Never Mind the Backstop:

An Analysis of the Opposition of the 118 Conservative MPs Who Voted Against the Withdrawal Agreement
Summary

The People’s Vote campaign have conducted a comprehensive analysis of the reasons given by the 118 Conservative MPs who voted against the Prime Minister’s Brexit deal.

This dossier focuses exclusively on concerns that go beyond the backstop. It finds that only 20 Conservative MPs are opposed to the deal purely on the basis of the backstop:

- Rehman Chishti
- Damian Collins
- Michael Fabricant
- Gordon Henderson
- Greg Knight
- Steven McPartland
- Stephen Metcalfe
- Damien Moore
- Hugo Swire
- Robert Syms
- Craig Tracey
- Giles Watling
- Adam Afriyie
- Bill Wiggin
- Bob Blackman
- Daniel Kawczynski
- Graham Brady
- Will Quince
- Ian Liddell-Grainger
- Jonathan Lord
- Gareth Johnson
- William Wragg

Of the remaining 98 MPs, 82 have justified their opposition to the deal by saying they cannot vote something that makes us a rule-taker, when people voted Leave to “take back control.” A total of 76 MPs have said that they cannot vote for a deal that is so far from what people were promised and voted for in 2016. A further 64 MPs cite the enormity of the divorce bill as a reason they cannot vote for the deal. And 44 Conservative MPs have said that they cannot vote for a deal that leaves so much uncertain.

The Government’s strategy, to the extent they have one, seems to rely on removing or amending the backstop to secure a majority for its deal. On Friday 11 January, the Foreign Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, told the BBC Today Programme, “There’s actually only one issue in there that is of real concern and that is the backstop. So if we can get some assurances about the backstop, some legally binding assurances around this issue ... then I do believe we can get this deal through.” The Chief Whip has told MPs that the Brexit
withdrawal agreement could be re-opened, with multiple reports that the Prime Minister wishes to return to Brussels to secure legally binding changes to the backstop.

However, this analysis shows this to be a futile exercise. The removal, or a change to the backstop would not win over anywhere near the number of Conservative MPs needed to secure support for the deal. The overwhelming majority of Conservative MPs are concerned about the deal for reasons that go way beyond the backstop. They believe it is a bad deal full stop.

Steve Baker, deputy chair of the ERG, stated “In the end, it’s not really about the backstop .. The overwhelming attitude of Conservative MPs is that paying £39bn for nothing is totally unacceptable.”

It is not just the divorce bill. Michael Fallon, by no means on the extreme of either side of the Brexit debate, is deeply concerned about the uncertainty the Withdrawal Agreement will entail. He wrote last year, “Are we not none the less being asked to take a huge gamble here: paying, leaving, surrendering our vote and our veto without any firm commitment to frictionless trade or the absolute right to dismantle external tariffs?” John Lamont similarly comments, “We are putting off so many of the outstanding decisions for a later date.”

John Redwood speaks for many in asking, “Do the Government understand that opposition to the withdrawal agreement goes way beyond the unacceptable Irish backstop and includes paying huge sums of money with nothing nailed down over the future partnership?”

Iain Duncan Smith takes aim at the Political Declaration, writing “Nothing in the Political Declaration will do. She has to get it to them the very simple message, it is not going to happen.” Richard Drax lists five reasons he cannot support the Withdrawal Agreement of which the backstop is only one.

However, this opposition is unlikely to ever even be tested, given that not a single EU leader has countenanced changing any aspect of the backstop.

The Prime Minister’s attempts to amend the backstop is an entirely futile exercise. It is extremely unlikely the EU re-opens the agreement, and even if it does, such a change will not garner the Prime Minister anywhere near a majority in the House of Commons. This analysis shows that any other deal or revisions to the existing deal are also likely to encounter similarly strong resistance from Conservative MPs.

It is time for Parliament to give serious consideration and scrutiny to all alternative forms of Brexit that groups of MPs and political parties are suggesting. It is clear that, like the Prime Minister’s deal, there is no form of Brexit that can fulfil the promises made in 2016, represents a better deal than the one we’ve got inside Europe or will prevent this crisis going on forever.

Once every route to Brexit has been examined and exhausted, it will become clear there is one way forward - to hand the final decision back to the British public through a People’s Vote. This is not an easy decision to take and we recognise that many MPs will support this reluctantly, but as the days go on and the clock ticks down, more and more MPs will see this as preferable to forcing a Brexit plan through for which the country did not vote.

A table outlining the key concerns of Conservative MPs other than the backstop is on the following page.
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1. Lucy Allan MP, Telford

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

• “By claiming the Withdrawal Agreement is a ‘good deal’ that honours the referendum and honours the promises made, we do not succeed in deceiving people, we simply erode their trust... The Withdrawal Agreement does not deliver what was promised and we should not pretend it does. As for the Political Declaration it would need trust in the EU for it to be of value and Mr Speaker we no longer have that trust.” (MP’s Website, 10 December 2018)¹

• “It is not what was promised in the Referendum in 2016 and it is not what was promised at the General Election in 2017. It is costing us £39 billion, it ties us in indefinitely, unable to leave unless the EU consents. Already some member states have indicated they will use this need for consent to secure an advantage over the UK in future negotiations. Never mind that, this is a good deal we are told, so let’s get on with it. But it isn’t a good deal and people can see that.” (MP’s website, 28 November 2018)²

• “I respect the Prime Minister for doing an impossible job in the most difficult of circumstances. I cannot, however, support the deal that she has negotiated... I stood for election in 2017 in good faith on a mandate to deliver a Brexit where the UK would leave the single market, the customs union and European Court of Justice. The Withdrawal Agreement as drafted does not deliver that. I want to be able to look those who put their trust in me, in the eye.” (Facebook, 21 November 2018)³

• “Unless somewhere within those 500 pages there is rabbit to be pulled out of the hat, and with some flourish, I cannot see that Parliament will approve this deal; I for one cannot. Our negotiators must go back to the EU and make clear without a significant enhancement of terms, we have no option but to leave the EU without a deal.” (Facebook, 14 November 2018)⁴

³ https://www.facebook.com/LucyAllanForTelford/posts/1906077266179788
⁴ https://www.facebook.com/349461445174719/posts/1897434707044044/
2. Heidi Allen MP, South Cambridgeshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Uncertainty.
- Economic harm.

Views on the deal:
- “It is not just the backstop that worries colleagues, myself included; for me, it is the lack of legal certainty over what our future trade deals might look like. The political declaration is not legally binding, so any EU country leader, including our own should we have a different leader, could rip it up and we could spiral to a no-deal Brexit at any time.” (House of Commons, 17 December 2018)\(^5\)
- “I’m not prepared to back this country’s future and economic prosperity on things unknown. It’s not acceptable.” (ITV Peston, 14 November 2018)\(^6\)

\(^5\) https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-17c.548.1

\(^6\) https://www.heidisouthcambs.co.uk/heidi-allen-mp-sets-out-her-views-about-draft-brexit-withdrawal-agreement-between-uk-and-eu-14th
3. Sir David Amess MP, Southend West

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Integrity of the Union.
- Not what was promised.
- Transition period.
- Divorce bill.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “Does my right hon. Friend agree with those young people that the agreement that this House is being asked to vote on actually threatens our Union, was worked out by largely unelected people, and has a distinct remain flavour?” (House of Commons, 28 November 2018)

- “This agreement would see us stuck in a potentially indefinite backstop arrangement, shackling us to a customs union that we have no unilateral right to leave. This is a complete capitulation of the sovereignty that 17.4 million people voted to regain... I will not support an agreement which amounts to political hokey-cokey, one leg in and one leg out. Any deal that means the UK fails to regain complete sovereignty over our laws, shackles us to the EU indefinitely, and hinders our freedom to forge our own path in the world, is nothing short of a betrayal of the vote to leave. For that reason, I will not be supporting this deal.” (Basildon, Canvey & Southend Echo, 21 November 2018)

- “I cannot support the Draft Withdrawal Agreement as it currently stands. This deal does not honour the manifesto on which I stood for re-election in Southend West, and the election pledge I made to my constituents.” (MP’s website, 19 November 2018)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Amess has signed up to)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Amess signed up to on 30 October 2018)

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7 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-11-28a.238.6#g246.3
8 https://www.echo-news.co.uk/news/17237487.mp-sir-david-amess-will-not-support-pms-brexit-deal/
9 https://www.davidamess.co.uk/news/sir-david-amess-mps-statement-draft-withdrawal-agreement
10 https://standup4brexit.com/
11 https://standup4brexit.com/
4. Steve Baker MP, Wycombe

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Transition period.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “It’s about not being able to support a policy to split up the United Kingdom and leave us a regulatory satellite of the EU unable to govern ourselves independently. We are simply trying to uphold the democratic decision of the UK in a way that’s fit for us as an independent and free country, and this withdrawal agreement doesn’t do that...I was a government minister and I have been loyal to the government but I am determined to deliver a good Brexit for this country so that we are a free and independent country contributing positively to Europe and the world, and this Brexit [deal] doesn’t do it.” (Bucks Free Press, 14 December 2018)\(^{12}\)

• “Paragraph 23 makes provision for us to be in the single customs territory provided for in the withdrawal agreement. Paragraph 135 states that we could be fined for not following EU law. Which normal independent country has an ambition to enter into that kind of relationship with the European Union?” (House of Commons, 22 November 2018)\(^{13}\)

