

30 January 2017  
27 February 2017

Dear Mrs Murray

Thank you for your letter dated 6th February in reply to my letter of 30 January. I confess that my initial feeling was of disappointment with your reply, as I believe that a Cornish MP must be able to explain why Cornwall will be better off outside the EU without having to ask a concerned constituent for evidence to the contrary. However, on reflection I believe that you are absolutely right to require substantive evidence from me. Evidence is, after all, essential for informed, responsible decision-making. So, I have annotated my original letter by providing links to the requested evidence (I have restricted the number – there are many, many more) together with some additional annotation in red font. Thank you for forwarding David Davis' note with your generic letter regarding Article 50 to constituents (including me) who had written to you. Alas, it does not address my concerns.

I am not a member of any political party. I spent a long time looking into the implications of the EU referendum before I cast my vote last June, with an especial focus on children and young people and the quality of life that the UK will be able to provide to all now and in the future. I continue to follow Change Britain, the various leave campaign groups in their evolved forms, read the Economists for Free Trade cases for Brexit and seek information from as many credible sources as possible to minimise confirmational bias – the tendency to embrace information that supports a particular view: <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2017/02/27/why-facts-dont-change-our-minds>. Unfortunately, articles and information that seek to make cases for Brexit omit key points that undermine their use for robust and effective decision-making. There are crucial areas on which pro Brexit MPs have never explained to the British people how their futures may look. MPs who can't articulate the benefits of Brexit are easy to spot – they are the MPs who respond to questions by referring to the 'will of the people' or putting down people with contrary views, to avoid having to provide evidence or logic based explanations. Of course, there will be winners and losers from Brexit, internationally, nationally and within our constituency. The overall outcome of Brexit for the UK and South East Cornwall will be made up of the aggregation of many multiples of effects. The successful Team GB cycling team attributes its exceptional success to the aggregation of marginal benefits. The converse is also true – aggregation of adverse impacts multiplies damage.

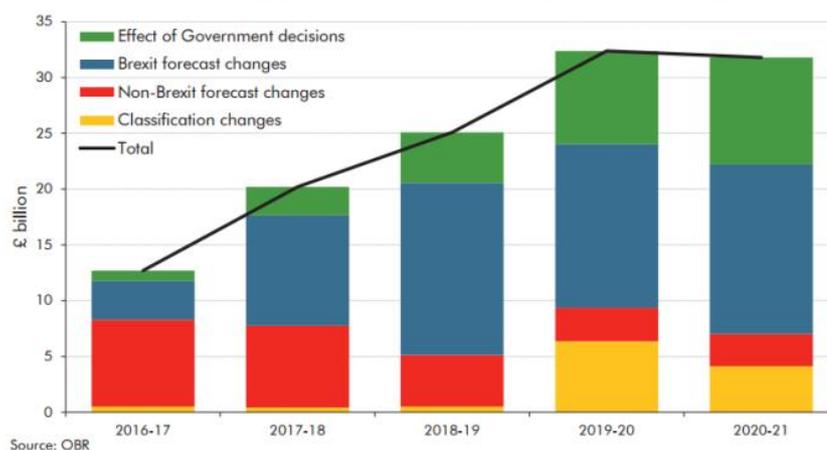
**How will South East Cornwall fare under your watch and the future your Government chooses to set it on? I remain deeply, deeply worried – in fact fearful – about Cornwall's future. I welcome any assurance that you are able to provide. The Conservative Cornish MPs must have evaluated the impacts of Brexit pre Referendum and concluded that we could be better off. I simply want to understand how, so that I can stop worrying.**

I know that you will vote to trigger Article 50. However, I am writing to you to ask **“Please can you explain for your constituents how the UK and especially South East Cornwall will be better off by leaving the EU”**. We have had months of evidence from myriad sectors of UK life on how Brexit will affect them - this should have been made available to voters BEFORE the Referendum. The fact it wasn't places a greater responsibility on every single MP to understand and explain the impacts on their constituents and the nation. I have followed the Parliamentary committees on Brexit with growing alarm - not least at the lack of knowledge from MPs questioning witnesses about the role of the EU in UK life and also a lack of commerciality and understanding about how businesses, universities and multiple other enterprises across numerous sectors work.

The following are amongst the obvious points that have emerged:

- that **the UK economy will suffer a hit of tens of billions of pounds even by 2020, with no chance of any of the Leave campaigns promises of extra funding for the NHS**. The losses will greatly outweigh any savings from payments to EU budget (**notwithstanding the budget windfall announced last week, the UK will still need to borrow £bns more than forecast in March 2016**)
  - <https://www.gov.uk/government/topical-events/autumn-statement-2016> - the **extra £122bn of Government borrowing by 2020**. This is predicted extra borrowing – not the predicted costs to the UK economy as a whole. How will it be paid for? The OBR assumes 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the burden will be borne by pensioners and 2/3rds by those of working age. What could such money have been used for? Schools? NHS? Care?
  - <http://news.sky.com/story/autumn-statement-2016-the-charts-that-show-the-cost-of-brexit-10669153>
  - <http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk>: forecasts show that public sector borrowing will increase by an additional £118 billion over the next five years, the majority of which will be used to offset the costs of Brexit (the OBR was unable to get much information from the Government about Brexit so has had to make some assumptions, but the Chancellor seems to accept them).

