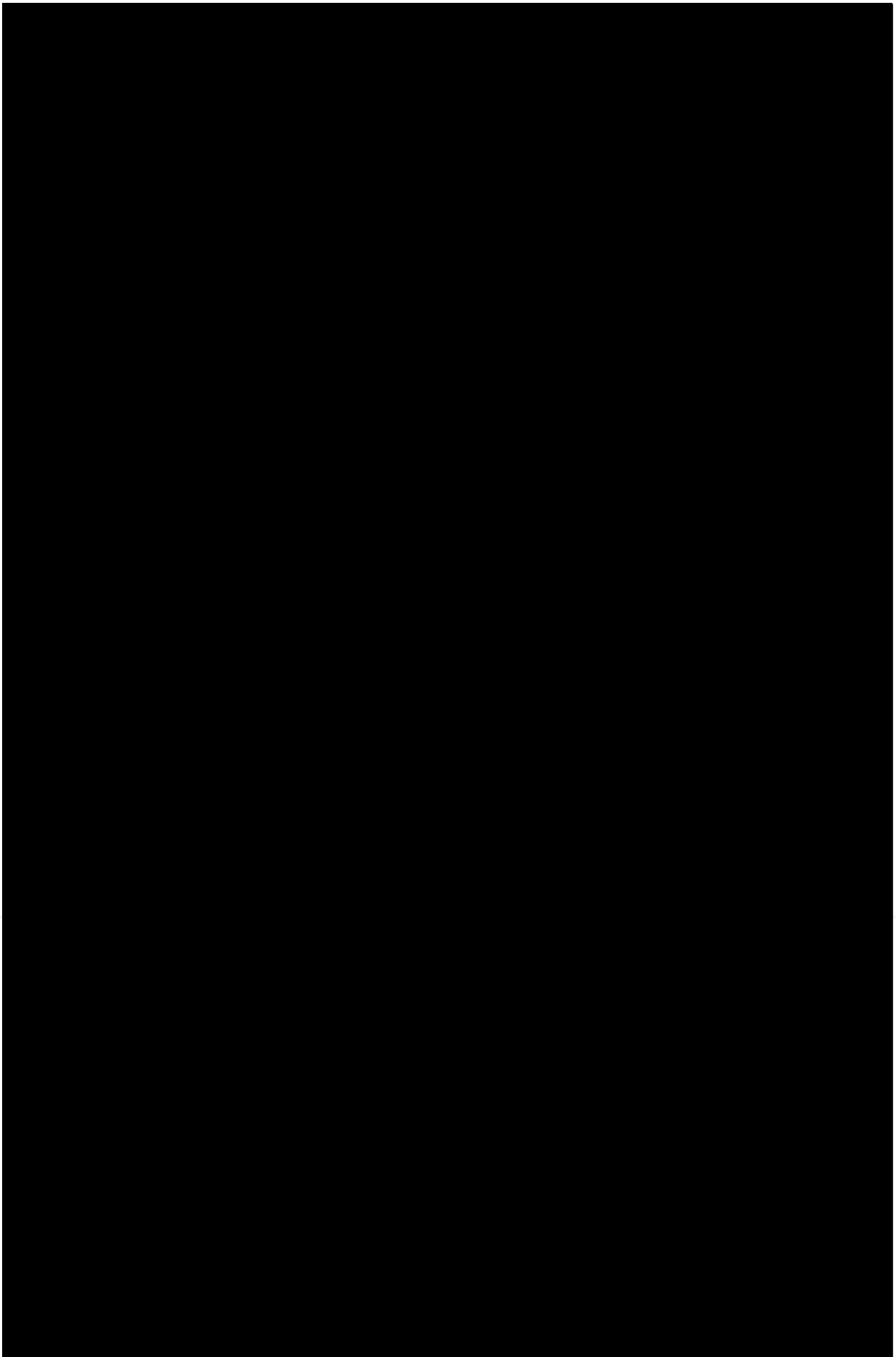


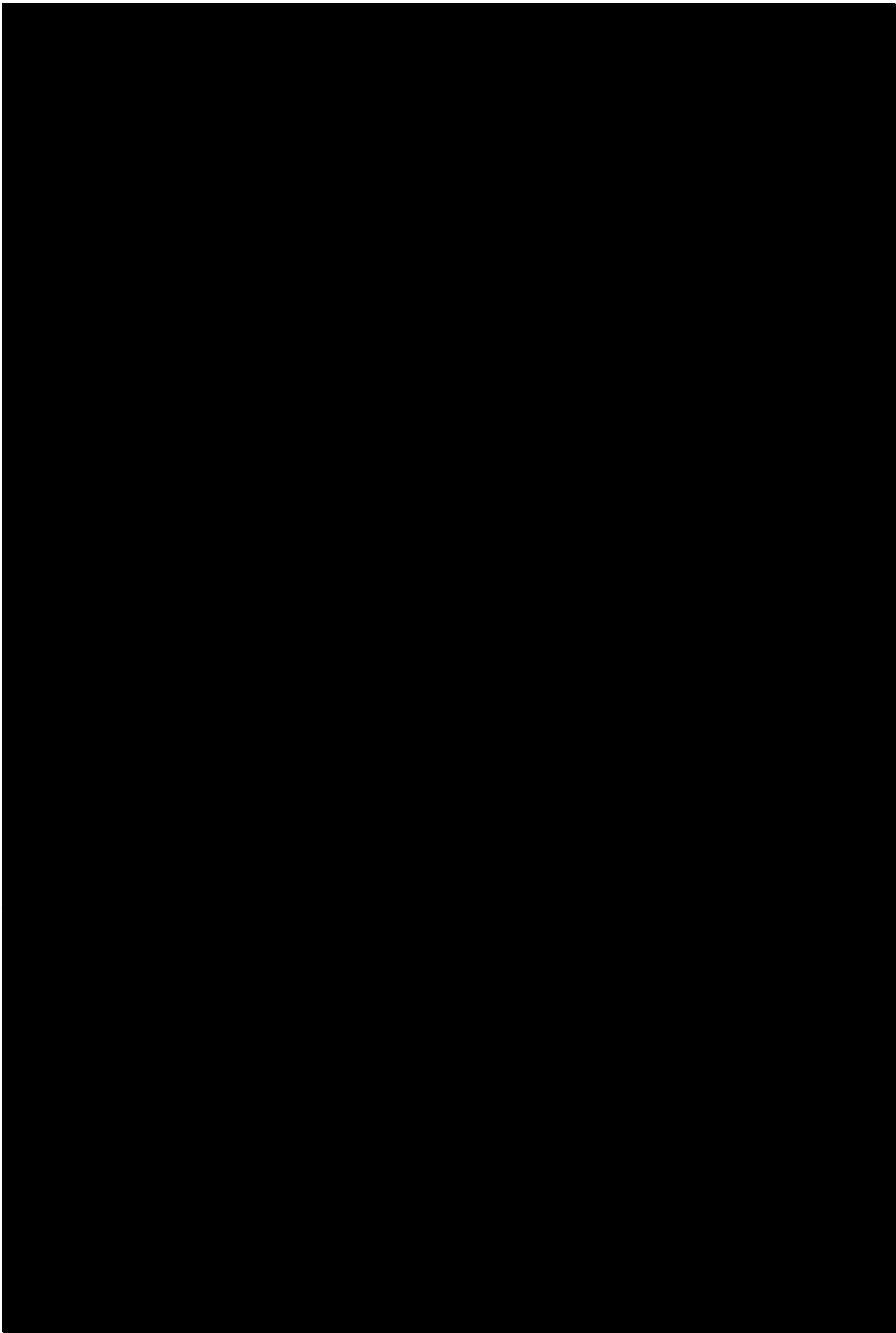


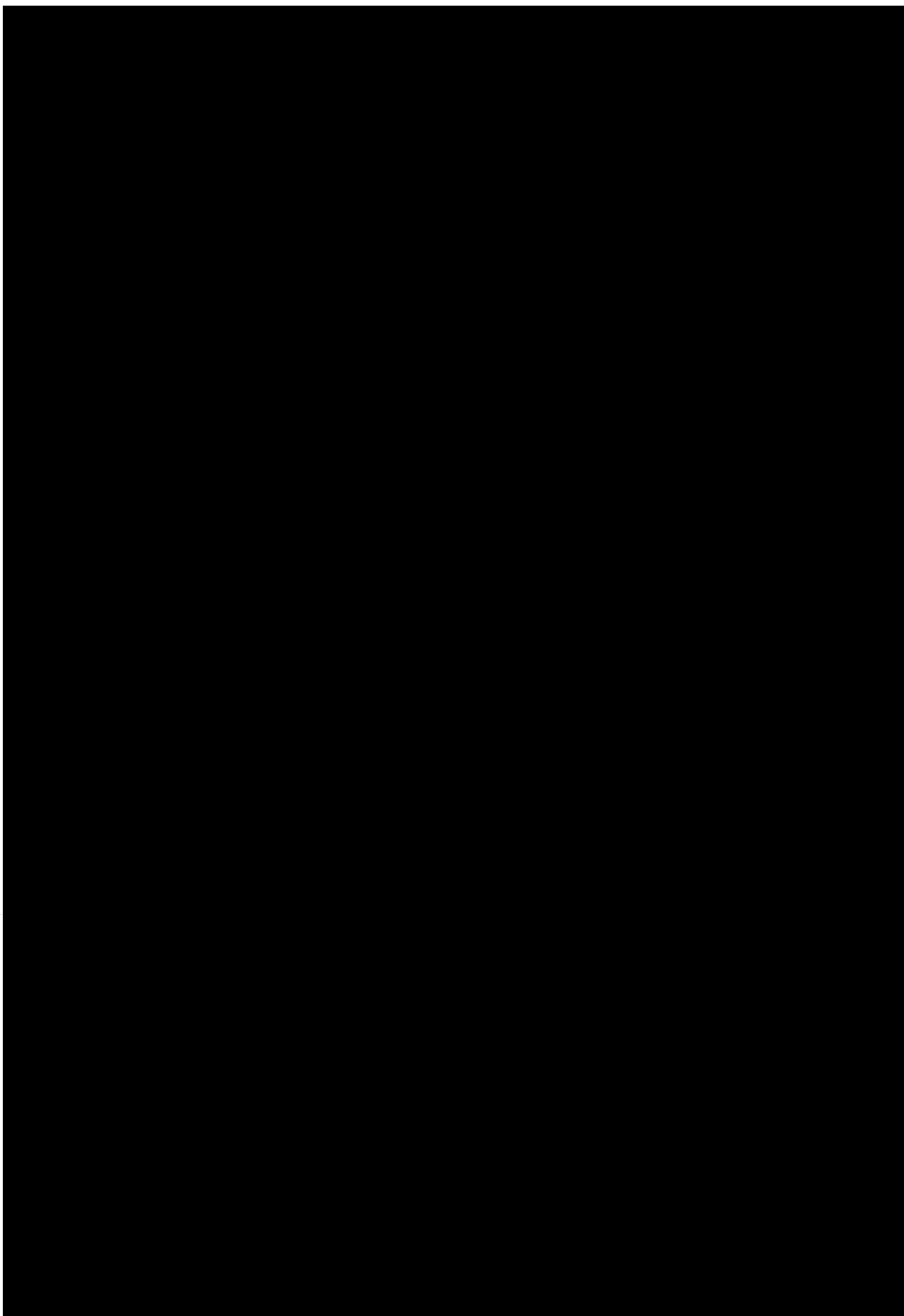


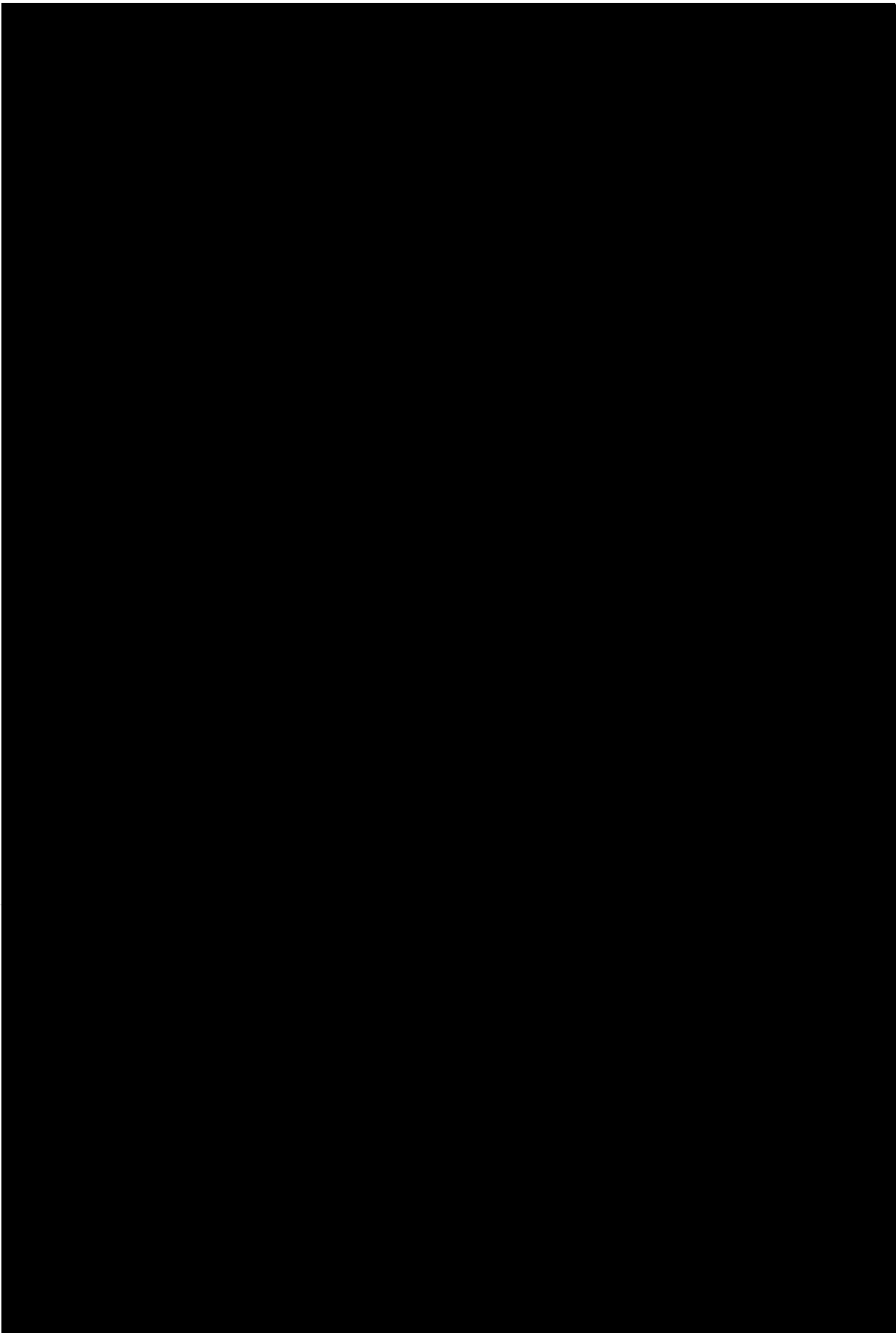


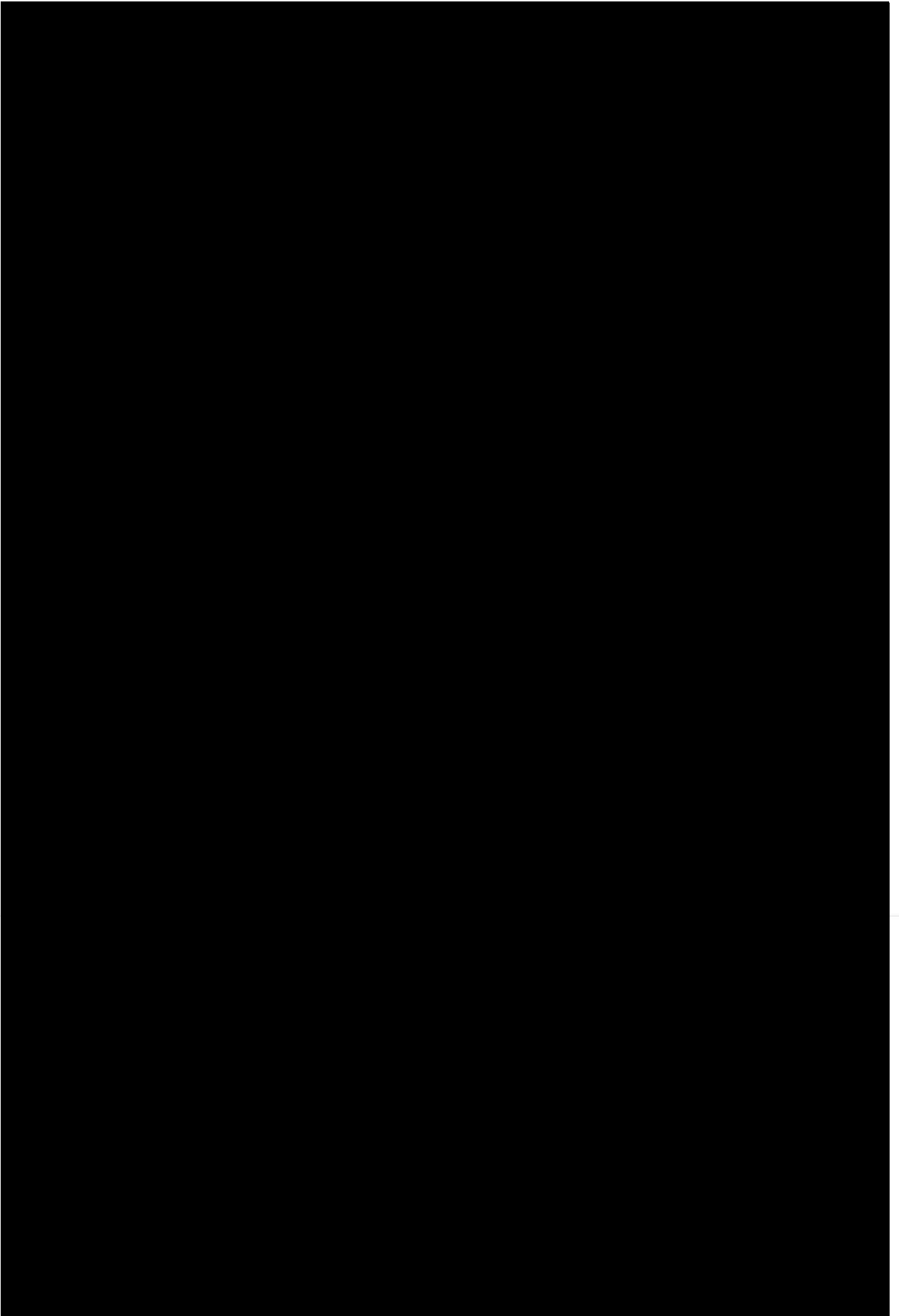


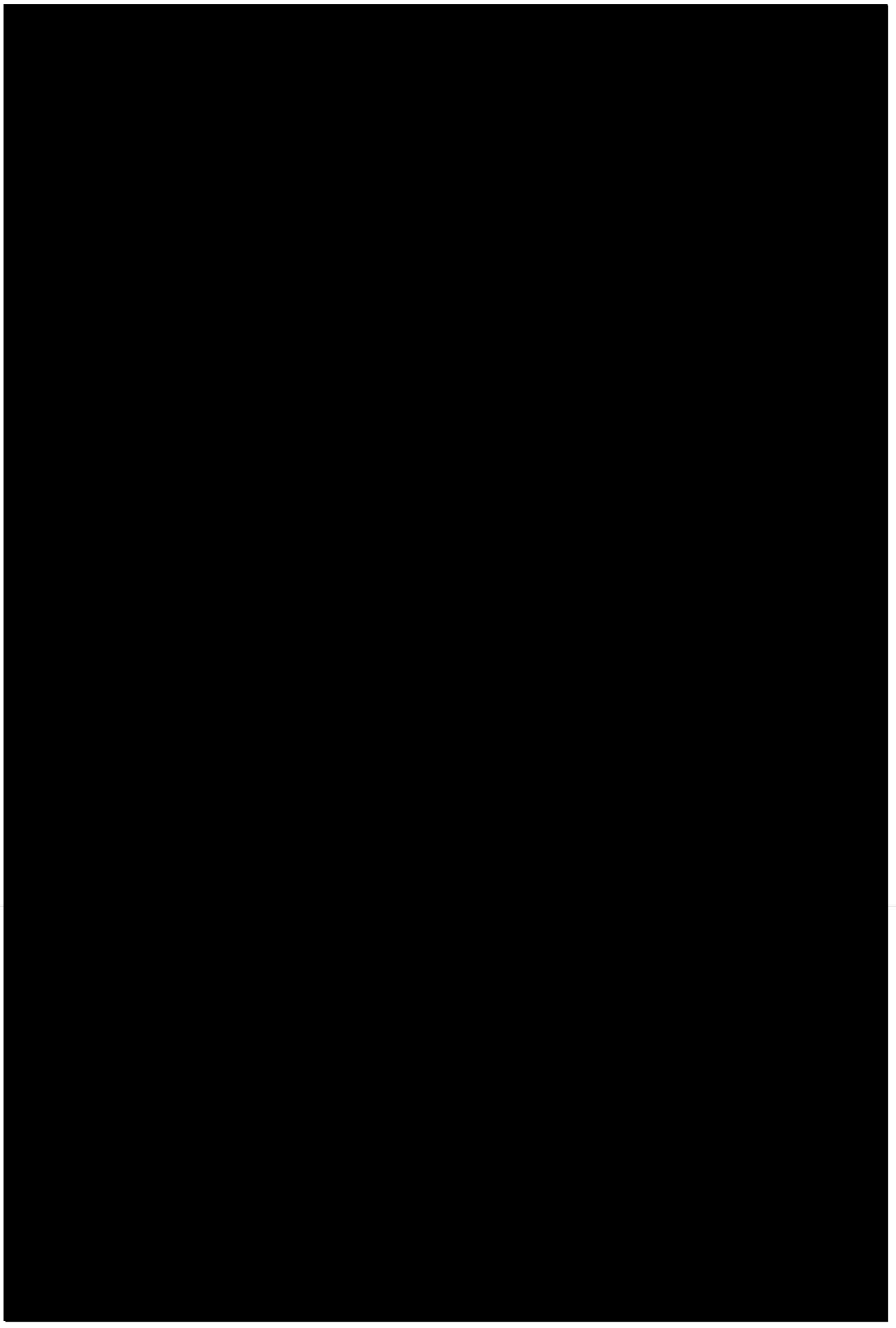


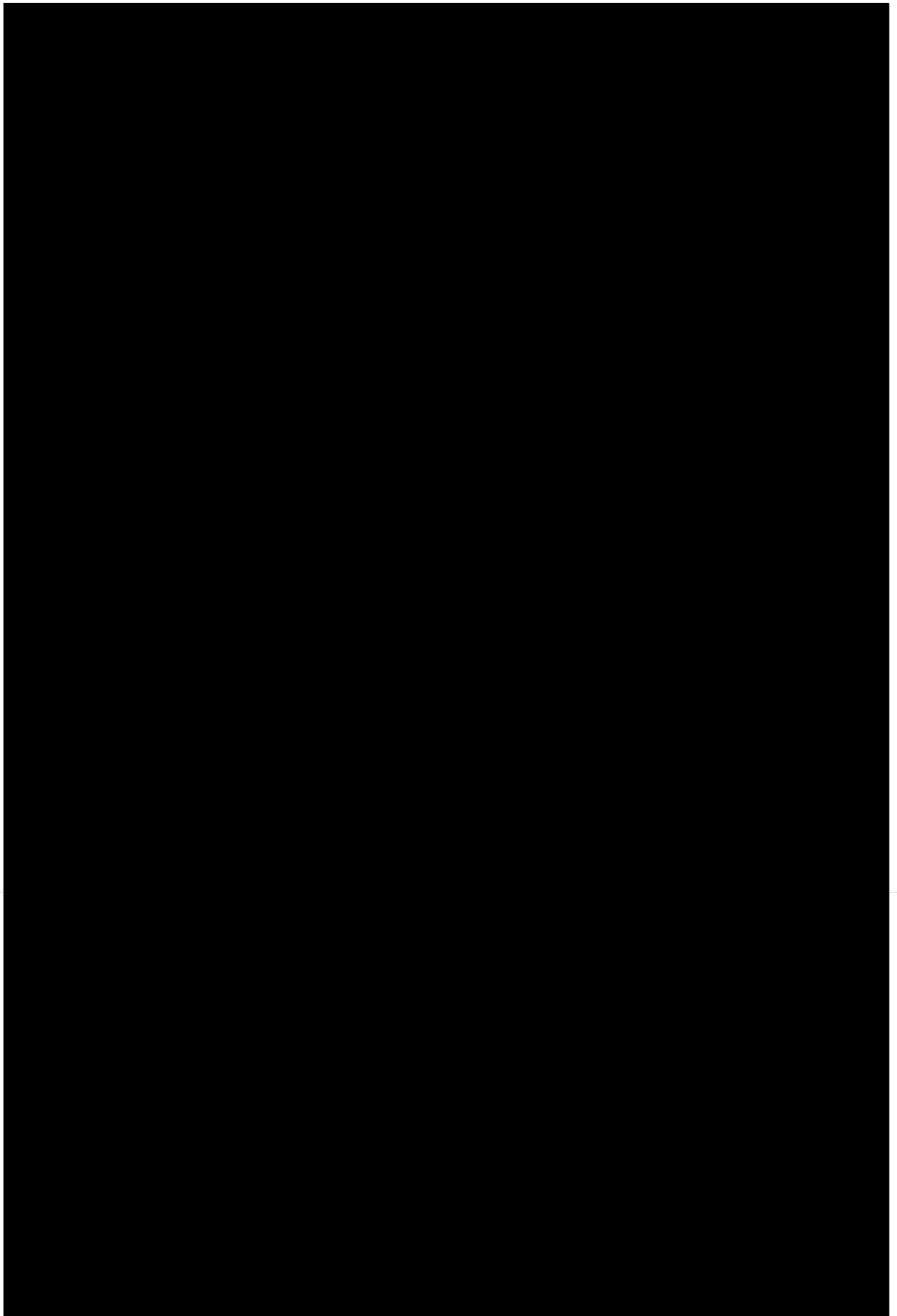


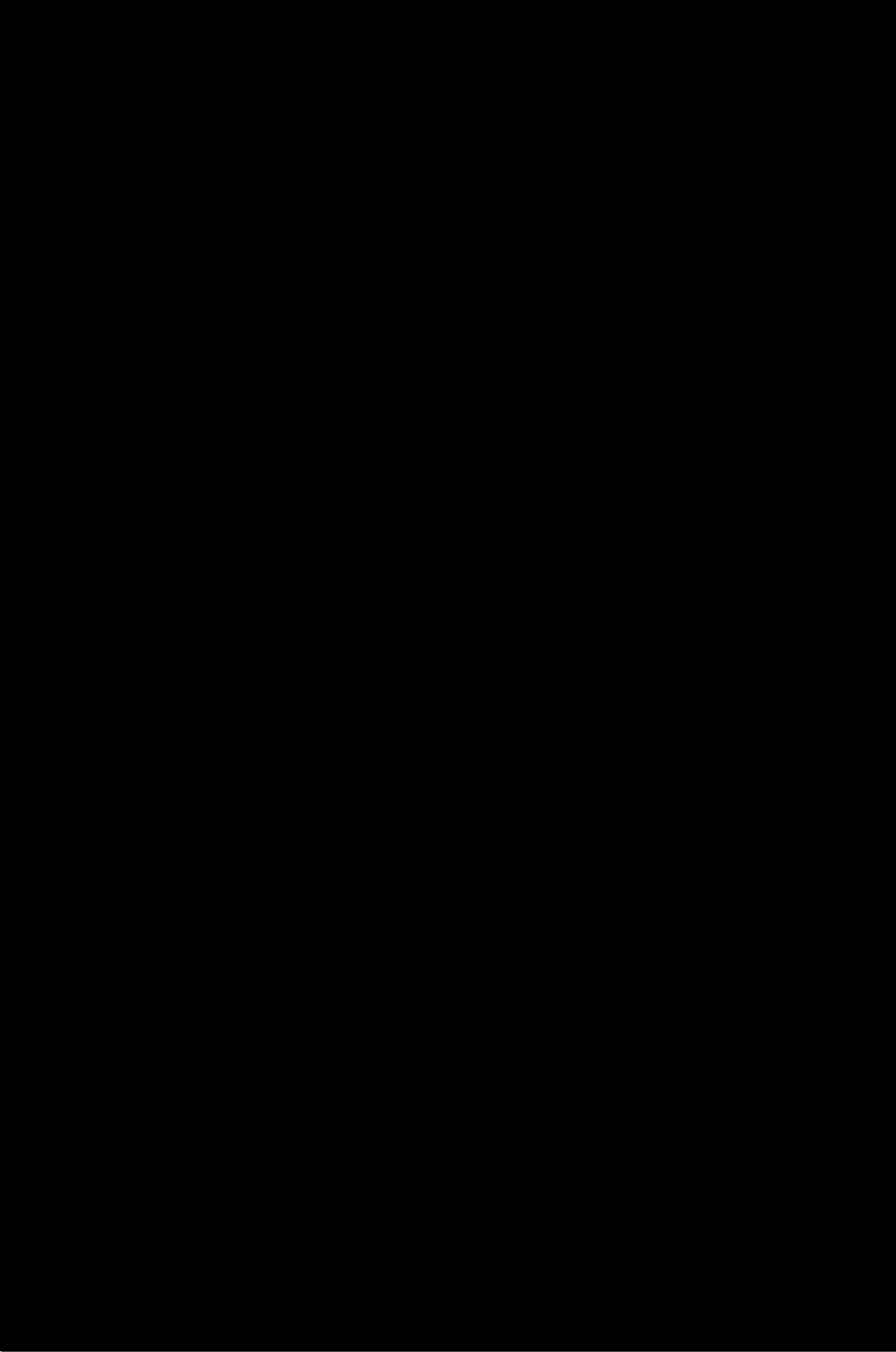


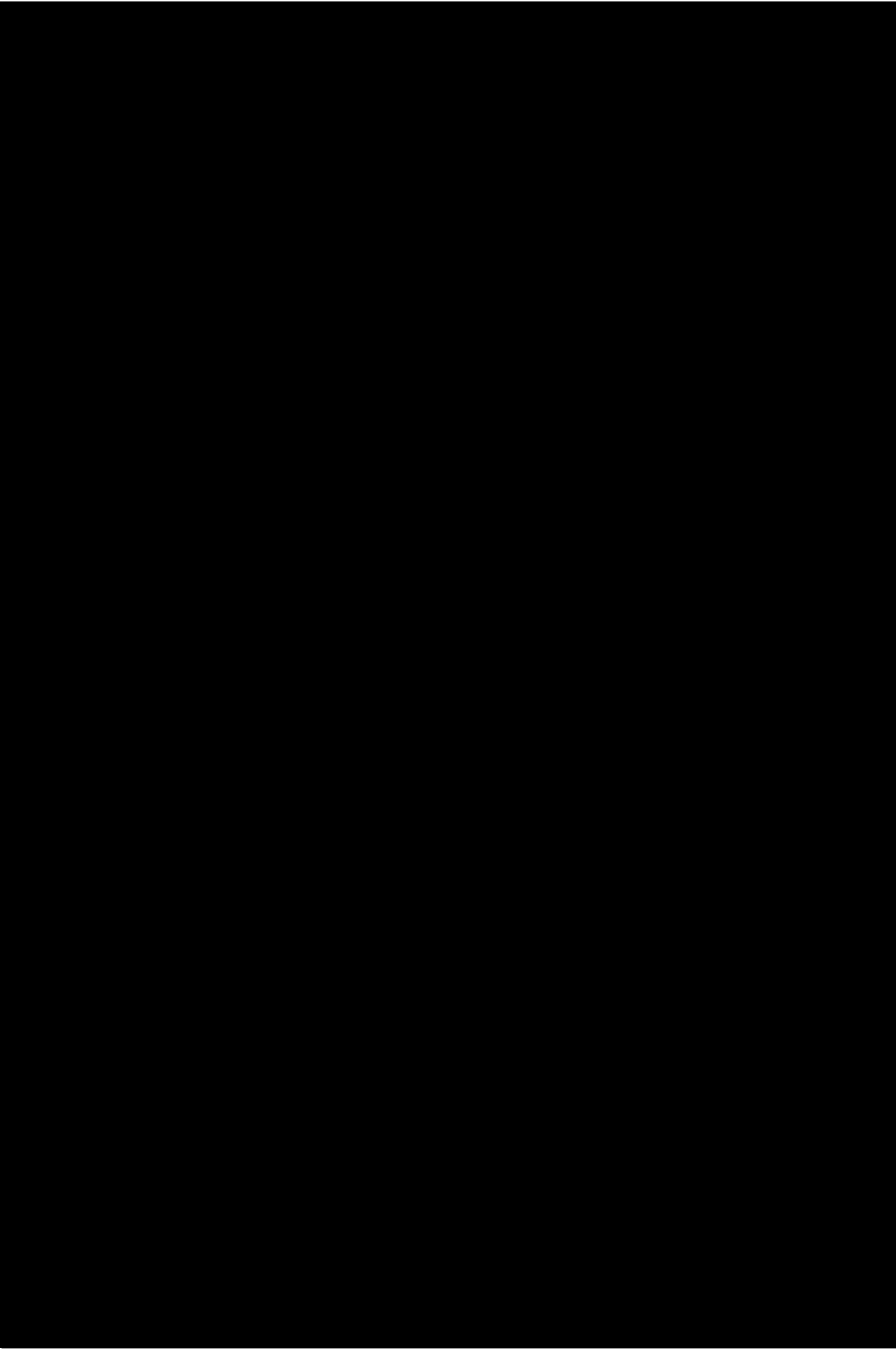


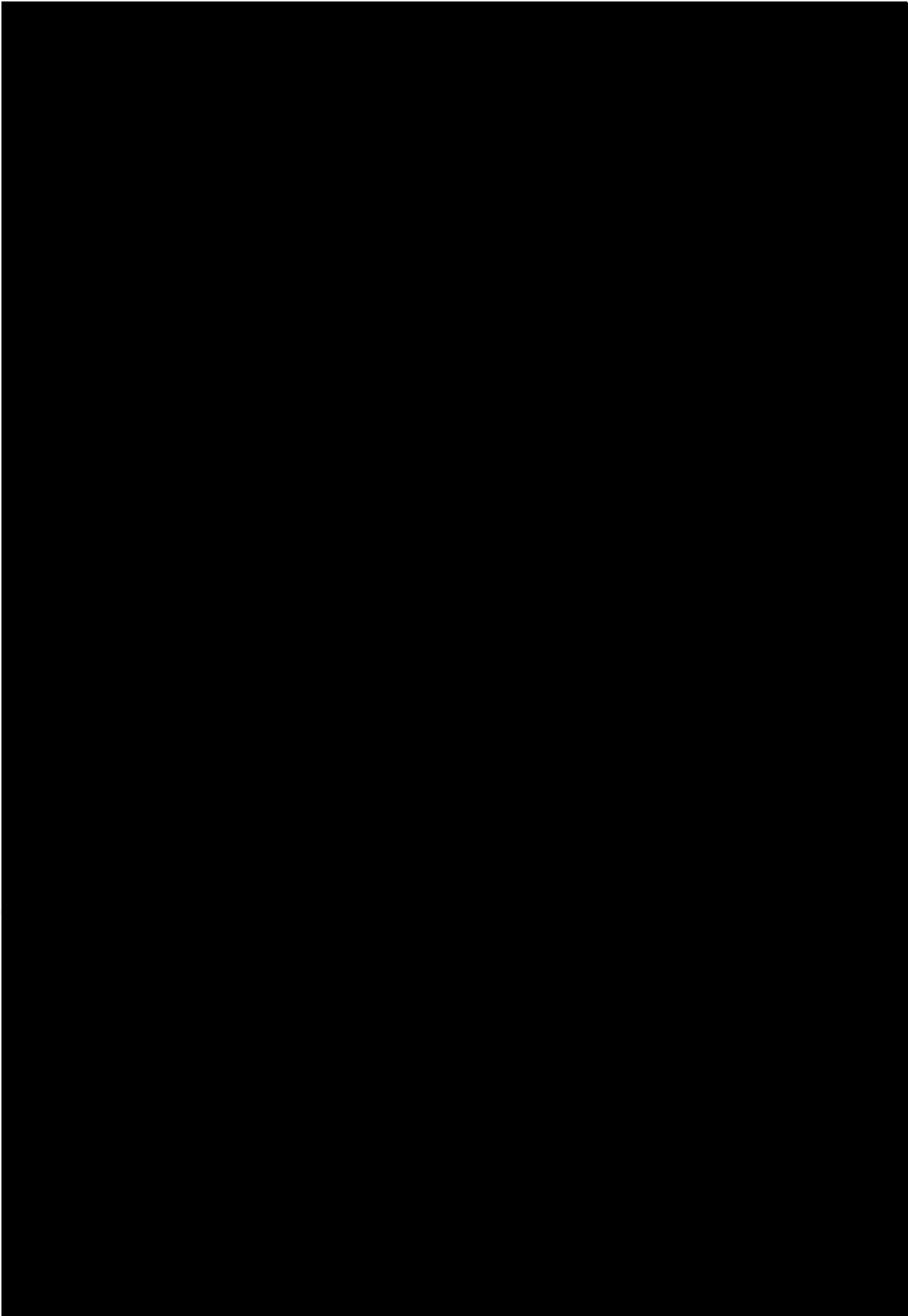


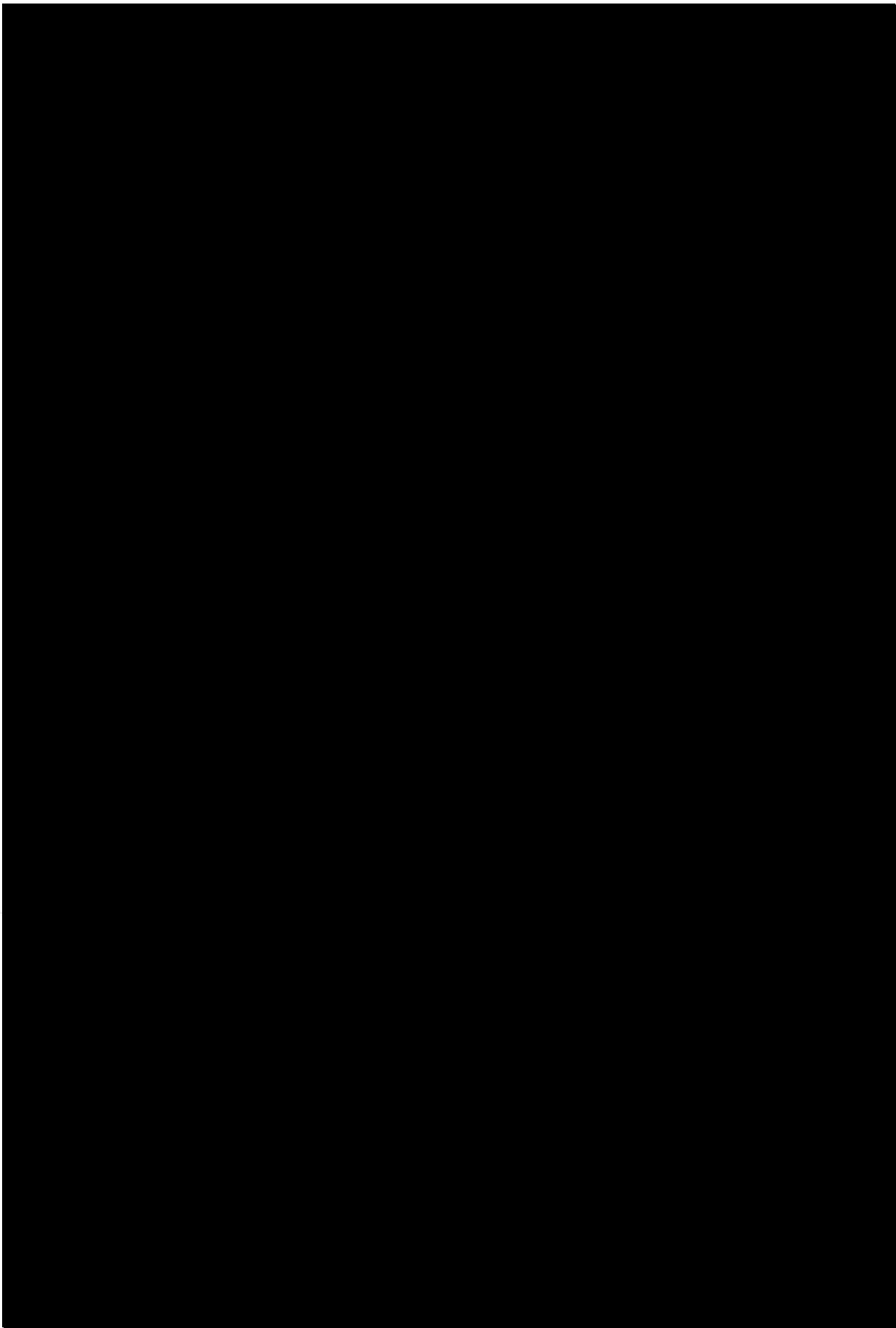


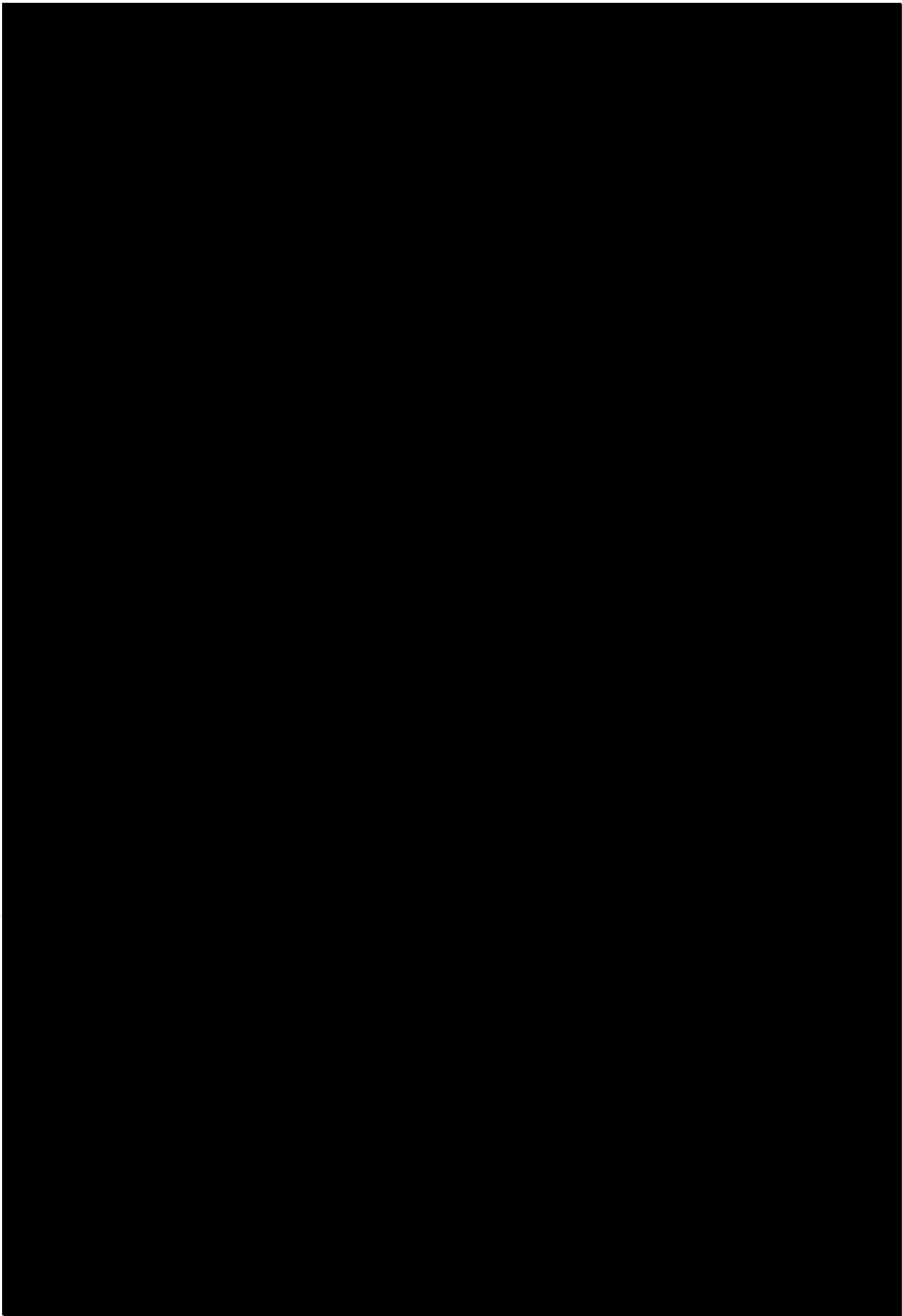


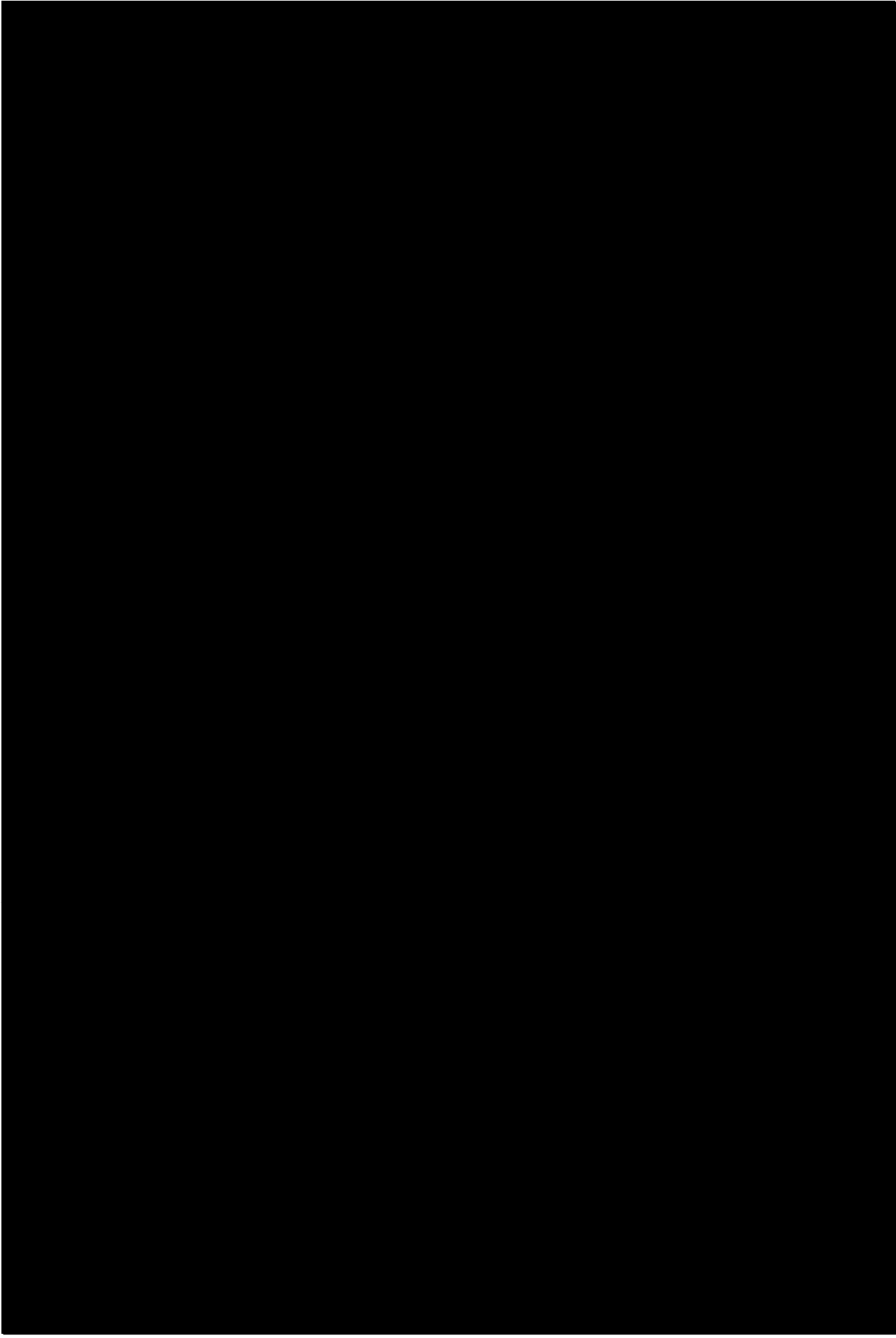


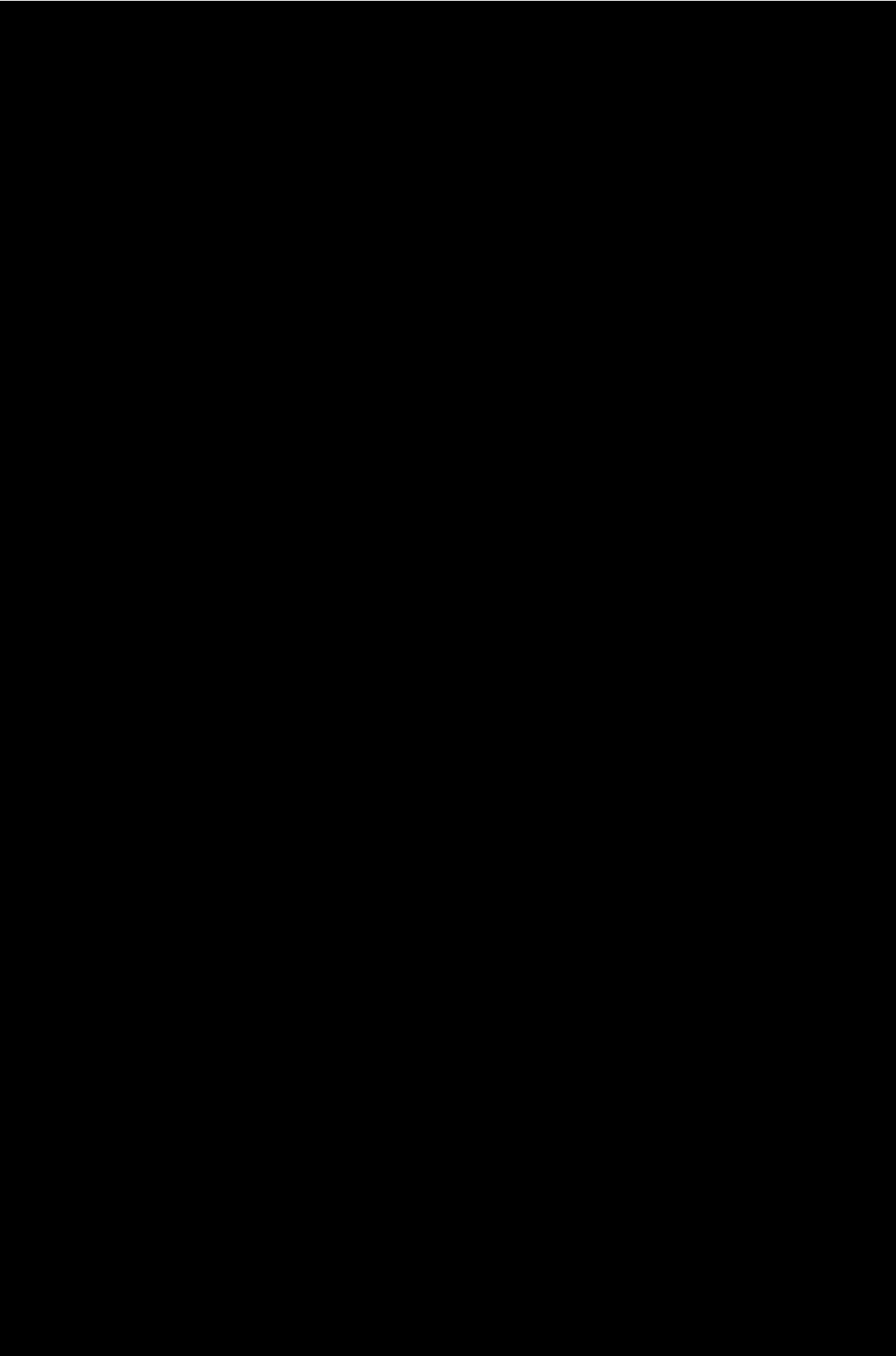


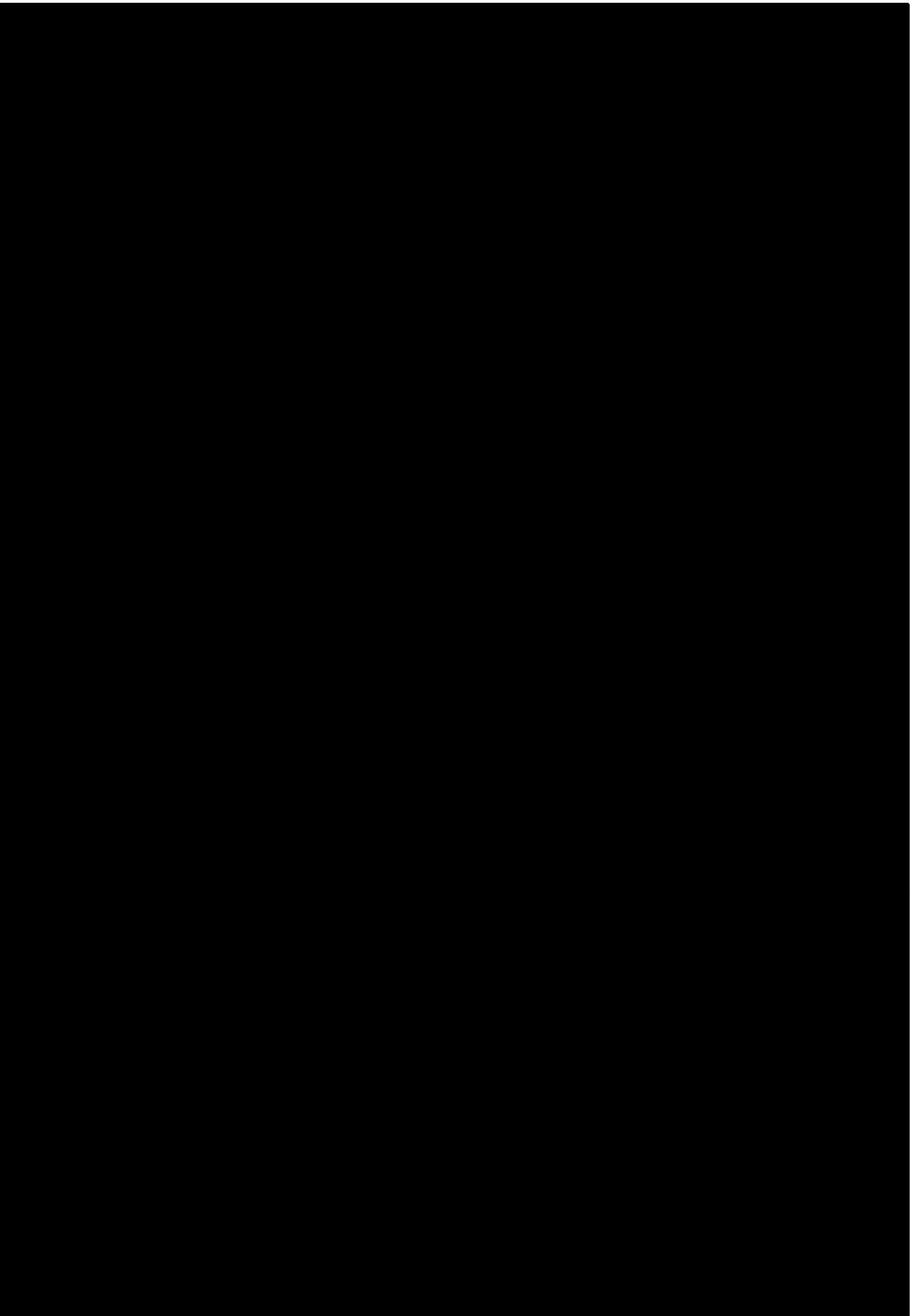


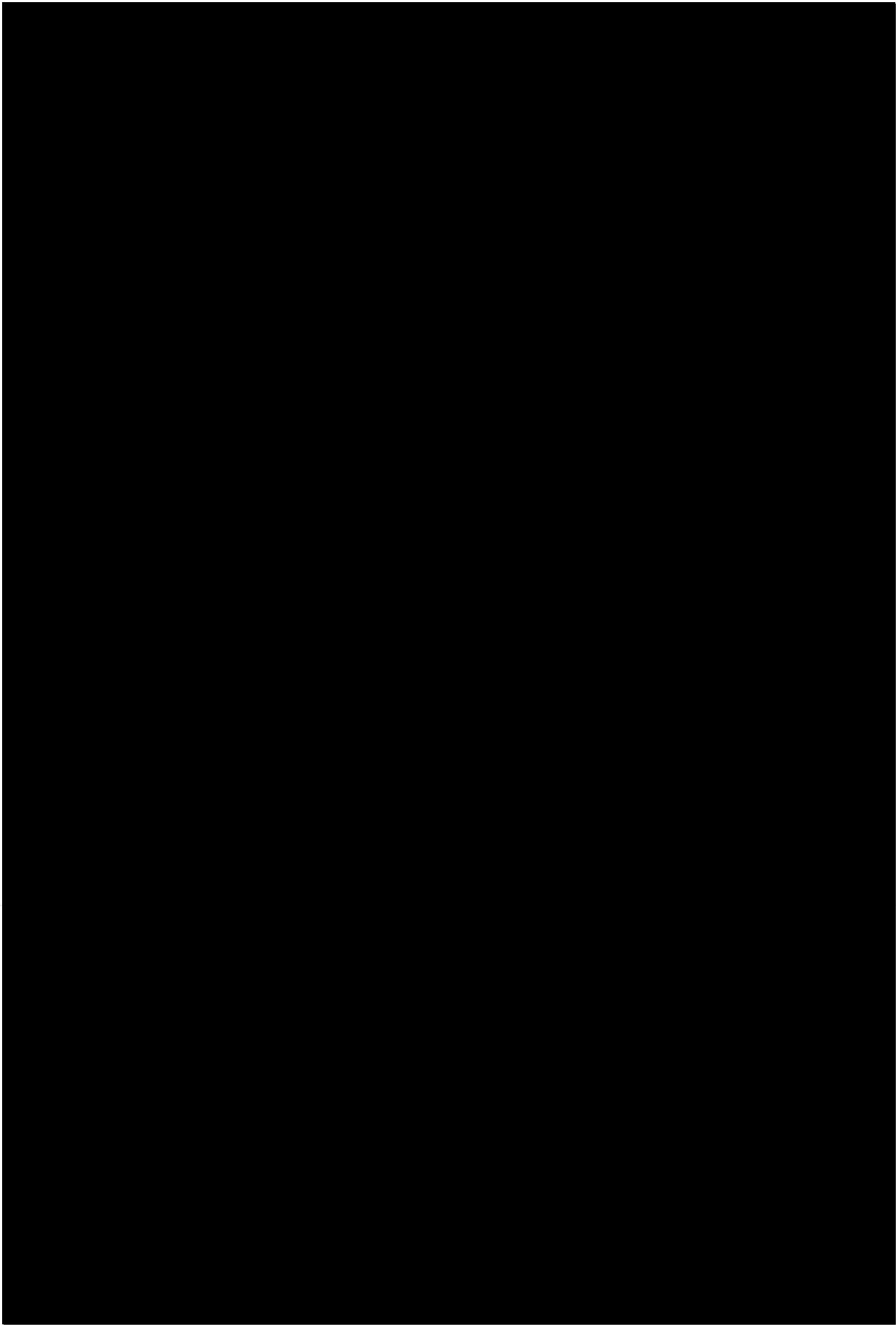


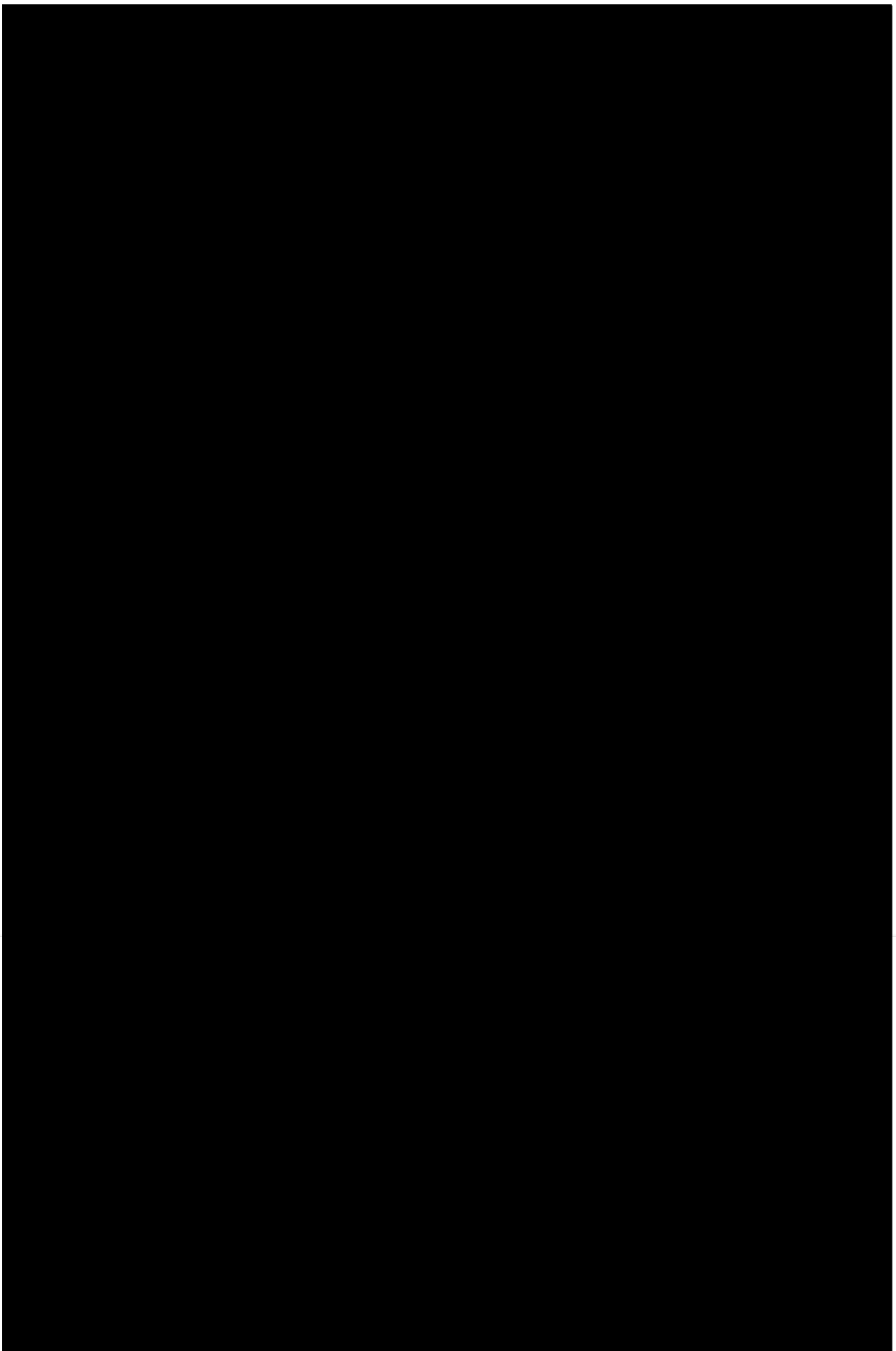


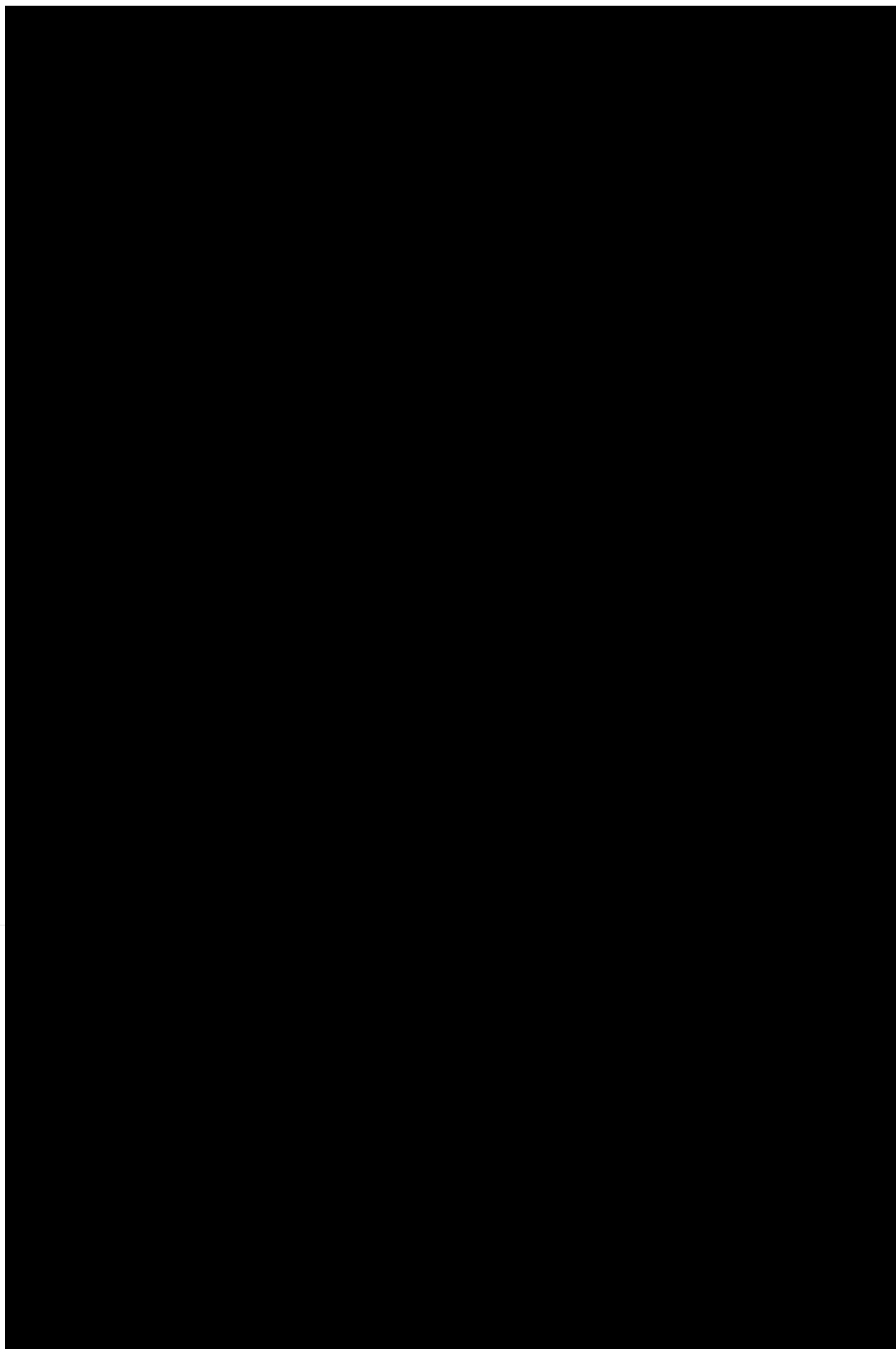


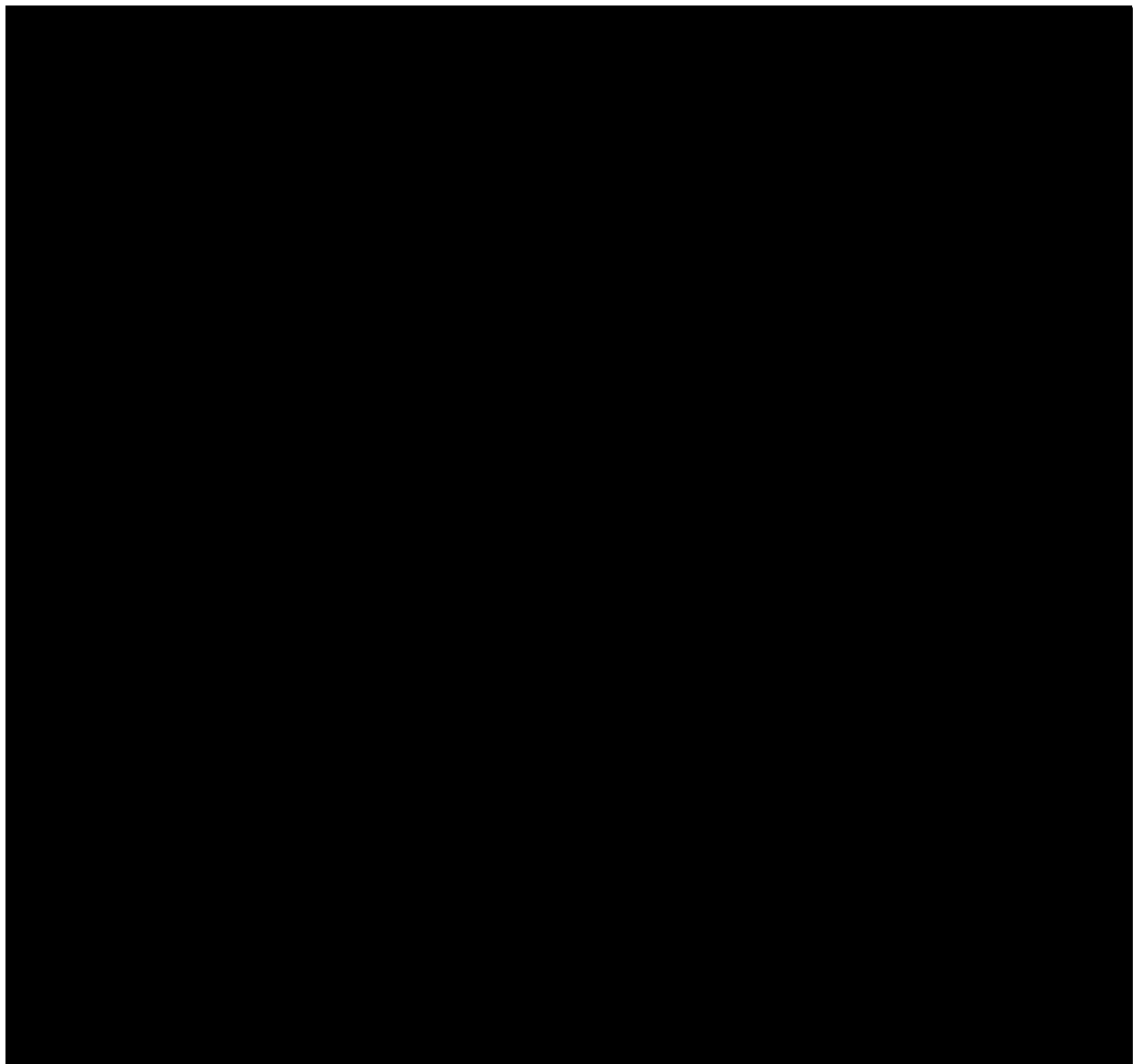












SECTION 6
- Organisational capacity

Section 6 – Organisational capacity

6.1 - Introduction

Vote Leave Limited is a company limited by guarantee. There are sixteen non-executive members of the board, and all sixteen are also the directors of the Company.

The scale of the expenditure involved, and the fundamental significance of the referendum question itself, means that any designated lead campaign group will have to be a considerable enterprise in its own right, and will be subjected to unprecedented levels of public scrutiny. Vote Leave Limited has therefore adopted a corporate structure shaped by best practice in both the private and public sectors.