• “In the end, it’s not really about the backstop. The tearing frustration is that the UK has been negotiating with itself. Many of us have long believed that the row over the backstop is at least partly confected in order to have an orchestrated breakthrough... Conservative MPs expect to get some commitment for the money. The overwhelming attitude of Conservative MPs is that paying £39bn for nothing is totally unacceptable.” (The Guardian, 8 Nov 2018)\(^{14}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Steve Baker has signed up to)\(^{15}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Steve Baker has signed up to)\(^{16}\)

\(^{12}\) https://www.bucksfreepress.co.uk/news/17298428.wycombe-mp-steve-baker-i-cannot-support-this-brexit-deal/

\(^{13}\) https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-11-22b.1095.0#g1114.2

\(^{14}\) https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/08/tory-brexiters-reject-deal-irish-backstop-exit-clause-steve-baker

\(^{15}\) https://standup4brexit.com/

\(^{16}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
5. John Baron MP, Basildon and Billericay

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Divorce bill.
- Transition period.
- Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

- “There are many aspects of the Withdrawal Agreement with which I am uncomfortable. Paying £39 billion for further negotiations, with no certainty of success at the end, is one, as is the fact that we would continue to remain subject to the jurisdiction of the ECJ for the duration of the transition period.” (MP’s website, 4 December 2018)

- “Attention has rightly focused on the backstop trap, but aspects of the transition period are equally as troubling. Article 129, paragraph 3, of the Withdrawal Agreement states that the UK ‘shall refrain, during the transition period, from any action or initiative which is likely to be prejudicial to the European Union’s interests, in particular in the framework of any international organisation, agency, conference or forum of which the UK is a party in its own right’. The implication of this seems to be that we could not set our own tax rates, regulate businesses such as Uber, or pursue an independent foreign policy at the UN Security Council.” (Comment Central, 30 November 2018)

- “The Prime Minister is aware that many of us have wished her well in these negotiations, but it appears that the withdrawal agreement sacrifices much and secures very little. Article 129(3) states that: “the United Kingdom shall refrain, during the transition period, from any action…which is likely to be prejudicial to the Union’s interest”. Does this mean that the UK will be unable, for example, to cut taxes, regulate businesses such as Uber and disagree with EU foreign policy in the United Nations, and why is this clause not reciprocated by the EU?” (House of Commons, 26 November 2018)

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17 http://pressreleases.johnbaron.co.uk/archives/3533
18 http://commentcentral.co.uk/john-baron-mp-amend-this-withdrawal-agreement/
19 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-11-26c.23.0#g50.4
6. Guto Bebb, Aberconwy

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Uncertainty.
• Transition period.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

• “The Prime Minister's 'deal' will do nothing to restore confidence in the pound.” (People’s Vote, 28 December 2018)[1]

• “Far from giving farmers any certainty for the future, the Government’s plan for Brexit leaves all the big questions unanswered and successive governments will end up trying to make sense of a deal that makes no sense for Britain.” (People’s Vote press release, 3 January 2018)[2]

• “It is clear if we give up our membership of the EU we will be surrendering power and influence, and risking prosperity on an unprecedented scale. No one voted for that in 2016. That is why the British people are increasingly demanding they have the final say on all this with a People's Vote that allows us to judge whatever we are eventually offered against our current deal as full voting members.” (People’s Vote press release, 21 November 2018)[20]

• “It’s problematic because clearly the transition period is 21 months where we will be subject to European Union rules but we will have no say in those rules which is not in my view anything to do with taking back control.” (BBC, 18 October 2018)[21]

[1] https://www.peoples-vote.uk/brexit_has_cost_the_forces_over_1_5_billion_over_the_last_two_years

[2] https://www.peoples-vote.uk/bebb_no_kind_of_fantasy_brexit_deal_can_meet_promises_made_to_farmers_or_the_rural_economy


7. Crispin Blunt, Reigate

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Uncertainty.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Transition period.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

• “But it is also important to realise that my concerns with the current deal, and those of many of my constituents, go well beyond the ‘Backstop... First, whilst encouraging words from negotiating partners are always welcome, it is legal, binding agreements that matter. The Political Declaration, with both its advantages and disadvantages is a non-binding, unenforceable agreement.” (Crispin Blunt’s website, 12 December 2018)

• “Second, it is not true that this agreement provides businesses the certainty they need. There is a whole new round of negotiations during this transition period before we get to the economic partnership between us and the EU - and this could go on indefinitely.” (MP’s website, 12 December 2018[4])

• “Third, the agreement puts us in a position of accepting the EU’s demands in leaving whilst preventing us from being able to enjoy the benefits of leaving. During the transition period the UK will be able to negotiate new trade deals, but these will not come into force until the end of the (possibly indefinite) transition period.” (MP’s website, 12 December 2018[4])

• “Finally, all of this at what cost? 39 billion pounds. That is, I pause to reflect, £1,400 per UK family, or £60m per constituency. To put ourselves in such a dreadful position is unacceptable but to do so without concrete guarantees in return is wholly unacceptable.” (MP’s website, 12 December 2018[4])

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Crispin Blunt has signed up to)22

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one

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22 https://standup4brexit.com/
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Crispin Blunt has signed up to)\textsuperscript{23}
8. Peter Bone, Wellingborough

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “It is extraordinary how we've got to this situation, and I suppose it's Brexit in name only.” (Talk Radio, 15 November 2018[8])

• “There is no problem with no deal. One of the advantages of it is we won't have to give the European Union £39 billion. That’s £60 million per constituency.” (Express, 14 December 2018[24])

• “If the media reports about the EU agreement are in any way accurate you will not be delivering the Brexit people voted for, and today you will lose the support of many Conservative MPs and millions of voters across the country.” (The I, 14 November 2018[25])

• “They [my constituents] want to have the Brexit they voted for. They wanted to end the free movement of people, not pay billions and billions of pounds each and every year to the EU, make our own laws in our own country judged by our own judges.” (Northants Telegraph, 7 January 2019[26])

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bone has signed up to[27])

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bone has signed up to)[28]


26 https://www.northantstelegraph.co.uk/news/wellingborough-mp-says-there-wont-be-a-brexit-queen-statue-for-theresa-may-after-all-1-8760580

27 https://standup4brexit.com/

28 https://standup4brexit.com/
9. Ben Bradley, Mansfield

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Divorce bill.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.
- Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

- “This deal is neither remain nor leave, an unending state of purgatory that represents the worst of all worlds. It does not deliver on the promise to take back control of our money, as we give away £39bn in exchange for not much at all.” (The Express, 24 November 2018[9])

- “It does not deliver on the promise to take back control of our laws, as the European Courts will continue to hold sway over ours in a number of areas for many years, including adjudicating on compliance with the deal itself.” (The Express, 24 November 2018[10])

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)²⁹

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)³⁰

[9] https://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/1049852/Brexit-news-theresa-may-ben-bradley-comment
[10] https://www.express.co.uk/comment/expresscomment/1049852/Brexit-news-theresa-may-ben-bradley-comment
²⁹ https://standup4brexit.com/
³⁰ https://standup4brexit.com/
10. Suella Braverman, Fareham

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “Under the proposed agreement the UK would pay to the EU around £39 billion [...] I cannot justify paying such a huge amount of money.” (Suella Braverman’s website, 17 December 2018[13])

• “Under the Prime Minister’s proposal, we would be bound to EU laws in a number of policy areas, including social policy, environmental policy, employment policy and customs. In effect, the UK would become a rule taker and subservient to Brussels as we will be forces to obey EU laws and losing the ability to shape them.” (Suella Braverman’s website, 17 December 2018[14])

• As a lawyer, I have an unshakeable conviction that leaving the jurisdiction of the ECJ and restoring sovereignty to our domestic world-class legal system is in the best interests of our country. (Politics Home, 22 November 2018[31])

• As a Conservative, I am inspired by the freedoms and economic opportunities from an independent trade policy. (Politics Home, 22 November 2018[32])

• And as a democrat, I believe that we must not let the people down. Sadly, this deal achieves none of this. (Politics Home, 22 November 2018[33])

[13] https://www.suellabraverman.co.uk/campaigns/brexit
[14] https://www.suellabraverman.co.uk/campaigns/brexit
11. Andrew Bridgen, North West Leicestershire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Political declaration.
• Rule-taker
• Not what was promised
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “What this does is sees the UK hand over the bulk of the divorce payment to the EU during the transition period, whilst we negotiate a future relationship based on the vague Political Declaration which is in no way legally binding.” (Andrew Bridgen’s website, 30 November 2018[15])

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bridgen has signed up to)[34]

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bridgen has signed up to)[35]

• “I can’t vote for the Prime Minister’s Withdrawal Agreement. It’s not the Brexit that was promised to the British people and could have us trapped in the Backstop forever.” (Leicester Mercury, 8 January 2019)[36]

• “We will end up stuck with the EU dictating the rules to us.” (Leicester Mercury, 8 January 2019)[37]

[15] https://www.andrewbridgen.com/content/brexit-withdrawal-agreement

[34] https://standup4brexit.com/

[35] https://standup4brexit.com/

[36] https://www.leicestermcury.co.uk/news/local-news/6-7-leicestershire-tory-mps-2402286