Chart 1.4: Sources of changes to public sector net borrowing since March



- <http://on.ft.com/2fFwMmE>: FT – three takeaways as the OBR puts a cost of Brexit
- <https://www.changebritain.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/2.-Leave-the-EU's-single-market-and-customs-union-to-boost-UK-by-£450-million-a-week.pdf> – unfortunately, the Change Britain counter claim that the UK would save £450m per week by leaving the customs union and the Single Market assumes that there will be no change to national income as a result of leaving the EU, the Single Market and the Customs Union. If you think this is not going to be the case please point to any supporting evidence as I have spent ages trying to locate any but have not been successful. The Change Britain report has been discredited by many, including:
  - <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/01/04/shoddy-analysis-change-britains-dubious-predictions-of-the-gains-from-a-clean-brexit/>
  - The impact of the 'no deal' scenario that the Conservative party believes is acceptable if we can not negotiate a good trading deal with the EU within two years could see an extra £6bn in tariffs for UK goods exported to the EU even if everyone kept their jobs and businesses were able to continue trading which (see below) many won't be. It is reasonable to assume that a hard Brexit will mean wide-scale job losses in the most affected sectors – including within your own constituency:
    - <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/feb/20/no-deal-brexit-would-mean-6bn-in-extra-costs-for-uk-exporters>
    - <https://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/8825>
    - <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/11/hard-brexit-treasury-66bn-eu-single-market>
    - <https://fullfact.org/economy/how-much-would-hard-brexit-cost/>
    - <https://global.handelsblatt.com/politics/hard-brexit-could-cost-billions-684483>
    - <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jan/16/uk-business-leaders-cbi-train-crash-brexit>
    - <http://www.cbi.org.uk/businessvoice/latest/brexit-the-business-view/>
    - <http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/economic-impact-of-brexit/>
    - <http://www.cbi.org.uk/news/cbi-signs-open-letter-to-government-on-brexit-negotiations/>
    - [https://www.iod.com/Portals/0/PDFs/Campaigns%20and%20Reports/Europe%20and%20trade/Navigating Brexit Priorities for business options for government.pdf?ver=2017-02-20-174338-027](https://www.iod.com/Portals/0/PDFs/Campaigns%20and%20Reports/Europe%20and%20trade/Navigating%20Brexit%20Priorities%20for%20business%20options%20for%20government.pdf?ver=2017-02-20-174338-027)
    - <https://www.babinc.org/httpwww-businessinsider-combruegel-brexit-impact-finance-city-30000-jobs-assets-8bn-revenue-2017-2rukirt/>
- that foreign direct investment that is located in the UK for access the Single Market currently enables the UK's capital account to partly offset the 'eye waveringly large' current account deficit. **Loss of even part of this FDI will leave the UK paying more than our current EU**

**contribution in debt financing - with nothing to show for it** (like access to the world's largest marketplace).

- *"The UK has been the largest recipient of **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)** flows in the EU" and "Ernst & Young's 2015 'UK attractiveness survey' suggests that around 72% of investors consider access to the European single market as important to the UK's attractiveness as a destination for foreign direct investment."*  
<http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/publications/Documents/speeches/2015/euboe211015.pdf>
- *"In the UK, foreign firms sometimes use factories as EU bases (for example Nissan in Sunderland), so factories often supply a wider economy than that they are located in. FDI is also thought to improve productivity through the introduction of new working practices and transfers of technology (that can also spread to indigenous firms)."*  
<http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN01828/SN01828.pdf>
- <https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/comms/r116.pdf> *"If leaving the EU were to have no effect on national income, then the public finances would be unambiguously strengthened. However, the public finances are sensitive to even relatively small changes in national income. So if the economy were to be just 1% bigger or smaller, then borrowing as a share of national income could in today's terms be around £14 billion less or more as a result. **If leaving the EU were to reduce national income by just 0.6%, that would be enough to outweigh the positive effect on the public finances of freeing up the net £8 billion that we currently contribute to the EU.** Clearly if we were to strike a deal similar to the Norwegian one that involved us continuing to make a net financial contribution to the EU, then even smaller negative GDP effects would be enough to overwhelm the direct effect."* [emphasis added]
- <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/brexit03.pdf>: Brexit is likely to reduce FDI inflows to the UK by about 22%
- Whilst Liam Fox asserted that Britain has secured £15bn in extra FDI since Brexit, it has since emerged that much of that was planned before the Referendum:  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/12/30/britain-has-secured-15billion-extra-foreign-investment-since/>. Mr Fox does not refer to the estimates of investment that has been LOST since 23 June – which seem to be many £billions more than the investment that was already coming and just hasn't cancelled e.g. <http://news.sky.com/story/business-investments-worth-£65.5bn-abandoned-after-brexit-vote-10657282>
- On the Chancellor's own figures, the costs of the extra borrowing will dwarf even our gross EU payments.
- Nissan - *"I do not know what Brexit is for now," its chief executive, Carlos Ghosn, told French magazine Le Point last week. "What we have made is European investment, not British,*

*based in Britain ... If walls are erected between the EU and Britain, investments will be reduced.*" It seems that the Government's promises last Autumn to Nissan may not be deliverable: <https://www.ft.com/content/25656e1a-f8ed-11e6-9516-2d969e0d3b65>

- Businesses, whether UK or foreign, will do what they need to do to trade most easily and most cost effectively. As the CBI made clear during evidence to the Select Committee, market access is more important than deregulation (which, in any event, is not necessarily a virtue in itself since effective regulation serves valuable purposes, generates jobs and growth) and they will be prepared to leave the UK to do so:

<http://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/brexit-drives-registration-of-100-000-uk-firms-in-ireland-1.2985509>

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-02-23/u-k-banks-loss-of-eu-passport-a-major-threat-lse-study-says>

<http://www.techworld.com/news/e-commerce/uk-could-lose-30000-fintech-jobs-after-hard-brexit-3652882/>

and evidence that moves out of the UK are already taking place:

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/feb/25/brexit-fintech-exodus-begins-london-eu-luxembourg>

<http://uschnews.com/bank-of-china-in-post-brexit-talks-to-swap-uk-for-dublin/>

Yet Mrs May recognised the importance of FDI and the likely Brexit impact:

<http://www.conservativehome.com/parliament/2016/04/theresa-mays-speech-on-brexit-full-text.html>