This is important not only to reassure the public that a designated campaign is following the highest standards, but also to reassure the non-designated organisations with whom that lead group will be working. They need to be satisfied both that their legitimate interests will be taken into account by a successful applicant and that their engagement with a designated organisation will not be exploited for other ends.

6.2 - The organisational structure of Vote Leave

6.2.1 - The Board

The Board is responsible for the overall management and direction of the campaign and Vote Leave's activities. It meets fortnightly, comprising representatives of our key stakeholders:

- Gisela Stuart MP (Chairman, Labour)
- John Mills (Deputy Chairman)
- Arabella Arkwright
- Martin Bellamy
- Lady Harriet Bridgeman
- Dr Peter Cruddas (Joint Treasurer)
- Nigel Dodds MP (DUP)
- Suzanne Evans (former Deputy Chairman of UKIP)
- Lord Forsyth of Drumlean (Conservative)
- Alan Halsall (Responsible Person, Referendum Agent and Business for Britain)
- Daniel Hodson (Chairman, Compliance Committee)
- Bernard Jenkin MP (Conservative)
- Christopher Montgomery (Chief of Staff, DUP)
- Jon Moynihan OBE (Chairman, Finance Committee)
- Graham Stringer MP (Labour)
- Anne-Marie Trevelyan MP (Conservative)
- Victoria Woodcock (Company Secretary)

Biographies of the Board members are provided in Appendix A4.

Members of the Senior Management Team attend meetings, but have no voting rights.

In order to accommodate the growth in number of our allied organisations, the Board of directors has altered considerably since the campaign launched in October 2015. Because of the umbrella role involved in being a designated campaign, it is quite likely that the membership of the Board will continue to evolve, as the breadth of the many stakeholders we represent naturally expands post-designation.