[37] https://www.leicestermcury.co.uk/news/local-news/6-7-leicestershire-tory-mps-2402286
12. Conor Burns, Bournemouth West, Alderney and Branksome East

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:

- “We cannot deliver an outcome that meets the “spirit” of the referendum result if we remain tied, possibly indefinitely, to the institution that we promised to leave and if we compromise on all the things that mattered in that decision.” (Hansard, 4 December 2018[16])

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)³⁸

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)³⁹

- “The only change is the UK will lose its seat at the table and be bound in perpetuity in the regulatory orbit to the EU rulebook.” (Bournemouth Echo, 15 November 2018)⁴⁰

- “Giving £38bn to the EU for almost nothing is beyond irresponsible.” (Bournemouth Echo, 15 November 2018)⁴¹

[16] https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-04/debates/C112155E-C163-4D6B-A4E2-F0F7D0D7D14/EuropeanUnionWithdrawalAct?highlight=deal#contribution-77991E5F-3215-4186-A642-8C2F50DA1F5B

³⁸ https://standup4brexit.com/

³⁹ https://standup4brexit.com/

⁴⁰ https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/17225292.mp-conor-burns-slams-draft-brexit-deal-as-disaster/

⁴¹ https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/17225292.mp-conor-burns-slams-draft-brexit-deal-as-disaster/
13. Sir William Cash, Stone

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Rule-taker.
• Uncertainty.
• Transition period.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

• “First, may I endorse the comments by my right hon. Friend John Redwood about the money side of things? It is not just that the backstop is not sufficient in itself. It is a vital issue, but it is not the whole story by any means. We have the European Court of Justice, the question of control over laws, the question of the extension of time under article 132, the issue of state aid and the incompatibility of the agreement with the repeal of the European Communities 1972 Act. So many aspects of the withdrawal agreement are, if I may say so to the Secretary of State, matters that go way beyond mere reassurances. Reassurances will get nowhere. They are certainly not going to convince anybody who is thinking hard about this when it comes to the vote next week.” (House of Commons, 7 January 2018)

• “This Agreement lets the 27 EU countries impose laws on the UK as never before in our history- behind closed doors with no transcript and no UK at the meeting” (Twitter, 1 January 2018)

• “Does the Prime Minister appreciate that the withdrawal agreement is incompatible with the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018, which expressly repeals the whole of the European Communities Act 1972? In this event, we would truly regain our laws. Does the Prime Minister accept that this agreement, being only a treaty, cannot override the statutory provisions of the 2018 Act, and is therefore unlawful?” (European Foundation, 27 November 2018)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bill Cash has signed up to)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bill Cash has signed up to)

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42 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2019-01-07a.24.6#g30.3
43 https://twitter.com/BillCashMP/status/1080049508900327424
44 https://standup4brexit.com/
45 https://standup4brexit.com/
14. Maria Caulfield, Lewes

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised
• No independent trade policy

Views on the deal:
• “There is a worry that the possible deal will prevent us from taking back control of anything — we would be abandoning control of our laws and our borders, and paying £39 billion for the privilege.” *(Sussex Express, 15 November 2018)*

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)*

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bradley has signed up to)*

• “Overwhelming verdict from constituents, both leave and remain, is this is a disastrous deal for the country. We will neither be in the EU nor an independent nation. It’s a betrayal of the referendum and of our manifesto and I will be voting against it.” *(Sussex Express, 15 November 2018)*


46 https://standup4brexit.com/

47 https://standup4brexit.com/

48 https://www.sussexexpress.co.uk/news/politics/theresa-may-s-brexit-deal-a-betrayal-of-referendum-result-says-lewes-mp-maria-caulfield-1-8707687
15. Sir Christopher Chope, Christchurch

Concerns other than the backstop:
- No independent trade policy.
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
- “[T]he EU’s negotiators are insisting that any future trade relationship should be made conditional upon a whole raft of protectionist and anti-competitive requirements which would severely handicap the UK’s freedom to negotiate genuine free trade deals with the rest of the world.” (Brexit Central, 10 November 2018)\(^{49}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Christopher Chope has signed up to)\(^{50}\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Christopher has signed up to)\(^{51}\)

\(^{49}\) [https://brexitcentral.com/meeting-michel-barnier-guy-verhofstadt-ive-concluded-no-deal-will-better-deal/](https://brexitcentral.com/meeting-michel-barnier-guy-verhofstadt-ive-concluded-no-deal-will-better-deal/)

\(^{50}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^{51}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
16. Simon Clarke, Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Not what was promised.
• No independent trade policy.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:

• “Because we will no longer be an EU Member State, this means Brussels would control 100% of our trade and customs policy, and preclude the UK's right to sign trade deals with the rest of the world. This would happen without our having a vote or a voice at the table. When the EU signs a trade agreement with another country (for example, China), we would be compelled to make all the concessions agreed to by the EU, but China would only need to offer its concessions to the EU 27, not to the UK. Put bluntly, we would become the EU's expendable bargaining chip in negotiations.” (MP’s website, 30 November 2018)\(^52\)

• “The political declaration... is a mere 26 pages compared to the 585 pages of the Withdrawal Agreement. I think local people would be less than happy were I to sign away thirty-nine thousand million pounds of their money on this basis.” (MP’s website, 30 November 2018)\(^53\)

• “The proposals fail to regain parliamentary sovereignty over standards in manufacturing and agri-foods; severely limit our ability to strike meaningful trade deals with the rest of the world; and create space for the continued jurisdiction of the ECJ over UK law. They also propose ultra-high alignment with the EU rather than the Canada-style free trade deal we should be aiming for. There will be so-called "non-regression clauses" to ensure the UK cannot out-compete the EU. This would scupper our hopes of being a global trading titan and bind us into EU manufacturing rules in perpetuity.” (MP’s website, 30 November 2018)\(^54\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Simon Clarke has signed up to)\(^55\)

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\(^{52}\) https://www.simon-clarke.org.uk/news/brexit-withdrawal-agreement-why-i-cannot-support-proposed-deal


\(^{54}\) https://www.simon-clarke.org.uk/news/brexit-withdrawal-agreement-why-i-cannot-support-proposed-deal

\(^{55}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Simon Clarke has signed up to)\(^{56}\)

\(^{56}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
17. Robert Courts, Witney & West Oxfordshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Transition period.
• Rule-taker.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
• “The UK will retain all EU laws during the transition... So to sum up, not only would the UK continue to apply EU rules without any say in their making, but in the event of a dispute, the EU’s Court, not ours or an independent one, will make a binding decision.” (MP’s website, 10 December 2018)

• “The ECJ is left with enormous powers of interpretation over the Withdrawal Agreement, including over all aspects of retained EU law (Article 174,) the financial settlement (Article 160,) and on cases arising during the transition (Article 87.)” (MP’s website, 10 December 2018)

• “And what will this Future Relationship be in any event? This is supposedly laid out in the Political Declaration. The difficulty is that this is extremely vague and promises nothing specific. It refers to a “spectrum” of possibilities and is written in aspirational, rather than definite, language. It is not a blueprint for a future deal, and covers anything from a Customs Union, to Chequers, to a Canada-style free-trade agreement - and everything in between... Most seriously, it commits the EU to nothing - and has no legal force in any event. But if this deal is signed and has taken treaty form, it will be legally binding. We will have surrendered £39bn without the guarantee of any further relationship at all - let alone an acceptable one - beyond the flimsy 29-page outline that we have here.” (MP’s website, 10 December 2018)

57 https://www.robertcourts.co.uk/news/why-i-cannot-support-eu-withdrawal-agreement-its-current-form
58 https://www.robertcourts.co.uk/news/why-i-cannot-support-eu-withdrawal-agreement-its-current-form
59 https://www.robertcourts.co.uk/news/why-i-cannot-support-eu-withdrawal-agreement-its-current-form
18. Tracey Crouch, Chatham and Aylesford

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
- “I do not believe (the Withdrawal Agreement) delivers the Brexit that Chatham & Aylesford voted for... under this deal we will remain subject to the many rules and demands of European Union membership... The lack of clarity around transition and backstop arrangements risks continued EU power over our future and this is not what people voted for.” (Facebook, 26 November 2018)\(^6\)

\(^6\) [https://www.downsmail.co.uk/news_sport/News/BREXIT_MP_Tracey_Crouch_rejects_PM_Theresa_Mays_withdrawal_deal/](https://www.downsmail.co.uk/news_sport/News/BREXIT_MP_Tracey_Crouch_rejects_PM_Theresa_Mays_withdrawal_deal/)
19. Philip Davies, Shipley

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “In this deal we would also be giving the EU £39bn (which the Attorney General has admitted the EU could never legally obtain from us) in return for nothing. We are not even guaranteed a free trade agreement from the EU in return. Who on earth would hand over £39bn - which would be much better spent at home on more police and our schools - for precisely nothing in return.” (Telegraph and Argus, 11 December 2018)\(^6\)

• “[S]he should have, at the very least, been making it clear that, unless the rest of the inflexible EU come up with a deal that suited us, they could whistle for the £39bn that she put on the table. In fact this has not been a negotiation by the Prime Minister, it has been a capitulation. It seems that her definition of a negotiation is simply to ask the EU what they will accept.” (Yorkshire Post, 28 November 2018)\(^6\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Davies has signed up to)\(^6\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Davies has signed up to)\(^6\)