- that **leaving EURATOM** will delay if not undermine Hinckley Point and so threaten longer-term energy security under your Government's energy policy because the UK won't have the expertise to licence its nuclear facilities. <http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/V-Brexit-and-Euratom-20011701.html>
- that **leaving over 50 trade and regulatory bodies** that we currently benefit from through membership of the EU will leave the UK incapable of effectively replacing the expertise for years. For example, Jeremy Hunt has acknowledged that pulling out of the European Medicines Agency - currently located in the UK - could leave UK citizens having to wait a year longer than EU citizens for access to new drugs, having a direct impact on the quality and length of life of thousands - some will be your constituents. Ryan Air has indicated that it will pull out of UK domestic routes rather than having to comply with separate UK regulations (assuming that the UK can even get an air regulator in place by 2019).  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/jeremy-hunt-brexit-medical-treatment-ehic-health-select-committee-labour-a7544396.html>.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jan/28/quitting-eu-regulator-would-leave-uk-waiting-longer-for-new-drugs>  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/15/countries-host-european-medicines-agency-leaves-uk-post-brexit>  
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/02/23/ryanair-urges->

[government-not-scupper-aviation-industry-brexif/](http://government-not-scupper-aviation-industry-brexif/)  
<https://infacts.org/brexit-promises-a-nasty-chemical-reaction/>

Unless these existing agencies are replicated/replaced in the UK, with the relevant international accreditations and recognitions before Brexit, many UK businesses may not be able to operate legally in just two years time:

<http://www.richardcorbett.org.uk/brexit-european-agencies/>

- the **extra bureaucracy that many thousands of businesses will have to endure from being out of the Single Market and the Customs Union**, as well as having to comply with extra UK regulation once we are unable to rely on the joint EU regulations and regulators. <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/politics/businesses-face-deluge-of-paperwork-if-uk-quits-customs-union-in-hard-brexit-a3417671.html>. *“Customs unions can help facilitate trade between their members by removing the need for complex ‘rules of origin’ for goods imported into the trade area from third countries.”*

<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/LLN-2017-0007>

<https://www.parliament.uk/business/committees/committees-a-z/commons-select/home-affairs-committee/news-parliament-2015/170119-brexit-ev/>. The following article suggests that leaving the Customs Union could create jobs – but does not explain how or what assessment there has been of the UK’s various sectors to show how there could be a net benefit – can you please provide such an assessment for sectors important to Cornwall? It is the terms on which new trade agreements could be struck that are most relevant – and the impact of future barriers to trade with the EU that are inevitable as we withdraw from the Single Market and Customs Union:

<https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/news/brexit-could-uk-leaving-customs-union-create-jobs>

The impact of leaving the Single Market and Customs Union on the £25+bn p.a. legal sector and business clients is explained in this report, which also identifies what must be secured in our future relationship with the EU:

<http://www.lawsociety.org.uk/support-services/research-trends/documents/brexit-and-the-law>

- Whilst the UK may not always like EU law (though we have influenced a great deal of it and supported the vast majority of it), the fact is we have benefited a great deal from it; and it is much more stable than domestic legislative areas such as town and country planning *“However, thirty years of almost continual changes in planning policy and regulation, and the failure to recognise and support the potential of planning, has left the UK incapable of consistently delivering good quality (new) places”*:

[http://www.rtpi.org.uk/media/1915891/rtpi\\_delivering\\_the\\_value\\_of\\_planning\\_full\\_report\\_august\\_2016.pdf](http://www.rtpi.org.uk/media/1915891/rtpi_delivering_the_value_of_planning_full_report_august_2016.pdf)

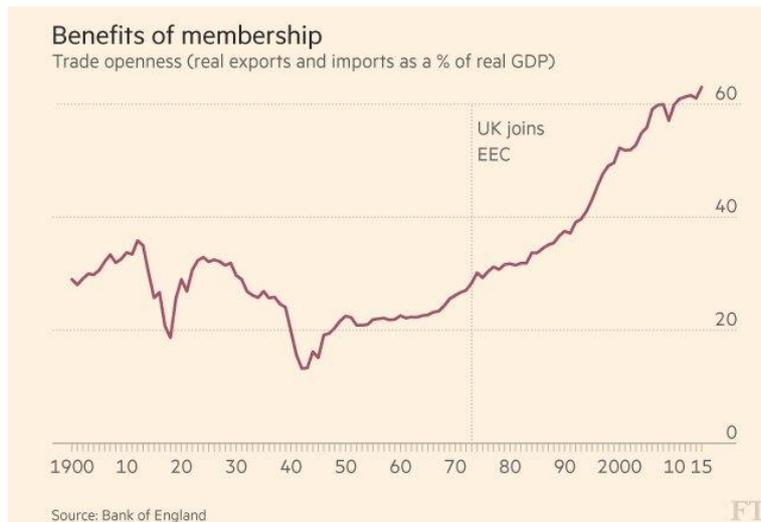
and education, <https://www.tes.com/news/school-news/breaking-news/mps-inquiry-multi-academy-trusts-what-we-learned-regional-schools>; **No proof academies raise standards, say MPs**:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-30983081>; There is no evidence

that converting a school to academy status drives up standards of 'good' and 'outstanding' schools: pp 23-25:  
[http://www.nga.org.uk/getattachment/a048dad3-1bd7-45d2-a324-1d7268524ccd/GM-July\\_Aug2016\\_composite](http://www.nga.org.uk/getattachment/a048dad3-1bd7-45d2-a324-1d7268524ccd/GM-July_Aug2016_composite);  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-38746288> - overseas recruitment drive owing to teacher shortages in England;  
<https://hbr.org/2016/10/the-one-type-of-leader-who-can-turn-around-a-failing-school> and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-37717211>  
- the English school system rewards the wrong type of head teachers where constant changes every time a new Secretary of State of what ever political party takes office have undermined the ability of those sectors to achieve anywhere near their potential.