6.2.2 - The Campaign Committee

The Campaign Committee is responsible for monitoring and evaluating the campaign Framework and Action Plan as agreed by the Board. It meets weekly:

- Michael Gove MP (Co-Convener, Conservative)*
- Gisela Stuart MP (Co-Convener, Labour)*
- Steve Baker MP (Conservative)
- Douglas Carswell MP (UKIP)
- Dominic Cummings (Campaign Director)*
- Ian Davidson (Labour Movement Co-ordinator)
- Nigel Dodds MP (DUP)
- Iain Duncan Smith MP (Conservative)
- Matthew Elliott (Chief Executive)*
- Frank Field MP (Labour)
- Lord Forsyth of Drumlean (Conservative)
- Liam Fox MP (Conservative)
- Chris Grayling MP (Conservative)
- Dan Hannan MEP (Conservative)
- Boris Johnson MP (Conservative)*
- Paul Keetch (Liberal Leave)
- Lord Lawson of Blaby (Conservative)
- John Longworth (Chairman, Business Council)
- Jon Moynihan (Chairman, Finance Committee)
- Lord Owen (Independent Social Democrat)
- Priti Patel MP (Conservative)
- Dominic Raab MP (Conservative)

- Graham Stringer MP (Labour)
- Theresa Villiers MP (Conservative)
- John Whittingdale MP (Conservative)

Those marked with * comprise a Core Group which will meet daily.

6.2.3 - The Parliamentary Council

It is responsible for representing the views of Leave supporters from both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. It is chaired by Lord Blencathra.

6.2.4 - The Business Council