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\(^6\) [Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Davies has signed up to](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^6\) [Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Davies has signed up to](https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/opinion/philip-davies-why-i-still-have-no-confidence-in-theresa-may-or-her-brexit-deal-1-9465061)

\(^6\) [Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Davies has signed up to](https://www.thetelegraphandargus.co.uk/news/17290412.philip-davies-why-this-brexit-deal-betrays-everyone-who-voted-leave/)
20. David Davis, Haltemprice and Howden

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:
• “The proposed withdrawal agreement is a terrible deal under which we won’t take back control of our money, laws and trade... The proposed deal is against our national interest and will harm our country.” (The Express, 10 December 2018)65

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Davis signed up to on 30 October 2018)66

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Davis signed up to on 30 October 2018)67

65 https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1056656/Brexit-news-Theresa-May-EU-exit-deal-voted-down-Conservative-David-Davis

66 https://standup4brexit.com/

67 https://standup4brexit.com/
21. Nadine Dorries, MP for Mid Bedfordshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Gibraltar.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.
• Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
• “May has capitulated to every single EU demand. She’s abandoned NI, and now Gibraltar. At no time does she push back. As Barnier said, they have given May the deal she asked for and she has given them everything they have asked for. It’s almost beyond words how bad this is.” *(Twitter, 24 November 2018)*

• “This deal gives us no voice, no votes, no MEPs, no commissioner.” *(Sky News, 17 November 2018)*

• “It won’t pass through Parliament. It means we have no vote, no voice, no veto. No MEPs, no commissioner and no say when we leave but we keep handing over the money, with no cap in place so the EU keep ratcheting it up. It’s a disaster and no MP who has the best interests of the country at heart can vote for this.” *(The Comet, 16 November 2018)*

• “She is not going to be given reassurance about the backstop. At the moment, she is going to be given a letter of intent about the interpretation of the withdrawal agreement. That is going to make no difference to anybody in this place whose main concern is the backstop.” *(House of Commons, 11 December 2018)*

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Nadine Dorries has signed up to)*

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers… we do not control our laws… we do not have control of our money… we will not have control of our borders… the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one

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68 https://twitter.com/NadineDorries/status/1066381464441241601
70 https://www.thecomet.net/news/hertfordshire-and-bedfordshire-mps-on-brexit-agreement-1-5782852
71 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-11a.173.0#g203.3
72 https://standup4brexit.com/
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Nadine Dorries has signed up to)\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{73} https://standup4brexit.com/
22. Steve Double, St Austell and Newquay

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• Fisheries.
• Uncertainty.
• No independent trade policy.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

• “The WA would leave us vulnerable to EU demands and have no basis to negotiate a good future deal without surrendering our fishing industry once again. Just one reason I will not vote for this deal.” (Twitter, 8 December 2018)74

• “It is surprising to see those who campaigned to Leave claiming the WA delivers what we campaigned for. No matter how you spin it, it doesn’t. To claim it does lacks credibility and our supporters are not being fooled.” (Twitter, 2 December 2018)75

• “I do not support the Prime Minister’s withdrawal agreement because I do not believe that it delivers what we have promised time and again as a party... It puts this country in a worse place in terms of negotiating than we are now. I do not understand those who say that what we failed to achieve in the past two years when we have had cards to play will somehow will be better achieved when we have removed all our cards. We have had the £39 billion to bargain with. We have had the ability to walk away from the table to bargain with. How we think we are going to get a better deal from the EU once we no longer have those cards to play, I fail to understand.” (House of Commons, 5 December 2018)76

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Steve Double has signed up to)77

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Steve Double has signed up to)78

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74 [https://twitter.com/stevedouble/status/1071325044259872770](https://twitter.com/stevedouble/status/1071325044259872770)

75 [https://twitter.com/stevedouble/status/1069282087239335942](https://twitter.com/stevedouble/status/1069282087239335942)

76 [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g988.0](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g988.0)

77 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

78 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
23. Richard Drax, South Dorset

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Not what was promised.
- Integrity of the Union.
- No independent trade policy.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.
- Uncertainty.
- Transition period.

Views on the deal:

- “I would like to briefly list five of the reasons that I cannot vote with the Government on Tuesday. First, it does not deliver what the people voted for. Secondly, the backstop is a potential trap. Thirdly, the Prime Minister promised repeatedly to respect the constitutional integrity of the United Kingdom; the withdrawal agreement does not. Fourthly, we intend to hand over up to £39 billion of taxpayers’ hard-earned money without so much as a by-your-leave. Fifthly, the much ignored and extremely ambiguous political declaration leaves far too much room for mischievous politicians, both here and in Brussels, to play fast and loose with the UK struggle to leave the EU.” (House of Commons, 6 December 2018)\(^79\)

- “This is not Brexit as we will be staying in the EU until 2021 at the very least.” (Dorset Echo, 15 November 2018)\(^80\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Richard Drax has signed up to)\(^81\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Richard Drax has signed up to)\(^82\)

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\(^79\) [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-06a.1081.0#g1163.0](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-06a.1081.0#g1163.0)


\(^81\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^82\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
24. James Duddridge, Rochford and Southend East

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.
- No independent trade policy.
- Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
- “This agreement keeps us a supplicant puppy of a federal block, it threatens the union of the United Kingdom, it forces us to pay £39 billion to the European Union which could be spent on other priorities, and it stops us from making our own trade agreements with the rest of the world.” *(MP’s website, 28 December 2018)*

- “In short, this deal does not deliver Brexit, and as such I will not be voting for this when it comes to Parliament.” *(Southend Echo, 16 November 2018)*

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which James Duddridge has signed up to)*

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which James Duddridge has signed up to)*

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84 [https://www.echo-news.co.uk/news/17227377.this-deal-does-not-deliver-brexit/](https://www.echo-news.co.uk/news/17227377.this-deal-does-not-deliver-brexit/)

85 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

86 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
25. Iain Duncan Smith, Chingford and Woodford Green

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

• “Nothing in the Political Declaration will do. She has to get it to them the very simple message, it is not going to happen.” (The Express, 11 December 2018)\(^87\)

• “Finally this 500-page document - which on inspection looks just like all the demands the EU has made from the beginning, dressed up as an agreement - was produced. Anyone reading it can see that the EU have waited until the UK became so desperate to get a deal, they simply picked up their original document, turned to the last page and said “sign here”, and we meekly agreed.” (The Telegraph, 15 November 2018)\(^88\)

• “[W]e will be stuck suffering extensive interference from the European Court of Justice. We have conceded our sovereignty in a way we haven’t even had to do in the EU and we are paying £39 billion for the privilege.” (The Telegraph, 15 November 2018)\(^89\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Iain Duncan Smith has signed up to)\(^90\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Iain Duncan Smith has signed up to)\(^91\)

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87 https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1057218/Brexit-News-Iain-Duncan-Smith-Theresa-May-deal-EU-what-will-Brexiteers-accept


89 https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/11/15/theresas-may-brexit-plan-concedes-soverignity-way-havent-had/

90 https://standup4brexit.com/

91 https://standup4brexit.com/
26. Nigel Evans, Ribble Valley

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “What I see in this draft deal is not the Brexit that I voted for, and not the Brexit that the Ribble Valley constituency voted for... The negotiation has conceded far too much ground on all of the key points.” (MP’s website, 16 November 2018)\(^92\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Nigel Evans has signed up to)\(^93\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Nigel Evans has signed up to)\(^94\)

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\(^93\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^94\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
27. David Evennett, Bexleyheath and Crayford

Concerns other than the backstop:
  • Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
  • “Really disappointed with the EU withdrawal agreement that the PM has put forward as I am concerned that the proposed deal does not deliver on the result of the referendum.” (Twitter, 15 November 2018)\(^95\)
28. Michael Fallon, Sevenoaks

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Uncertainty.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “[W]e must leave on better and clearer terms, and it’s nonsense to say that there’s too little time left to achieve them... First, the backstop must go... Second, we must have a firmer commitment to the frictionless trade that the Prime Minister promised... Third, the whole point of leaving is to be able to negotiate trade deals with countries outside the EU. But again we have no idea of where the boundaries lie here: what is the minimum external tariff that we might have to apply in order to “respect the integrity of the customs union and the single market”... Finally, there is Northern Ireland. Already there are some different rules there for agricultural and other trade. But if there are to be further differences, even if only to take advantage of its geography, then those must have the explicit consent of the Northern Ireland executive and assembly. Without these improvements, the current deal should not be supported.” (The Telegraph, 5 December 2018)\(^{96}\)

- “My fear is that this deal gives us the worst of all worlds... No guarantee of smooth trade in the future and no ability to reduce the tariffs that we need to conclude trade deals with the rest of the world.” (BBC, 27 November 2018)\(^{97}\)

- “Are we not none the less being asked to take a huge gamble here: paying, leaving, surrendering our vote and our veto without any firm commitment to frictionless trade or the absolute right to dismantle external tariffs?” (House of Commons, 26 November 2018)\(^{98}\)

\(^{96}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/05/mps-reject-mays-brexit-deal-now-have-time-space-think/

\(^{97}\) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-46356353

\(^{98}\) https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-11-26c.23.0#g34.4
29. Mark Francois MP, Rayleigh and Wickford

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill.
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.
- Integrity of Union.