- the fact that the net benefits for fishermen - which your letter to me last June indicated was the over-riding justification for your support for Leave - are very unlikely to be anywhere near the dream of control promised by the Leave campaign: it is clear that UK fishermen may be worse off outside the EU. Is it correct that if the UK pulls out of the Customs Union (as Mrs May has promised), "every shipment of fish/shellfish would require a health certificate from DEFRA (Carlisle) issued in advance (5-14 days) with exact weights per box (no use for shellfish), a certificate of origin (normally Chamber of Commerce, a bit of a problem in the Highlands and Islands), as well as having a Veterinary Officer on site for every dispatch to sign certificates (whether that be 1kg or a 26 ton container) to seal the shipment with 'secure tags'?" To this could be added a 20% tariff and £350 – £600 for a vet waiting for a lorry to turn up? - this was taken from the PS to this briefing: <http://www.richardcorbett.org.uk/fishing/>; others include: <https://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201617/ldselect/lducom/78/78.pdf>;  
[https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/feb/15/uk-fishermen-may-not-win-waters-back-after-brexiteu-memo-reveals?CMP=share\\_btn\\_fb](https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2017/feb/15/uk-fishermen-may-not-win-waters-back-after-brexiteu-memo-reveals?CMP=share_btn_fb)  
<http://www.abpmer.co.uk/media/1487/white-paper-brexiteu-where-next-for-uk-fisheries.pdf>

And this just for Fisheries - the same **barriers to trade will face agriculture** <http://www.fwi.co.uk/news/industry-leaders-give-stark-warning-on-brexiteu-trade>; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-38510423> and many other export sectors who, following Margaret Thatcher's business building (in contrast to Teresa May's market deconstruction) Lancaster House speech, have made the most of the worlds largest single market right on our doorstep and significantly contributed to jobs, growth and tax revenues:



Mrs Thatcher told the UK that 5 years was not long when preparing to enter the Single Market - yet your Government thinks we can extricate ourselves in less than half of that time. **Outside the Customs Union our ability to trade will be impacted by border delays:**  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/leaving-eu-customs-union-will-mean-border-queues-warn-experts>

- that during her 6 year tenure as Home Secretary, **Mrs May could have applied some of the controls over EU migration that the EU Treaties permit - and that some other member states use - but chose not to.** Maybe this was because over 2/3rds of migration to the UK comes from outside the EU and should have been well within her powers to reduce in order to reach the arbitrary 'tens of thousands' target that has no empirical basis because it was a populist, election lure. **The restrictions that the UK could have applied are set out in section 2a of the Europa link below.** Was the decision not to introduce measures to achieve these controls taken because the systems necessary to monitor EU migrants weren't in place and there was resistance to introducing them either on principle or because of cost? Measures used by other EU member states include registration of migrants and ID cards. The absence of any such records has, of course, now been identified as likely to make it impossible for the UK to identify which EU citizens satisfy whatever criteria is identified for them to remain in the UK post Brexit? The fact is that the UK could have controlled EU migration without leaving the EU but successive Governments chose not to. **This is a major point that may lead to great anger when jobs and public services are lost as a result of your Government prioritising immigration control over economic well-being in the Brexit negotiations.** It also explains why David Cameron did not come back from his pre-Brexit negotiations with the EU member states with as much as had been hyped – because the UK already had the ability to take measures but had chosen not to:  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU\\_2.1.3.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU_2.1.3.html) and for wider context "The Non-EU Migration Problem That Can't Be Fixed by Brexit - But Which Could Have Been Solved Years Ago":

[http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-michael-arnheim/eu-migration\\_b\\_10776806.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/dr-michael-arnheim/eu-migration_b_10776806.html)

And this highlighted extract from Daniel Korski (Cameron aide)  
<http://www.politico.eu/article/why-we-lost-the-brexite-vote-former-uk-prime-minister-david-cameron/>:

## Evidence what evidence

- “Our European counterparts pointed out that **the number of immigrants moving to the U.K. was relatively limited**, compared to, for example, Germany.
- Finally, as we tried to argue that the U.K. faced a unique set of circumstances, which required a fundamental redraft of the relevant European rules, **we struggled to provide evidence to support our case**.
- We tried using absolute numbers: three million migrants likely to come over the next 10 years, 6 percent of Lithuania’s population living in the U.K. already. We highlighted the pressure on public services like schools and hospitals. And we appealed to European leaders to consider the impact of migratory flows on their own economies.
- These arguments were quickly shot down.
  - Our European counterparts pointed out **that the number of immigrants moving to the U.K. was relatively limited**, compared to, for example, Germany.
  - Or they called attention to the fact that **European migrants paid more tax and used fewer public services than British citizens**, which was true.
- They noted that **our economy was growing**, that we were **almost at full employment**, and thus that **migration was more or less inevitable**. They showed us how our rate of financial distribution to the areas under pressure was much lower than, say, Germany’s, and concluded that **we should just spend a lot more money addressing the challenges there**.
- We were never able to counter these arguments. To be honest, **we failed to find any evidence of communities under pressure that would satisfy the European Commission**.
- At one point we even asked the help of Andrew Green at [MigrationWatch](#), an organization that has been critical of migration. But all he could provide was an article in the Daily Telegraph about a hospital maternity ward in Corby.
- **There was no hard evidence.”**

Cameron aide on “Why we lost the Brexit vote”

By [DANIEL KORSKI](#) 10/20/16, 5:32 AM CET

<http://www.politico.eu/article/why-we-lost-the-brexite-vote-former-uk-prime-minister-david-cameron/>

This was published just as I was completing this letter:

<http://www.richardcorbett.org.uk/mays-mess-migration/>

Meanwhile, we and our children will lose the right to live, work, retire and freely travel across 31 European countries.