It is responsible for representing the views of our supporters in the business community. It meets monthly, and Matthew Elliott, Dominic Cummings and Victoria Woodcock report to this council:

- John Longworth (Chairman)
- Alan Halsall (Deputy Chairman, former Chairman, Silver Cross (UK) Limited)
- John Mills (Deputy Chairman, founder, JML Group)
- Neville Baxter (founder, RH Freight Group)
- Dr Peter Cruddas (founder and CEO, CMC Markets)
- Daniel Hodson (Chairman, Berry Palmer & Lyle Holdings)
- John Hoerner (former Chief Executive, Central European Clothing, Tesco)
- Robert Hiscox (former Chairman, Hiscox Insurance)
- Brian Kingham (founder, Reliance Security Group)
- Adrian McAlpine (director, Sir Robert McAlpine Limited)
- Jon Moynihan (former Chairman, PA Consulting)

6.2.5 - The Finance Committee

The Vote Leave Finance Committee is a sub-set of our broader Board structure, which is dealt with in more detail elsewhere in the document. The committee meetings have focused objectives of:

- scrutinising our financial position
- discussing spending plans, both on a 'currently affordable' and 'aspirational' basis
- strategising our fundraising efforts

In keeping with our ethos of strong corporate governance, we have ensured that we include our Treasurers in this meeting, as well as the Chairman of our Compliance Committee to oversee probity.

As well as identifying potential donors to the campaign, this Committee allows us the opportunity to formulate a plan and ensure our efforts are well co-ordinated. Agenda items will always include upcoming fundraising events, should we think that they are the appropriate avenue to interest a potential donor. Permanent staff always attend the meetings in order to offer instant answers to queries or present information to the Committee. Minutes are taken and then circulated after the meeting, meaning there is a robust plan of action to stay organised.