Views on the deal:
- “In order to show how tough we were, we offered to give the EU £39b of British taxpayers’ money for absolutely nothing in return. Then we got tougher when we agreed to go into a backstop, which once entered, we could never leave unless the EU allowed us to” (Twitter, 14th December 2018)\(^99\)

- “They [senior civil servants] have helped to steer the negotiations in such a way that means, quite simply, we will not in fact leave the European Union but effectively remain within it. This is a betrayal of the decision of 17.4 million British people and the clear instruction that was given to all Members of Parliament by them in the referendum.” (Letter of No Confidence, 16th November 2018)\(^100\)

- “In addition, we have agreed to maintain “equivalent standards” with the European Union in critical areas of employment policy, environmental policy and social policy, in effect this means we would continue to accept EU law in these areas, except that we would now have absolutely no control over how that law is drafted. That is not taking back control of our laws, it is making us subservient to the laws of others.” (Letter of No Confidence, 16th November 2018)\(^101\)

- “I am also deeply worried that Chequers would treat Northern Ireland different from the rest of the United Kingdom. Not only is this a betrayal of the Province but it would give succour to our opponents in the SNP and assist them in renewing their calls for the breakup of the United Kingdom.” (Letter of No Confidence, 16th November 2018)\(^102\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Mark Francois has signed up to)\(^103\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Mark Francois has signed up to)\textsuperscript{104}
Concerns other than the backstop:
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• Integrity of Union.
• Uncertainty.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “On the interpretation of the Political Declaration made by the Prime Minister, we would be heading into a trading arrangement based on a “single customs territory” and a high degree of mandatory alignment to EU rules. A single customs territory is the product of a customs union, which would eliminate our capacity to conduct an independent trade policy. Entering one would be a direct breach of our recent manifesto pledge to leave the EU Customs Union. A high degree of mandatory alignment to EU rules would not only leave us vulnerable as rule-takers, but it too would eliminate our capacity for an independent trade and regulatory policy.” (Facebook, 6 December 2018)\(^{105}\)

• “The Political Declaration is so weak and ambiguous as to leave us paying £39bn - that is, £1,400 per UK family, or £60m per constituency - and getting nothing in return. This is despite the EU’s lead negotiator, Michel Barnier telling Parliament he was willing to link payment with progress towards a free trade agreement.” (Facebook, 6 December 2018)\(^{106}\)

• “Core problem Govt has with its Brexit proposal is its spin doesn’t match reality. It doesn’t deliver control of laws and money, it goes against our manifesto pledges, the Referendum result and the law Parliament has spent 2 years passing, & it gives future negotiating hostages” (Twitter, 27 November 2018)\(^{107}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Marcus Fysh has signed up to)\(^{108}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Marcus Fysh has signed up to)\(^{109}\)

\(^{105}\) [https://www.facebook.com/pg/MarcusFyshForYeovil/posts/](https://www.facebook.com/pg/MarcusFyshForYeovil/posts/)

\(^{106}\) Ibid

\(^{107}\) [https://twitter.com/MarcusFysh/status/1067335848054665216](https://twitter.com/MarcusFysh/status/1067335848054665216)

\(^{108}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^{109}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
32. Zac Goldsmith MP, Richmond Park and North Kingston

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised.
• Transition period.

Views on the deal:

• “I will not focus specifically on the transition period today, although it is certainly true that the EU is given vast, possibly unprecedented, powers over the UK during that time, and that is uncomfortable, but it could well be necessary.” (House of Commons, 5 December 2018)

• “The live export of animals is cruel and unpopular, and after we leave the EU, we should finally be able to introduce a ban. But the terms of the Withdrawal Agreement are unclear on this issue. Today I asked Ministers for clarity.” (Twitter, 29 November 2018)

• “A total of 17.4 million people voted to leave the European Union. No one can say with certainty what motivated each one but we can be reasonably confident that very few of them did so in the hope or expectation that we would end up with anything like the deal that the Prime Minister has done with the EU... [I]n his resignation letter, Dominic Raab made it clear that the backstop “is now also taken as the starting point for negotiating the Future Economic Partnership”. That is not acceptable.” (Telegraph, 17 November 2018)

110 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g981.0
111 https://twitter.com/ZacGoldsmith/status/1068186205580337154
112 https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/11/17/theresa-may-has-clear-will-not-change-course-have-submitted/
33. James Gray MP, North Wiltshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “The interesting thing is that with the exception of a few arch loyalists, who are (quite rightly) impressed by Theresa May's stoicism and determination in the face of deadly enemy fire; with the exception of them, every single letter - from Brexiteer, Remainers and a broad spread of opinions in between has called on me to oppose the appalling proposals put before us last week.” (MP's website, 19 November 2018)\(^{113}\)

• “They tie us in, perhaps for ever, to a Customs Union” (MP's website, 19 November 2018)\(^{114}\)

• “They give the European Court of Justice superior powers to our own courts” (MP's website, 19 November 2018)\(^{115}\)

• “They risk splitting the union asunder.” (MP's website, 19 November 2018)\(^{116}\)

• “We are proposing to give them £29 billion for the privilege of becoming an EU vassal state.” (MP's website, 19 November 2018)\(^{117}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which James Gray has signed up to)\(^ {118}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which James Gray has signed up to)\(^ {119}\)


\(^ {118}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^ {119}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
34. Chris Green MP, Bolton West and Atherton

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
• “When the Prime Minister said “Brexit means Brexit” and that she would deliver on the will of the British people, I always thought this meant taking back control of our money, our laws, our borders and our trade. This is, after all, what the Prime Minister has said in numerous speeches and this is what most people, whether they voted to Leave or Remain would expect to happen. The proposals that came out of Chequers for our relationship with the EU and those outlined in the new withdrawal deal are a long way from the vision laid out by the Prime Minister.” (MP’s website, 20 November 2018)120

• “Whether you like the deal or think that it is not nearly good enough, the current price tag is £39 billion. When Canada or South Korea negotiated their trade deals with the EU they got them for free. Their economies are very divergent whereas ours is 100% compliant, yet the EU still want to charge us £39 billion for our post-Brexit relationship.” (MP’s website, 20 November 2018)121

• “We should expect a deal at least as good as the one that exists between Canada and the EU. I would go as far as to say that for £39 billion worth of British taxpayer’s money, we should be demanding the best trade deal ever. What is good for us, is just as good for the EU and we still have time to get a great deal.” (MP’s website, 20 November 2018)122

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Chris Green has signed up to)123

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Chris Green has signed up to)124

121 Ibid
122 Ibid
123 https://standup4brexit.com/
124 https://standup4brexit.com/
35. Justine Greening MP, Putney, Roehampton and Southfields

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Rule-taker.
- Transition period.
- Uncertainty.
- Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

- “For example, the Government has agreed that if the British Government wants to take steps to support British business, such as our steel industry and crucial for jobs in Yorkshire, the EU gets to be the judge and jury as to whether it thinks the steps we take are anti-competitive under EU state aid rules.” (Yorkshire Post, 15 December 2018)\(^{125}\)

- “This thing is called a transition period or an implementation period, but a transition to what? The bottom line is that all we have on our destination is 26 pages of something called a political agreement. It is not binding, there is no detail and there are no guarantees or timescales... It is the political equivalent of being asked to jump out of a plane without knowing if your parachute is attached.” (House of Commons, 5 December 2018)\(^{126}\)

- “There are practical problems and there are problems of sovereignty, but there are democratic problems too, because this Brexit deal is not the Brexit that leave campaigners campaigned for or that leave voters voted for. It does not deliver on the result of the 2016 referendum.” (House of Commons, 5 December 2018)\(^{127}\)

- “Conservative MPs can increasingly see that this sovereignty giveaway from No 10 leaves our country with less say over rules that govern our lives ... That is not in the national interest, it’s the worst of all worlds and it resolves nothing.” (Guardian, 10 December 2018)\(^{128}\)


\(^{126}\) [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g931.1](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g931.1)

\(^{127}\) [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g931.1](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g931.1)

36. Dominic Grieve MP, Beaconsfield

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.
- Transition period.
- Economic harm.

Views on the deal:
- “More and more MPs are concluding that the Government’s proposed deal is not what was promised two years ago, it’s a much worse deal than the one we’ve already got in the EU and, if approved would mean Brexit goes on forever because it leaves all the big questions unanswered.” (People’s Vote press release, 4 December 2018)

- “Instead of the promised land of a trading relationship as good as the single market, but with all its constraints removed to enable us to control immigration and strike trade deals elsewhere as we pleased, we have the assurance of at least 20 months of total adherence to every EU rule and regulation with all political participation and ability to influence its development removed.” (Evening Standard, 19 November 2018)

- “The short document outlining, as an aspiration, the longer-term future economic and political relationship is sufficiently vague as to leave much doubt as to what it might be possible to achieve.” (Evening Standard, 19 November 2018)

- “There is at present nothing substantive to be “implemented”. We just have at best an honest promise of goodwill to try and work something out in a number of defined areas of co-operation.” (Evening Standard, 19 November 2018)

129 https://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/a-poor-brexit-deal-now-will-only-lead-to-big-trouble-in-the-future-a3993706.html

130 https://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/a-poor-brexit-deal-now-will-only-lead-to-big-trouble-in-the-future-a3993706.html

131 Ibid
37. Sam Gyimah MP, East Surrey

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.
- Economic harm.