- the **staff shortages in the NHS and education are already being compounded by the Leave vote**, even while it is still officially ‘business as usual’, and UK citizens are already suffering as a direct result of the EU Referendum vote. The elderly will suffer from even less care than they now have.  
<http://www.gponline.com/brexit-drive-4000-eu-trained-doctors-nhs-bma-warns/article/1425101>  
<https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/publications/articles/brexit-and-nhs>
- the **significant damage to UK higher education institutions** that will see a brain drain out of the UK - we will never know what we have lost because of all of the collaborations that will not take place owing to BREXIT  
<https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/risks-post-brexit-academic-brain-drain-highlighted>  
<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/brexit-may-spark-british-brain-drain/>
- The **additional £6billion of cuts the MoD now has to make**, not least because the un-calculated drop in sterling has made military purchases so much more expensive.  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-3703433>

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/01/27/plans-new-aircraft-tanks-risk-need-cut-6billion-defence-spending/>

- The fact that **we can't simply fall back on to WTO rules but will need agreement from all other WTO members for the schedule of tariffs** - including Argentina.

<http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2017/01/economist-explains-4>

- The fact that **the two basic principles of free trade agreements will leave the UK worse off than it would have been in the EU:**

**1. Reciprocity** - the idea that to get access to a market in another country means you have to give access to something of yours that others don't have (e.g. the NHS to the USA) **see the importance of non tariff barriers to trade, given that tariff barriers generally between EU and USA are already low – how will Cornish agriculture and food & drink fare under a trade agreement with the USA?**

<http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/SN06688> **The drop in sterling (which is predicted to drop much further in time – we are still benefitting from our frictionless EU trade, after all) makes exports to the UK more expensive – as many businesses in prospective trading partners have noted – and it is businesses, not countries, that trade.** and

**2. Numbers** - the size of your market is critical. So, the UK can offer 65m people post BREXIT and 550m within the EU. Who is going to get the better deal? **Our USP in the EU is our Anglo Saxon legal system, our incredibly open economy that already has much of our infrastructure owned by foreign companies and governments, and our position in the Single Market - which, as Margaret Thatcher intended, provides a stable market place irrespective of the political parties within member states because of the common regulatory framework with which all are required to comply through the principle of shared sovereignty.** As Donald Trump has shown, FTAs don't offer anywhere near the same level of certainty and consistency because they can be changed or ripped up - not so good for encouraging or retaining investment. **Businesses trade, not Governments. Market size is essential. Realistically, businesses operating from other trading blocks and countries will want their Governments to prioritise the EU over the UK both in terms of order of making deals and the preferential terms on which they are made. The drop in sterling (and predicted future drops) will not make the UK as attractive for exporters to us since their goods and services will become more expensive for UK consumers:**

<https://www.euractiv.com/section/uk-europe/news/asian-economies-stress-focus-is-on-eu-27-not-uk-after-brexit/>

<http://www.newstalk.com/Australias-priority-is-to-trade-with-the-EU--Australian-Foreign-Minister-on-the-opportunities-and-impact-of-Brexit>

[http://www.theneweuropean.co.uk/topstories/the\\_idea\\_that\\_brexit\\_will\\_release\\_britain\\_into\\_a\\_world\\_of\\_free\\_trade\\_is\\_delusional](http://www.theneweuropean.co.uk/topstories/the_idea_that_brexit_will_release_britain_into_a_world_of_free_trade_is_delusional)

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/feb/23/brexit-could-help-eu-strike-free-trade-deal-india-mep>

<http://uk.mobile.reuters.com/article/idUKKBN15L10K>

Despite assertions that the UK would be free to set its own tariffs post Brexit – including by Lawyers for Britain (NB these publications do not address the impact of the loss of FDI on the sustainability of the UK public finances or the loss of access to essential regulatory agencies by virtue of which UK businesses are able to trade globally):

<http://www.lawyersforbritain.org/brexit-process.shtml>

<http://www.lawyersforbritain.org/files/how-to-leave-the-eu-martin-howe-politeia.pdf> it seems that is not in fact likely to be the case:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/liam-foxs-speech-to-the-world-trade-organisation>

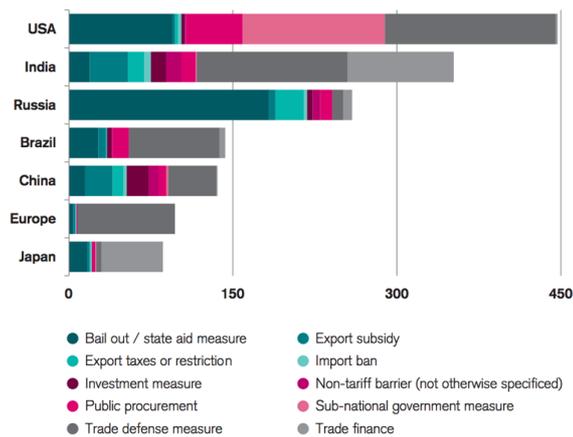
<http://www.politics.co.uk/blogs/2016/12/06/very-quietly-liam-fox-admits-the-brexit-lie>

The irony is that as we leave the world's largest, richest and indeed closest trading block we do so at a time when protectionist measures by other trading partners are increasing – see the

<http://www.globaltradealert.org> website. Overall, the EU is one of the least protectionist trading areas in the world: (from Plymouth Manufacturing Group July 2016 newsletter article by Roger Fagg)

The EU is one of the least protectionist regions

The USA imposes the highest number of protectionist measures



Source: Global Trade Alert, Credit Suisse

As Mrs May herself has said: "*It is tempting to look at developing countries' economies, with their high growth rates, and see them as an alternative to trade with Europe. But just look at the reality of our trading relationship with China – with its dumping policies, protective tariffs and industrial-scale industrial espionage. And look at the figures. We export more to Ireland than we do to China, almost twice as much to Belgium as we do to India, and nearly three times as much to Sweden as we do to Brazil. It is not realistic to think we could just replace European trade with these new markets.*" [emphasis added]

So far as the USA is concerned, what grounds are there to suppose that the UK could be better off (emphasis below added in bold):

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/keystone-pipeline-approval-could-tilt-trade-balance-against-canada/article33711159/>

*"Mr. Trump has signaled that he wants to impose protectionist measures such as tariffs against countries that sell more goods and services into the U.S. than they buy from Americans. He has cited that*

*as a key reason for rewriting NAFTA. And it goes further. **He and his key trade advisers have indicated they want mechanisms in trade deals so that they will be reopened if and when the U.S. develops a trade deficit.***

It is important to note that the USA currently has a trade deficit with the UK – <http://ftcommunications.com/2016/10/infographic-brexite-need-trade-views-institutional-investors/>.