It is responsible for internal financial governance, fundraising and budgeting. It meets fortnightly, and which Matthew Elliott, Dominic Cummings and Victoria Woodcock, plus members of the Finance team and other Staff members relevant to items on the agenda, attend:

- Jon Moynihan (Chairman)
- Arabella Arkwright
- Dr Peter Cruddas

- Lord Forsyth
- Alan Halsall
- Daniel Hodson
- John Mills
- Stuart Wheeler

6.2.6 - The Compliance Committee

It is responsible for supervision of the effective governance of the Company; its compliance with the law; effective financial and operational process and control; managing potential conflicts of interest; and ensuring the Company obtains value for money. It meets weekly or as required, and which Victoria Woodcock and relevant Staff members attend:

- Daniel Hodson (Chairman)
- Eric Deakins (former Minister for Trade, during the 1975 Referendum in which he supported the 'Out & Into the World' campaign to Leave, and for Health & Social Security; member of the Labour Euro-Safeguards Campaign and author of 'The Struggle to Preserve British Self-Government' in 'The 1975 Referendum on Europe: Reflections of the Participants').
- Alan Halsall (Responsible Person, Referendum Agent and Business for Britain)
- David Jones MP (former Secretary of State for Wales)
- Lord Parmoor (former Circuit Judge and member of the Immigration Services Tribunal)