Views on the deal:
- “Even as a remainer, it became clear to me that it was not politically or practically deliverable, and that it would make us poorer and risk the Union... all the big issues, whether they relate to security, home affairs, agriculture, fishing, our independent trading policy or frictionless trade, have been kicked into the long grass.” (House of Commons, 5 December 2018)\(^{132}\)

- “Having surrendered our voice, our vote and our veto, we will have to rely on the “best endeavours” of the EU to strike a final agreement that works in our national interest. As minister with the responsibility for space technology I have seen first-hand the EU stack the deck against us time and time again, even while the ink was drying on the transition deal. Galileo is a clarion call that it will be “EU first”, and to think otherwise - whether you are a leaver or remainer - is, at best, incredibly naive.” (Telegraph, 1 December 2018)\(^{133}\)

- “[T]he Government’s Brexit deal has been hard won. But at its heart, all the big decisions in the political declaration that will shape our future in Europe, and the world, are yet to be agreed. Where we set the balance between an independent trade policy and frictionless trade, high market access and freedom of movement, fisheries, agriculture, and the all-important Northern Ireland question are just some of the big issues still in play. It is a deal in name only.” (Telegraph, 1 December 2018)\(^{134}\)

\(^{132}\) [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g919.2](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-05b.899.0#g919.2)


\(^{134}\) Ibid
38. Robert Halfon MP, Harlow

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Transition period.
- Divorce bill.
- Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:

- “I respect the efforts being made by the Prime Minister, but will she tell me how many extra billions we would be paying per year if the transition period were to be extended by two years? Will she give the House a real say in determining how much money goes to the EU in that extra transition period, if it happens?” (House of Commons, 10 December 2018)\textsuperscript{135}

- “I’m not convinced we should be handing over billions of pounds of taxpayers’ money without us being clear what positive benefit we get in return.” (Facebook, 23 November 2018)\textsuperscript{136}

- “Firstly, I don’t believe we are getting value for money out of the £39 billion divorce bill of taxpayers’ money. I’m also concerned this could increase further if Britain stays in the transition period longer than expected. … On all of these issues, the key thing for me is value for money. I’m not convinced that the EU should be getting billions of pounds of taxpayers’ money without us being clear what positive benefit we get in return.” (Your Harlow, 23 November 2018)\textsuperscript{137}

- “the deal has the potential to undermine the Union because of the different arrangements for Northern Ireland. I am concerned that, potentially, the Scottish Nationalists, who want to remain in the EU, could start demanding different arrangements for Scotland too… However, unless I believe this agreement substantially changes to solve the problems I have set out above, I plan to vote against it.” (Your Harlow, 23 November 2018)\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{135} https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-10a.23.0#g47.6
\textsuperscript{136} https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=2287017268038957&id=174730252601013
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid
39. Mark Harper MP, Forest of Dean

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill.
- Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
- “It is also the case that the withdrawal agreement will hand over about £39 billion in an unconditional way. I think that most people who carry out negotiations generally do not hand over all the money until they have a deal. We should make the money conditional on both getting a good deal and getting a good deal on a timely basis.” *(MP’s website, 28 November 2018)*[^139]

- “The respected MP, previously a May loyalist who voted remain, claims the proposed withdrawal agreement “not only compromises the integrity of our country” but also breaches the Conservative manifesto, insisting it “leaves the UK in a worse position that we are now.” *(The Telegraph, 5 December 2018)*[^140]


[^140]: [https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/04/former-chief-whip-will-vote-against-pm-first-time-warns-brexit/](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/04/former-chief-whip-will-vote-against-pm-first-time-warns-brexit/)
41. Sir John Hayes MP, Telford

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

- “I have never been one of those people who want to dance on the head of a pin. But there are fundamentals. People expect us to ‘just get on with it’ in other words to leave in March, no ‘ifs’, ‘no buts’. There can be no compromise on free movement. We must have control of our borders and drastically cut immigration.” (Spalding Today, 16 November 2018)  

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141 https://www.spaldingtoday.co.uk/news/mp-john-hayes-on-draft-brexit-deal-9049241/
42. Philip Hollobone MP, Kettering

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Divorce bill.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “My letter went in 4 months ago on the day that David Davis resigned. The deal that she is presenting is not Brexit.” (Westmonster, November 19 2018)\(^{142}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Hollobone has signed up to)\(^{143}\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Philip Hollobone has signed up to)\(^{144}\)


\(^{143}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^{144}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
43. Adam Holloway MP, Gravesham

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised.
• Integrity of the Union.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:

• “But if an election comes, with the right leader we can win back our majority by running an optimistic campaign that offers the British people a picture of a confident global Britain in full technicolour, rather than the image of a vassal state attached to the ball and chain of the EU having given away most of its leverage.” (Telegraph, 15 December 2018)\(^{145}\)

• “The result of the Referendum was clear and, regrettably, the deal negotiated by the Prime Minister does not honour the decision of 65% of our neighbours in Gravesham and a majority of the country to leave the EU.” (MP’s Website)\(^{146}\)

• “The Prime Minister’s Withdrawal Agreement represents an unconscionable loss of sovereignty, damage to the Union and I am also concerned that it will fetter our ability to trade freely in the future” (MP’s Website)\(^{147}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Adam Holloway has signed up to)\(^{148}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Adam Holloway has signed up to)\(^{149}\)

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\(^{145}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/15/asked-theresa-may-would-fight-snap-election-refusal-answer/

\(^{146}\) http://www.adamholloway.co.uk/campaign-responses/withdrawal-terms-dec.html

\(^{147}\) Ibid

\(^{148}\) https://standup4brexit.com/

\(^{149}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
44. Sir Bernard Jenkin MP, Harwich and North Essex

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill.
- Transition period.
- Uncertainty.
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “We are paying £28 billion for a transition period to nowhere. That is yet to be negotiated. The point is, this deal is not going to provide the certainty people want.” (Daily Express, 27 November 2018)\(^{150}\)

- “If we stay in the customs union, and if we carry on accepting an EU common rule book, that is interpreted by an EU court, this is not taking back control of our laws and this is not leaving as we said in our manifesto, and as has been made plain in the Referendum that we would be leaving” (Briefings for Brexit Podcast, December 2018)\(^{151}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bernard Jenkin has signed up to)\(^{[1]}\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bernard Jenkin has signed up to)\(^{[2]}\)

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\([1]\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\([2]\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
45. Andrea Jenkyns MP, North East Hampshire

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:

• “The deal agreed with the EU - Remain masquerading as Leave - is entirely the Prime Minister’s doing and it is obvious she is the wrong person to go back to Europe to attempt to win concessions. For two years, Theresa May has led these botched negotiations and excluded her Brexit secretaries from the process, resulting in the bad deal she still insists is a good one.” (Daily Telegraph op-ed, 11 December 2018)\(^{152}\)

• “I think there’s only one sensible way to vote on this, and it’s to vote down the deal. I mean, the prime minister's political declaration keeps us too closely tied to the European Union. And it doesn’t deliver on the vote to the referendum, unfortunately.” (NPR Radio, 27 November 2018)\(^{153}\)

• “It is incredibly important that we do not agree to a deal that locks us into the rules and regulations of the EU. The British people voted in record numbers to take back control and that vote must be respected. May’s agreement keeps us half in and half out and that is clearly not acceptable.” (MP Website, November 15 2018)\(^{154}\)

• “It appears we could be staying in the customs union, perhaps indefinitely. This would be completely unacceptable, leaving us unable to take advantage of the freedoms that Brexit offers, and tied from negotiating free trade deals with non-EU countries.” (MP’s Website)\(^{155}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Andrea Jenkyns has signed up to)\(^{156}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one


\(^{154}\) https://www.andreajenkyns.co.uk/news/andrea-jenkyns-withdrawal-agreement

\(^{155}\) https://www.andreajenkyns.co.uk/news/telegraph-mays-catastrophic-plan-poisons-well-her-successors

\(^{156}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Andrea Jenkyns has signed up to)

157 https://standup4brexit.com/
Concerns other than the backstop:
  • Not what was promised.
  • Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:
  • “This deal does not deliver a good and fair Brexit. This draft agreement does not take back control of our laws, borders and money. We will be locked into, amongst other deficiencies, EU law - that’s not taking back control of our laws.” (MP’s Website)\textsuperscript{158}

  • “The European Court of Justice will continue to have a role and will, in some circumstances, be binding on British courts. It does not take back control of our money - we will have paid £39 billion without any guarantee of securing a trade deal that works for Britain.” (Express)\textsuperscript{159}

\textsuperscript{158} https://www.ranil.uk/news/brexit-update

\textsuperscript{159} https://www.ranil.uk/news/express-comment-ranil-jayawardena-mp-only-good-fair-settlement-will-win-back-trust-our-people
Concerns other than the backstop:

- Not what was promised.
- Divorce bill.
- No independent trade policy.
- Backstop.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:

- “They didn’t vote for anything like Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement. They voted to come out. It is no deal, or WTO terms, that actually corresponds to their idea of coming out.” (Telegraph, 6 January 2018)

- “I am sorry to say this—these are hard truths—but there will be no proper free trade deals and we will not take back control of our laws. For the Government to continue to suggest otherwise is to do violence to the natural meaning of words. We will give up £39 billion for nothing. We will not be taking back control of our borders. Not only have we yet to settle the terms on which EU migrants will in future come to this country, but we will be levying EU tariffs at UK ports and sending 80% of the cash to Brussels. In short, we are going to be rule-takers. We are going to be a de facto colony.” (House of Commons, 4 December 2018)

- “It is vassal state stuff. For the first time in a thousand years this place, this parliament will not have a say over the laws that govern this country. It is a quite incredible state of affairs. It means having to accept rules and regulations over which we have no say ourselves. It is utterly unacceptable to anyone who believes in democracy..” (BBC News, November 13 2018)

- “Theresa May’s deal hands the EU the indefinite power to bully and blackmail this country to get whatever it wants in the future negotiations. … as long as we have no real choice but to observe EU rules for goods and agrifood, the whole of Scottish fishing and aquaculture industries will be subject to the effective control of the EU, and yet with no say for the UK.” (MP Facebook, 7 December)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Boris Johnson has signed up to)

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160 https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2019/01/06/british-people-wont-scared-backing-woeful-brexit-deal-nobody/

161 https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-04e.746.1#g775.7


163 https://www.facebook.com/borisjohnson/posts/10156092108916317

48. Jo Johnson MP, Orpington

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Rule-taker.
- Economic harm.
- Not what was promised.
- Uncertainty.
- Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:

- “The problem with the deal goes far beyond the backstop.” (House of Commons, 10 December 2018)\(^{164}\)

- “The Conservative Party’s reputation for economic competence would be undermined by implementing a botched Brexit, especially one that the Government’s own analysis suggests will cause economic harm.” (Speech, 29 November 2018)\(^{165}\)

- “an agreement that will leave our country economically weakened, with no say in the EU rules it must follow and years of uncertainty for business.” (Medium, November 9 2018)\(^{166}\)

- “What is now being proposed won’t be anything like what was promised two years ago.” (Medium, November 9 2018)\(^{167}\)

- “Contrary to promises, there is in fact no deal at all on our future trading relationship with the EU which the government can present to the country. Still less anything that offers the “exact same benefits” as the Single Market, as David Davis promised, or the “precise guarantees of frictionless trade” that the Prime Minister assured us would be available. All that is now being finalised is the agreement to pay the EU tens of billions of pounds. All that may be on offer on trade is the potential for an agreement to stay in a temporary customs arrangement while we discuss the possibility of an EU trade deal that all experience shows will take many years to negotiate.” (Medium, November 9 2018)\(^{168}\)

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\(^{164}\) [https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-10b.23.0#g45.3](https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-10b.23.0#g45.3)

\(^{165}\) [https://www.thenew europ ean.co.uk/top-stories/jo-johnson-to-deliver-speech-on-brexit-1-5799584](https://www.theneweurop ean.co.uk/top-stories/jo-johnson-to-deliver-speech-on-brexit-1-5799584)

\(^{166}\) [https://medium.com/@JoJohnsonUK/why-i-cannot-support-the-governments-proposed-brexit-deal-3d289f95f2bc](https://medium.com/@JoJohnsonUK/why-i-cannot-support-the-governments-proposed-brexit-deal-3d289f95f2bc)

\(^{167}\) Ibid

\(^{168}\) Ibid
49. David Jones MP, Clwyd West

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Divorce bill.
- Not what was promised.
- Uncertainty.
- Rule-taker.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:

- “This is a thoroughly bad deal. There are many aspects of concern in it, not least the £39 billion, which we would, for some reason, be paying for this false Brexit.” (House of Commons, 6 December 2018)¹⁶⁹

- “If we are still a member of the single market and customs union and (most importantly) subject to ECJ jurisdiction, we cannot truly be said to have left the European Union and, therefore, to have kept faith with the outcome of the referendum. The draft withdrawal agreement and the political declaration would keep us in a species of the single market and the customs union and also keep us subject to the ultimate jurisdiction of the ECJ.” (MP Website, December 5 2018)¹⁷⁰

- “The Withdrawal Agreement should positively not be regarded as a mere temporary arrangement. It will prevail until the EU release us from it. The political declaration is merely aspirational. It may not - and probably won’t - ever be implemented, because the Withdrawal Agreement is so very favourable to the EU.” (MP Website, December 5 2018)¹⁷¹

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Jones has signed up to)¹⁷²

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which David Jones has signed up to)¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2018-12-06a.1081.0#g1133.0
¹⁷⁰ http://www.davidjonesmp.co.uk/assessment-of-the-withdrawal-agreement/
¹⁷¹ Ibid
¹⁷² https://standup4brexit.com/
¹⁷³ https://standup4brexit.com/
50. John Lamont MP, Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Rule-taker.
- Fisheries.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
- “There are clearly significant risks associated with this Withdrawal Agreement, including the potential that fishing could be traded away and the possibility that we will be locked in to the backstop arrangement.” *(Border Telegraph, December 10 2018)*

- “I want the UK to move on and be able to focus on other, more important things. This Withdrawal Agreement could mean that we are still talking about Brexit for many more years to come.” *(Border Telegraph, December 10 2018)*

- “Whilst I am happy to accept the word of our Prime Minister and her commitment to Scotland’s fisheries, my fear is that the precise arrangements will not be decided until further point in time. Clearly no government can bind its successors, so no promise now will necessarily have any effect in the future.” *(House of Commons, 5 December 2018)*

- “There have been many reassuring words about the high standard imposed by the “best endeavours” commitment in the Withdrawal Agreement but the reality is that this is meaningless if the obligation lacks certainty. This Withdrawal Agreement was supposed to be a bridge to our permanent relationship with the EU but the danger is that it becomes the norm. We are putting off so many of the outstanding decisions for a later date.” *(House of Commons, 5 December 2018)*

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175 Ibid

176 https://www.johnlamont.org/news/lamont-constituents-are-relying-us-get-right

177 https://www.johnlamont.org/news/lamont-constituents-are-relying-us-get-right
51. Pauline Latham MP, Berwickshire, Roxburgh and Selkirk

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised.
• Uncertainty.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “Why should the United Kingdom hand over £39bn of taxpayers’ money with nothing guaranteed in return?.” (MP’s Website, 27 November 2018)\(^1\)

• “And why should we continue to be bound by European laws in vital areas such as social, environmental and employment policies?” (MP’s Website, 27 November 2018)\(^2\)

• “Her proposal had led to much frustration among those of us who voted to leave the European Union because we feel it is not cutting the cord in the way the majority of the electorate wanted.” (MP’s Website, 27 November 2018)\(^3\)

• “In return for this vast sum of money, the United Kingdom is not guaranteed any future trading arrangements.” (MP’s Website, 27 November 2018)\(^4\)

• “The third important point is that we could only leave the customs union with the agreement of the EU and while we remain in the customs union we would be unable to strike international trade deals without the EU’s permission.” (MP’s Website, 27 November 2018)\(^5\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Pauline Latham has signed up to)\(^6\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Pauline Latham has signed up to)\(^7\)

\(^1\) https://www.paulinelatham.co.uk/news/statement-withdrawal-agreement
\(^2\) Ibid
\(^3\) Ibid
\(^4\) Ibid
\(^5\) Ibid
\(^6\) https://standup4brexit.com/
\(^7\) https://standup4brexit.com/
52. Phillip Lee MP, Bracknall

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Economic harm.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
• “I feel sure that this Brexit agreement is bad for our country: It poses a real threat to the future of our home union; It risks holding back our economy, and with it the amount of money we can invest into our public services; It means we will be bound by many of the rules of the EU with no say over them. We will leave the EU in March with very little idea of what our future relationship will be and with our negotiating leverage much diminished. This ‘blindfold’ Brexit is not what people voted for in 2016 and I feel it would be tantamount to political fraud to foist it on the nation without first seeking their permission. Crucially, neither ‘remainers’ nor ‘leavers’ support this deal. That is why I believe that we should all have the opportunity to give our informed consent, or not, now we know what Brexit will actually entail. This is not about ignoring the 2016 Referendum. This is the only democratic and fair way out of the situation in which we find ourselves.” (Statement on MP’s website, 6 December 2018)\(^{185}\)

• “It is reckless and wrong to foist this #Brexit deal on people. The price the country must pay is too high. If @theresa_may wants to proceed, she should get people’s #InformedConsent in a new vote. Voters will rightly not forgive our Party if she presses on without it #FinalSay” (Tweet on withdrawal agreement, 2 December 2018)\(^{186}\)

• “This is political fraud and I am not putting my name to it.” (On the withdrawal agreement on the Victoria Derbyshire programme, 14 November 2018)\(^{187}\)


\(^{186}\) [https://twitter.com/DrPhillipLeeMP/status/1069202816118517760](https://twitter.com/DrPhillipLeeMP/status/1069202816118517760)

\(^{187}\) [https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE/status/1062653187528654848](https://twitter.com/VictoriaLIVE/status/1062653187528654848)
53. Andrew Lewer MP, Northampton South