- The **challenges for Ireland** (threatening the Peace process and raising the very real possibility of some form of border control), **Scotland, Wales and Gibraltar** (which wants to keep its border with Spain), for ex-pats living in Spain and elsewhere who may be unable to afford to live in the EU owing to the sterling devaluation and so have to return to live in the UK to access healthcare, and for the millions of others living in the UK and EU whose own lives have become uncertain.

I could go on - but I won't. Perhaps **the most fear-inducing facet of Parliamentary conduct since 23 June has been the ignorance of MPs about the fundamental principles of the rule of law and representative Parliamentary democracy.** In particular:

1. All MPs were advised when the EU Referendum Bill was before Parliament that "...this is a type of referendum known as pre-legislative or consultative, which enables the electorate to voice an opinion when then influences the Government in its policy decisions...."  
[researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7212/CBP-7212.pdf](http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7212/CBP-7212.pdf). **David Cameron was not able to undermine the rule of law simply by saying the people would decide. Parliament would have to do that and, critically, it did not.**
2. All MPs who voted in favour of that Bill must share responsibility for failing to explain its nature to their constituents and, even more so, the recklessness that left the Act devoid of constitutional safeguards.
3. It is an international disgrace that MPs on all sides clearly didn't understand that the Executive had no authority to notify the EU under Article 50 without Parliamentary approval. It should not have been necessary for individuals to bring cases to the independent judiciary for this most basic defence against the undermining of the constitution to be upheld. Michael Gove (who clearly didn't understand the rule of law himself, despite describing it for school children in the mandatory lessons on fundamental British values that he introduced) should have provided lessons to MPs on fundamental British values as well as school children - who (damaging cuts notwithstanding) will be far better educated about this than many of those privileged to sit as MPs. **I am completing an article that looks specifically at the EU Referendum in terms of these fundamental British values. I will forward it to you. In the meantime, a democracy requires several component parts to operate, one of which concerns public engagement and understanding in order for people to vote. This was lacking in the case of the EU Referendum with material levels of misinformation on both Remain and Leave sides. See also**

[referendums-differently](#)

4. Sir John Chilcott's Report on the Iraq Inquiry set out lessons on governance that are equally applicable to BREXIT but are being ignored. That report identified clear lessons:
  - The importance of collective Ministerial discussion which encourages frank and informed debate and challenge
  - The need to assess risks, weigh options and set an achievable and realistic strategy;
  - The vital role of Ministerial leadership and co-ordination of action across Government; supported by senior officials; and
  - "Above all, the lesson is that all aspects of any intervention need to be calculated, debated and challenged with the utmost rigour... And, when decisions have been made, they need to be implemented fully"

[http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry\\_executive-summary.pdf](http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/media/247921/the-report-of-the-iraq-inquiry_executive-summary.pdf)

**MPs MUST be presented with a White Paper on the options and impacts BEFORE voting on Article 50.** Anything other than this will fundamentally undermine our democracy - it is not too far then for the UK to go down the lines of Turkey, for example, where the power of the Executive over Parliament has grown, and the independence of the Judiciary been compromised. *Unfortunately, the White Paper that emerged shortly after 4am on the morning AFTER the House of Commons vote, complete with some regrettable and basic errors, does not meet the [www.Parliament.uk](http://www.Parliament.uk) definition of a White Paper: "White papers are policy documents produced by the Government that set out their proposals for future legislation. White Papers are often published as Command Papers and may include a draft version of a Bill that is being planned. This provides a basis for further consultation and discussion with interested or affected groups and allows final changes to be made before a Bill is formally presented to Parliament."* Furthermore, and disgracefully, there is no economic analysis underpinning the 'proposals'. Many have noted the White Paper's recognition that the UK retained sovereignty throughout its membership of the EU. MPs have had no information provided in the form of a 'gap analysis' – that is to say, the extent to which we could make different laws and rules given the framework of wider international law and treaties to which we are committed, the international product standards that we uphold and that EU legislation simply introduces for us, and the areas of European law that we would have made anyway – and that we are either already legislating for at a higher standard (e.g. asbestos) or that the EU largely follows the UK on (e.g. H&S).

5. **The EU Referendum did NOT remove from MPs their duties to act in the best interests of the UK and especially their constituents.** Come 2020, millions of voters will not accept MPs telling them that their votes to trigger Article 50 in the face of

overwhelming evidence of huge risks of significant damage to the UK's economic and social fabrics were justified because of the outcome of the EU Referendum - especially since the Leave campaign lied 'on an industrial scale' and its representation of the Single Market was so far removed from reality that it was like comparing creationism with evolution (Professor Michael Dougan, University of Liverpool). See Professor Dougan's excellent and accurate explanation here (this should have been compulsory viewing for everyone with the right to vote, especially every MP):

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USTypBKEd8Y>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0dosmKwrAbI> - in which Prof Dougan responds to criticisms of his pre Referendum video. He points out that the Leave campaign (unlike Remain) based its case on constitutional and legal matters. He then explains very simply and legally why the Leave campaign's assertions were indeed dishonest on an industrial scale. Serious pain and distress is already being felt by millions of individuals in the UK and elsewhere whose lives and security are now fundamentally uncertain even though the Leave campaign falsely assured voters that their rights would not be affected.

<https://news.liverpool.ac.uk/2017/01/19/watch-professor-michael-dougan-analyses-theresa-mays-brexite-speech/> - this is particularly interesting on the serious risks of Mrs May's threats to turn the UK into a tax haven in terms of the implications for UK citizens.