6.2.7 - Senior Management Team

It is responsible for the executive management of the campaign:

- Matthew Elliott (Chief Executive and Responsible Person)
- Dominic Cummings (Campaign Director)
- Victoria Woodcock (Operations Director and Company Secretary)
- Thomas Borwick (Chief Technical Officer)
- Georgiana Bristol (Development Director)
- Ian Davidson (Labour Co-ordinator)
- Oliver Lewis (Research Director)
- Stephen Parkinson (National Organiser)
- Paul Stephenson (Communications Director)
- William Norton (Legal Director)

The continuous dialogue involved in the interlocking structure described above ensures both that all of our stakeholder groups have the opportunity to influence the campaign (making it extremely representative) and that the Senior Management Team are subject to rigorous external scrutiny (making it extremely accountable).

6.3 - Vote Leave's internal governance

6.3.1 - Financial management

Internal financial governance is overseen by the Finance Committee and maintained by an expenditure approval system. All items require the prior completion of a purchase order, together with (depending upon the amount involved) the authorisation of the Operations Director; the Campaign Director; the Chief Executive and the Responsible Person (or someone authorised in writing by him). The Operations Director and Finance Director works to budgets agreed with the Finance Committee and which will be revised as appropriate as the campaign proceeds.

6.3.2 - Data protection

All staff receive regular briefings about data protection issues and guidance from the Information Commissioner's Office on best practice relevant to their work. Staff that deal directly with the handling of data have received professional data training on data compliance from the Company Lawyer.

Vote Leave registered as a data controller (#ZA145011) with the UK Information Commissioner's Office on 8 October 2015. Our privacy policy may be read in full at <http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/privacy>. It was last updated in March 2016.

The Company has adopted measures to protect against the loss, misuse, or alteration of the information under our control. All collected data is stored in locked, secure environments, and any campaign staff or volunteers working on behalf of the campaign will only ever have access to the information they need.

Personal data is never published on our website without consent and only ever passed to a third party where the elector has given explicit consent. Where consent is given it may be shared within the Vote Leave organisation and with partners with whom we have a strategic relationship, such as allied campaigns, or entities which are engaged to provide services on behalf of our supporters. Outsiders are supplied only with the minimum data needed to provide the service we request and only on condition that such data is protected in accordance with our privacy policy. If it ever becomes necessary to transfer personal information outside the European Economic Area, any transfer will be made only to servers where we are satisfied that they are sufficiently secure and our policy can be complied with.

We will never rent or sell the personal data we hold. It will never be shared with a registered political party. Nor have we accepted data from any political party, and indeed nor have we accepted data from anyone that we do not have written consent to their data being shared.

All of the data we hold on identifiable electors has been supplied by them or acquired from each council's electoral officer by virtue of our right to access the electoral register. All such correspondence and records of data requested and/or transferred are kept in a separate, secure account for full audit and compliance purposes. We have not accepted, and will not accept, membership contact lists from any other organisation. Only registered supporters are included in our regular communications

and we only send marketing material to non-supporters within the terms of the Privacy and Electronic Communications (EC Directive) Regulations 2003 SI 2003/2426.

The UK-wide canvassing operation which Vote Leave will be undertaking will necessarily lead to the collection of a significant amount of sensitive personal data about the electorate. In accordance with Data Protection Policy Vote Leave will authorise the complete destruction of its database, including the electoral register, as soon as reasonably practicable following polling day, and all data will be destroyed by the end of one year after the end of the referendum as is laid out in our data policy. Data will not be retained or transferred to any successor organisation for any non-referendum purpose.

The technology used to process this particularly sensitive data – the hardware and the software of our canvassing application – maintains full audit logs, automatic and manual monitoring of both external and internal activity, active threat mitigation (both denial of service and attempts to compromise the system) and is backed by Amazon and Rackspace, both world leaders in their fields. All systems are fully secured via SSL and hosted in Amazon's Ireland (EU West) data centre.

6.3.3 - compliance procedures

Regulatory compliance is overseen by the Compliance Committee and enforced by the Responsible Person. Media activity follows agreed daily lines-to-take settled by the Senior Management Team, in which the Responsible Person and Referendum, Agent, Alan Halsall, participates. Failure to abide by staff protocols, particularly in regard to social media activity, is a disciplinary matter. The Compliance Committee also maintains a corporate risk register.

Vote Leave has committed to follow the Electoral Commission's *Code of Conduct for Campaigners*. To underline the seriousness of this commitment, we will reaffirm it and copy it to each of the Counting Officers in Great Britain if we become the designated campaign. Every Vote Leave National and Regional Director has been briefed on the Code of Conduct and is responsible for ensuring that our activists and volunteers abide by its terms.

6.4 - Vote Leave's Structural Capacity

We have established a decentralised grassroots campaign, because this is the most effective means of both including the widest possible range of volunteers from diverse political backgrounds and enabling them to reach out to an equally diverse electorate. Each of our Regional Directors will act as the referendum agent for our campaign in the local authorities within their areas. To support them in this work we applied for the full electoral register from every local authority as early as possible following our registration as a permitted participant.

6.4.1 - Capacity to represent other campaigners

The organisational structure outlined at length above is sufficiently robust to ensure adequate external oversight of the activities of the Senior Management Team while

permitting maximum flexibility for outside groups to be represented as the campaign expands after designation.

There are three avenues by which an outside organisation could be incorporated into the Vote Leave structure post-designation.

The organisation's members who wish to participate in direct campaigning are able to do so at the grassroots level. Our open, decentralised campaign structure provides many opportunities for activists of different background and affiliation to become involved at different levels of responsibility, whether as a simple volunteer or as an organiser for a ward, a local authority or a county. This process has been occurring naturally since Vote Leave launched in October 2015.

On a more corporate level, an outside organisation could be integrated into an expanded Vote Leave either through the appointment of a representative to the board of directors or on a more arm's length basis by the attendance of a liaison officer at the Contact Group, chaired by the Chris Grayling MP, described in greater detail above. Either option would permit the outside group's voice to be heard within the Vote Leave decision-making process. In some cases it may be more appropriate for both to occur.

Vote Leave intends to treat each outside group on its own merits, following discussions with them about their plans and how they can be accommodated within the 'concert party rule'. We will not be dictating a 'one-size-fits-all' approach.

6.4.2 - Capacity to reach voters

To demonstrate our capacity to reach voters, and test the readiness of our internal systems, we held a 'dry run' General Election-style event ('Take Control Day') on Saturday 12 March.

- More than 450 campaigning events were organised across every region and nation of the United Kingdom. These involved activities such as holding street stalls in the centre of towns, handing out free material, sending teams to canvas households.
- Over 1,200,000 leaflets were delivered by Vote Leave supporters over the course of that weekend.
- Our activists held tens of thousands of face-to-face conversations with electors.
- Our volunteers put up 5,000 Correx posters across the country including on private properties and fields adjacent to major roads.

The principal means by which the message of a political campaign reaches potential voters is through the reporting of its activities by the media. Appendix D3 comprises an analysis of the media coverage Vote Leave has generated since our launch in October 2015.

6.5 - The experience and skills of key Vote Leave staff

Our Chief Executive is **Matthew Elliott**. He has 8 years' experience (until July 2012) as chief executive of the TaxPayers' Alliance, a successful non-party issues-based

campaigning group, and a further 3 years' as chief executive of Business for Britain, representing the cross-party views of business on the renegotiation of Britain's membership of the EU. He was also Campaign Director of NO to AV, the designated lead campaigner on the 'No' side in the Parliamentary Voting System Referendum of 2011, which won with 68% of the vote. Following that result, one commentator said: 'The campaign provides a new model of how campaigns should be fought. Elliott ignored the talking heads and ran a campaign that chimed with voters, not the metropolitan elite.' He has been described as 'probably the most effective political campaigner that Britain has produced in a generation'.

Our Campaign Director is **Dominic Cummings**. He was Campaign Director of Business for Sterling, and then of the No Campaign (to stop Britain joining the euro), from 1999-2002. He was a co-founder of the North East Says No campaign (the designated campaign in the referendum on a regional assembly) in 2004. He was Chief of Staff to Michael Gove MP from 2007–10 and a special adviser in the Department for Education from 2011–14.

Our Operations Director is **Victoria Woodcock**. Victoria is a former civil servant, who worked in the Department for Education on a range of policies such as Free Schools, Academies and the Spending Review and worked as Private Secretary to the Secretary of State and then worked as a Strategic Analyst in the Department. She then moved on to become adviser to the Government Chief Whip, 2014–15, and then Head of Strategic Events at the Cabinet Office, 2015, where she delivered and co-ordinated the VE Day 70th Anniversary celebrations.

Our Communications Director is **Paul Stephenson**. Paul spent over four years campaigning on the EU issue. He worked on the No Euro campaign, the Vote No campaign against the EU Constitution and was one of the founders of the Open Europe think tank where he was Research Director. He also ran the 'I Want a Referendum' campaign in favour of a vote on the Lisbon Treaty. He then worked as a press officer for the Conservative Party from 2008–10, Special Adviser to the Transport Secretary from 2010–11 and Special Adviser to the Health Secretary from 2011–12. From 2012–15 he was Executive Director of External Affairs at the British Bankers' Association. As one commentator has written, he is: 'By common consent one of the best communicators and operators in Westminster'.

Our National Organiser is **Stephen Parkinson**. Stephen served in the same role during the last UK-wide referendum, acting as National Organiser for the victorious NO to AV campaign in 2010–11. He has 17 years' voluntary experience and 12 years' professional experience in political campaigning, working full-time on three general election campaigns for the Conservative Party, including as a key member of the Tories' national target seats campaign 2007–10. Stephen oversaw the production of the Conservative Party's election addresses to 42 million electors for the 2009 European Elections, and the NO to AV campaign's free mailing during that national referendum. He was responsible for all campaign literature in a number of high-profile Parliamentary by-elections, including Crewe & Nantwich (2008) and Norwich North (2009) – the first Tory by-election gains for more than thirty years. He worked on the US Presidential campaign of Gov. John Huntsman (R-UT) in 2012, and has acted as a campaign consultant to political parties in a number of emerging democracies (including Moldova, Serbia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and FYR Macedonia) through the

Foreign Office-supported Westminster Foundation for Democracy since 2004. He stood for Parliament in 2010 as the Conservative Party candidate for Newcastle-upon-Tyne North, and worked in Government as Special Adviser to the Home Secretary 2012–15.

Our Research Director, **Oliver Lewis** was the Research Director at Business for Britain from April 2013 to October 2015. He previously worked for Michael Gove MP and the New Schools Network. Oliver has written for *The Spectator* and *Standpoint* magazines and is an elected borough councillor in Surrey Heath. He was one of the main contributors to the 1,000-page 'Change, or go' study for Business for Britain, the author of 'Lessons from the 1975 renegotiation' and a co-author of 'The British Option', 'Energy Policy and the EU', 'European Demos: a historical myth?' and 'Peace Makers or Credit Takers: the EU and peace in Europe'. Oliver is also the Deputy Chairman (Political) of Surrey Heath Conservative Association.

Our Chief Technology Officer, **Thomas Borwick**, has spent the last four years working on the digital side of local, national and international campaigns. Thomas has extensive experience in various campaign roles and founded Kanto, the mobile canvassing app, which has been used to aid consumer research, political canvassing and the Get Out The Vote Operations. He was Operations Director for the Syed Kamall Mayoral primary campaign (Spring/Summer 2015). Thomas worked on the digital and data campaigns of 10 constituencies in the run-up to the May 2015 general election, and for 30 UK council campaigns in local government elections in 2014. In 2014 he also worked on the micro-targeting data side of the Antigua and Trinidad campaigns.

Our Development Director, **George Bristol** was previously Development Director of Business for Britain, where she played a major role growing the campaign from the original 3 business leaders, to representing over 1,200 UK businesses. She was also Head of Fundraising on the NO to AV campaign and Development Manager at the Imperial War Museum. She has worked for Open Europe, Boris Johnson's 2008 Mayoral Campaign and the Conservative Party Fundraising Department.

Our Legal Director, **William Norton**, acted as referendum agent for North East Says No Limited, which was the designated lead campaign group on the 'No' side for the 2004 North East Referendum. He is the author of *White Elephant: How the North East said NO* (Social Affairs Unit, 2008), an account of the regional assemblies issue and how the North East Referendum answered it. In 2011 William was a board director of NO to AV, the designated lead campaign group for the 'No' side in the AV Referendum and he acted as the Responsible Person, handling the legal and compliance aspects of the campaign. William was also the registered referendum agent for No Campaign Limited in all 440 electoral districts.

Our Labour Co-ordinator, **Ian Davidson**, was Member of Parliament Glasgow Govan, Pollok then South West between 1992 and 2015. He was Chair of the Scottish Affairs Select Committee 2010–15, having been a member of that Committee 2005–10. Ian was also a member of the Public Accounts Committee between 1997 and 2010. Ian was previously a Councillor for the Strathclyde Region 1978–92, in which he was Chair of its Education Committee and also Chair of the Education Committee of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). Ian is the Former Parliamentary Secretary of Labour Against the Euro, Labour Against a European Superstate, Tribune

Group, and the Trade Union Group of Labour MPs. He is a Former Chair of Centre For a Social Europe and a former researcher for Janey Buchan MEP. He has been consistently critical of drives toward 'ever closer union', of EU waste and of capitalist bias in its institutions.

The full biographical details of the Vote Leave core staff are given in Appendix A1 to this application and of the National and Regional Directors in Appendix A2.

SECTION 7
- Signatures

I declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information I have provided on this form is true and that: (tick the appropriate box below):

I am the named individual, or

We are the responsible officers of the above-named political party, or

I am the secretary, or acting in similar capacity as secretary of the above-named organisation.

Signed



Name

VICTORIA WOODCOCK

Position held

COMPANY SECRETARY

Date

31.03.16

Signed

Name

Position held

Date

Signed

Name

Position held

Date

For Electoral Commission use

Date of receipt

Checked by

Date entered in database

File reference number