<https://news.liverpool.ac.uk/2016/10/05/watch-eu-law-expert-professor-michael-dougan-great-repeal-act/> - useful for an understanding of the implications of the Great Reform Bill, which will fundamentally change our legal system and the extent to which genuine representative Parliamentary democracy may or may not be retained.

As used by MPs now, the 'will of the people' is really a reference to totalitarian democracy. Whilst UKIP may prefer an electoral system under which the majority of the people have direct power via consecutive referenda, it is a far cry from the liberty that David Davis supports. Yet, ironically, totalitarian democracy is what we have with the Government's Brexit approach where: "*lawfully elected representatives maintain the integrity of a nation state whose citizens, while granted the right to vote, have little or no participation in the decision-making process of the government*". If you look at the list of the 'fundamentals' for totalitarian democracy you will see that many of them are already in place in the current Government's approach to Brexit: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Totalitarian\\_democracy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Totalitarian_democracy).

So, given your duty as a Parliamentarian, please can you allay my concerns and set out for me the case for Cornwall being better off out of the EU than within it, not just by simple single measures but by recognising the big picture. The Economists for Brexit state that it is hard to see how the UK can retain agricultural and manufacturing sectors after Brexit opens these up to foreign competition: <https://www.economistsforfreetrade.com> - now called Economists for Free Trade, they also predict an increase in wage inequality from the Brexit they support (see <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/brexit06.pdf>).

Which sectors of the Cornish economy will experience, post Brexit, the damage that the fishing sector experienced on joining the EU? And what is the point of fishermen managing to get a better outcome on some quotas (possibly) than they currently have if, when they return to shore;

- their children's education has been even more deeply damaged by cuts than will already be the case (I understand that **all Cornish MPs have been briefed on the scale and impact of education cuts facing Cornish schools by 2020, so you will appreciate the gravity of the situation even before further cuts to public services have to be made as a result of BREXIT making the UK poorer**)  
<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/feb/02/sure-start-centres-300-closed-since-2010>  
<http://www.naht.org.uk/welcome/news-and-media/campaigns/school-funding-campaign/> - the £3bn education funding shortfall  
<https://www.theguardian.com/education/school-funding>  
<http://www.naht.org.uk/welcome/news-and-media/campaigns/school-funding-in-crisis/> - thousands of children in your own constituency are facing damage to their education and their futures as a result of current real cuts. How much worse will this become as Brexit costs lead to significant cuts to public spending in future years?
- their ability to access healthcare has been compromised as a result of inadequate resourcing of the NHS and lack of staffing (already a major issue in SE Cornwall)  
<http://www.plymouthherald.co.uk/saltash-hospital-s-minor-injuries-unit-to-close-following-staff-shortage/story-30115291-detail/story.html>  
<http://insaltash.co.uk/st-barnabas-hospital-closed-3-members-of-staff-resign/>
- their costs of living have gone up  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-37676869> Inflation means inflation but who wins?
- withdrawal from the Single Market and Customs Union has piled bureaucracy and tariffs on them and many other businesses, leading to rising unemployment and business failures (see above)
- Cornwall Council has had to make even further cuts to public services as further funding is removed from them  
<https://www.cornwall.gov.uk/council-and-democracy/council-news-room/media-releases/news-from-2017/news-from-february-2017/council-expresses-disappointment-at-growth-deal-announcement/>  
*“Julian German, the Council’s Portfolio Holder for Economy and Culture said; “Having encouraged Cornwall to put in an ambitious bid for funding, I am shocked that Government investment in Cornwall is so small. Numerous businesses across Cornwall spent time and money putting in compelling bids for investment in products, services and infrastructure, many of them will now be left disappointed.” The funding settlement is significantly less than the previous Growth Deal allocation given to Cornwall and falls far short of the investment required if Government is going to ensure that Cornwall does not lose out when European funding for the economy ceases as a result of the UK leaving the EU. EU funding currently provides £60m per year to develop vital local projects such as superfast broadband and business*

*support.”*

- the European Regional Development Funding that the Leave campaign promised would remain available turns out not to be realised anywhere near its potential **and it may be the case that funds already paid to Cornwall will need to be refunded to the EU:**  
<http://www.politico.eu/article/in-for-the-long-haul-on-eu-funding/> but it is good to see recognition of the benefits of EU funding for Cornwall:  
<http://www.cornwalllive.com/30-projects-currently-funded-by-the-eu-in-cornwall/story-30097081-detail/story.html>. Here is a reminder of the Leave campaign's promise to Cornwall:  
<http://www.plymouthherald.co.uk/brexit-ministers-guarantee-550-million-eu/story-29396514-detail/story.html>

You will appreciate the concern I felt on reading the answer that your fellow Cornish MP, George Eustace, gave regarding whether or not Defra had commissioned any research on trends in agricultural and environmental sectors' international trade post Brexit:

The Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs has provided the following answer to your written parliamentary question (63334):

**Question:**

To ask the Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, what research her Department has commissioned on likely trends in the agricultural and environmental sectors' international trade once the UK leaves the EU. (63334)

Tabled on: 07 February 2017

**Answer:**

**George Eustice:**

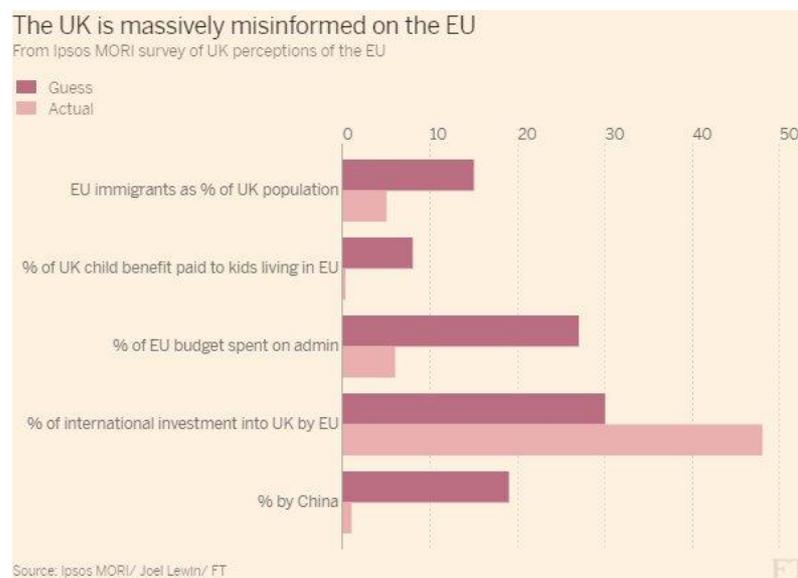
We have not commissioned research on trends in international trade for agriculture and the environment. However, there are a number of international organisations which look at prospects for trade in agricultural goods, and we make use of this evidence in our own work. The OECD-FAO Medium-Term Outlook gives an authoritative overview of plausible future developments in international agricultural markets and conveys the importance of future demand from emerging economies.

The answer was submitted on 15 Feb 2017 at 10:41.

Mrs May has a challenge of an unprecedented scale before her. Whilst Brexiteers make various claims for what the people allegedly voted for, they ignore the anger at austerity and inequality. **The Government's failure to set out a credible scenario in which the UK will be more equal and better off post Brexit should raise red flags for anyone who thought that by voting Leave they were voting for a better quality of life for the majority.** The irony is - as clear from last week's publication of the OBR's latest report on the dire prospects for UK finances going forward - that if the post EU referendum polls are correct then **the majority of those on whom the greatest Brexit impact will fall will find themselves having to pay significant social and economic costs for something that they did not want:** the various polls suggest that the majority of working people voted

Remain and the majority of U50s voted Remain, with the majority in favour of Leave so much larger for the over 50s that, by 2020, it is quite possible if not likely that even if no-one changes their minds, the majority then would be Remain voters. **The OBR expects that 1/3rd of the costs of the UK's 'unsustainable' debt (Note this is described as unsustainable even before including the debts to be run up through Brexit) will need to be paid for (presumably in loss of services and, in due course, reduced pensions) by the retired, and 2/3rds of it will be paid for by those of working age.**  
<http://www.populus.co.uk/2016/05/brexit-index-whos-remain-leave-supporters/>

The lamentable lack of education on the UK's real relationship with the EU has also been revealed, e.g. by this survey:



It's natural that right-wing free traders will push hard for Brexit and reject any idea of Parliamentary approval or assessment – I wrote this pre Referendum: (<https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/agatha-christie-brexit-thirteen-problems-some-thoughts-sarah-holmes>)

***Ironically, right-wing free marketers may be about to pull off the incredible feat of achieving that which would never be secured through democratic mandate at a general election: the forcing of the UK onto an irreversible route towards a free trade economic model of which there has been no proper evaluation or consultation, in the process taking unprecedented risks, ceding colossal power over the UK's future to international markets over which the UK has no control (remember 1992 Black Wednesday UK currency crisis when George Soros made \$1 billion betting against the pound?) and placing the future of our quality of life as measured in terms of product standards, health & safety, environmental standards, workers right and much, much more, into the hands of the free market and out of the control of Parliament, let alone the electorate. The EU needs reform. That's widely accepted within the EU, and it is unwieldy, but it is a far greater stronghold of the core values that the UK holds dear than unelected, profit-driven free market participants, and offers far greater potential for UK economic strength and growth than BREXIT. Whether those intending to vote for BREXIT next week have any idea of the potential repercussions of such a vote, which for many seems to be motivated by fears of immigration and regaining of sovereignty, seems very unlikely.***

*Perhaps the only thing that both Remain and Leave will be able to agree is that never, in the history of democracy, have so many people with the right to vote approached an election day so poorly educated about the likely impacts of their choice.*

Fortunately, we live in a representative Parliamentary democracy where our MPs are required by Parliamentary standards and law to act in the best interests of the country. I look forward to hearing from you as to how Cornwall's future will be better out of the EU, particularly with regard to social and economic wellbeing. I sign off with the following quotes:

*"Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion ... Parliament is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where, not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole. You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not member of Bristol, but he is a member of parliament." Edmund Burke's Speech to the Electors of Bristol, 3 Nov. 1774.*

*"The first duty of a Member of Parliament is to do what he thinks in his faithful and disinterested judgment is right and necessary for the honour and safety of Great Britain. His second duty is to his constituents, of whom he is the representative but not the delegate. Burke's famous declaration on this subject is well known. It is only in the third place that his duty to party organization or programme takes rank. All these three loyalties should be observed, but there is no doubt of the order in which they stand under any healthy manifestation of democracy." Sir Winston Churchill on the Duties of a Member of Parliament.*

I will place this on social media – in my reply to your tweet regarding the Holocaust not being repeated I pointed out, using David Davis MP's own words, the assault on liberty that Brexit brings and the threat of this to freedom. *In his speech 'The Assault on Liberty' David Davis refers to the most basic idea of the rule of law as "requiring the authority of state to be exercised in a clear, transparent and consistent way, not at the arbitrary whim of those with power".* Brexit involves huge, significant decisions on the constitutional structure of the UK, the standards of living of millions etc. yet these have not been put to the British people in a manifesto and are contrary to manifesto commitments in the 2015 election (including your own party's commitment to remaining in the Single Market). The actions of government now are very much at the arbitrary whim of a few individuals with power: <https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/ab/outus/documents/pdf/magnacarta/magnacarta2009.pdf>

*As an MP in a representative Parliamentary democracy what is your Brexit red line? Or do you support Brexit at any cost, even if none of the reasons you have given for campaigning for Leave prove likely to be deliverable and irrespective of the harm to your constituents and their children?*

Yours sincerely,

Sarah Adkins