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “[T]he deal brought to us by the Prime Minister is poor - much worse than Chequers in fact. Given that I had already declared in public that I would not support Chequers, my decision about whether to support the Meaningful Vote on this ‘Chequers Minus’ deal is relatively clear and I would like to explain why. I stood on a Conservative Manifesto which promised that, if elected, a Conservative Government would take the United Kingdom out of the Customs Union, out of the Single Market and the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice. This ‘Deal’ achieves none of those things and divides Northern Ireland from the rest of the UK in a totally unacceptable way and in contravention of my most deeply held principles. (From Andrew Lewer’s own MP website, 26 November 2018)\textsuperscript{188}

• “I’m really opposed to this withdrawal agreement and I’m not going to be able to support it.” (\textit{Stand Up for Brexit twitter feed}, 22 November 2018)\textsuperscript{189}

• “The referendum result was Leave, I and we, were elected on a manifesto that made abundantly clear what kind of Leave we would undertake... This deal is not that Leave.” (\textit{House of Commons Statement, via Brexit Central twitter feed, 6 December 2018})\textsuperscript{190}

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for \textit{Stand Up for Brexit, which Andrew Lewer has signed up to})\textsuperscript{191}

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for \textit{Stand Up for Brexit, which Andrew Lewer has signed up to})\textsuperscript{192}

\textsuperscript{188} https://www.andrewlewer.com/campaigns/my-response-draft-eu-withdrawal-agreement?fbclid=IwAR0tUuTihHbXpRO3gcSwUYgVspfPXL_1wYReRdqGNjrYZispD_Ohanio2M
\textsuperscript{189} https://twitter.com/StandUp4Brexit/status/1065575138060632065
\textsuperscript{190} https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/1070724035561050112
\textsuperscript{191} https://standup4brexit.com/
\textsuperscript{192} https://standup4brexit.com/
54. Julian Lewis MP, New Forest East

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Transition period.
• Uncertainty.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “The whole thing [with the backstop] amounts does it not, to an excuse to keep us entangled with the European Union for fear of building a border that is never going to happen under any scenario whatsoever?” (House of Commons Select Committee exchange with Theresa May, via Stand Up for Brexit Twitter feed 29 November 2018)\(^{193}\)

• “Can the Prime Minister describe any surer way of frustrating the referendum result, and ultimately remaining in the European Union, than to accept a Hotel California Brexit deal, which ensures that we can never truly leave the EU, with all its manipulative, entangling and undemocratic practices?” (EU Exit Negotiations Debate, Volume 649, Hansard, 15 November 2018)\(^{194}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{195}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{196}\)

\(^{193}\) https://twitter.com/StandUp4Brexit/status/1068138625483898880


\(^{195}\) https://standup4brexit.com/

\(^{196}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
55. Julia Lopez, Hornchurch and Upminster

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Not what was promised.
- Transition period.
- No independent trade policy.
- Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

- “Unfortunately, however, nothing in the Withdrawal Agreement assists me in rebuilding the faith I lost after the release of the Chequers negotiating proposals in July, having previously accepted at face value the assurances and strategy set out before that time. It is with regret, therefore, that I simply cannot envisage voting for the government’s Withdrawal Agreement in its existing form, and I have informed my whip.” *(statement on own MP website on the withdrawal agreement, 24 November 2018)*

- “We fear that we are posed to sign up to a deal that leaves us with many of the frustrations of 40 years of EU membership and few of the gains from the bold decision the British people took at the ballot box…We will not meaningfully be able to set our trade policies or our laws…We run the risk of being trapped in the EU’s regulatory system for years without the chance to influence it…this deal will not give us closure”. *(joint article with six other Conservative MPs in the Daily Telegraph, 1 December 2018)*

- “Locked into a de facto Customs Union with the EU, we will be tethered to outdated trading arrangements that reduce choice and value” *(article in the Telegraph on 4 December 2018 about the deal, via MP’s twitter feed)*

- “The pretence that we shall be able to strike free trade agreements of any value, win back control of our laws and fulfil the manifesto commitments upon which all Conservative MPs were elected - I fear these assertions are a collective delusion, with this Agreement a clever ruse disguised as sensible compromise… I do not believe this deal is the best we can get…If we vote through this Withdrawal Agreement, however, it will be the EU that holds the key to our own destiny.” *(statement to the House of Commons about the Withdrawal agreement, 6 December 2018, via MP’s website)*

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197 [https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/brexit-statement-draft-withdrawal-agreement](https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/brexit-statement-draft-withdrawal-agreement)

198 [https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/daily-telegraph-britains-future-depends-better-settlement](https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/daily-telegraph-britains-future-depends-better-settlement)

199 [https://twitter.com/JuliaLopezMP/status/1070319574829187074](https://twitter.com/JuliaLopezMP/status/1070319574829187074)

200 [https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/my-speech-withdrawal-agreement-debates](https://www.julialopez.co.uk/news/my-speech-withdrawal-agreement-debates)
56. Tim Loughton MP, East Worthing and Shoreham

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Transition period.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.
- Divorce bill.
- Independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “This proposal does not deliver Brexit. Its unprecedented terms have the potential to undermine our sovereignty and the Union of the United Kingdom like nothing before.” (statement to the House of Commons on 5 December 2018, via the Brexit Central twitter feed)\(^\text{201}\)

- “It does not determine what coming out of the Single Market is going to be like. Our rules and regulations will still be administered from Brussels and the UK will only be “consulted” on any new rules and regulations.” (MP’s website, 19 November 2018)\(^\text{202}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^\text{203}\)

- “Under theDraft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^\text{204}\)

\(^\text{201}\) [https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/1070377614756507648](https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/1070377614756507648)


\(^\text{203}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^\text{204}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
57. Craig Mackinlay MP, South Thanet

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.
• Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
• “This is the reality of #Backstop and perpetual ‘close alignment’. For this and many other reasons, I cannot support the #BrexitDeal. Live animal exports are a stain on any concept of decency & hugely focussed on port of #Ramgate. Tell me #SouthThanet that you support me.” (Tweet about the withdrawal agreement, 24 November 2018)205

• “This proposed Withdrawal Agreement is the worst of all worlds and is worse than EU membership. Firstly, we would hand over £39 billion of British taxpayers’ money with nothing guaranteed in return. Secondly, the UK will remain a ‘rule taker’ over critical areas of EU law such as social policy, environmental policy, employment policy and even tax policy to prevent any perceived advantage that global freedom could bring. Thirdly, there will be no obvious exit from a ‘backstop’ Customs Union, despite many public assurances to the contrary. Fourthly, the Agreement creates differences within the UK with Northern Ireland would become a ‘rule taker’ in further areas such as goods, agricultural products and VAT. It would create new barriers to trade within our own union of nations forming the UK. Fifthly, the European Court of Justice will remain in control of the agreement and large areas of EU law directly effective in the UK. The deal is completely against the spirit of the 2016 referendum in which 17.4 million UK citizens voted to leave the European Union. It does not pass any ‘sniff test’ of Brexit. That is why I will not support the deal in its current form and I can see no way that Parliament will accept it either.” (Quoted in “Kent Live, 22 November 2018)206

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)207

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)208

205 https://twitter.com/cmackinlay/status/1066318043976994816
207 https://standup4brexit.com/
208 https://standup4brexit.com/
58. Anne Main MP, St Albans

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “This is a sell-out in terms of the Union, and at what point is our Prime Minister’s pledge that we would not make separate arrangements for any country in the Union going to be sold out, in his argument, in the national interest?” (exchange in the Houses of parliament, 3 December 2018, on the MP’s own website)\(^{209}\)

• “This proposed deal is seen to be heavily flawed” (MP’s website, 21st November 2018)\(^{210}\)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{211}\)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{212}\)

\(^{209}\) [https://www.annemain.com/content/anne-main-calls-withdrawal-agreement-sell-out-terms-union-uk](https://www.annemain.com/content/anne-main-calls-withdrawal-agreement-sell-out-terms-union-uk)

\(^{210}\) [https://www.annemain.com/content/brexit-statement](https://www.annemain.com/content/brexit-statement)

\(^{211}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

\(^{212}\) [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
59. Scott Mann MP, North Cornwall

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Fisheries.
• Divorce bill.
• No independent trade policy.
• Rule-taker.
• Uncertainty.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:

• “After reading through the 585-page Withdrawal document, it is with a heavy heart that I write to you today to say I cannot support this deal... Fishing rights in the deal would be discussed as part of a future trading arrangement. Once again, this is unacceptable. As an independent coastal state, we should be in complete control of the resources and the environmental management of UK fisheries... I cannot and will not sign the UK up to a deal where we do not control our own trading future, and I will vote against this deal if it is presented to the House of Commons in its current form.” (Statement on MP’s own website, 28 November 2018)^213

• “There are other elements of the deal which I cannot agree to. The UK would have its VAT levels set by the EU for up to four years after the 29th March. The European Court of Justice would have a say in cases in the UK up to eight years after the 29th March. The wording around future contributions to the EU are also unclear and left open to interpretation.” (MP’s website, 28 November 2018)^214

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)^215

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)^216


^215 https://standup4brexit.com/

^216 https://standup4brexit.com/
60. Esther McVey MP, Tatton

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• No independent trade policy.
• Divorce bill.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
• “The deal you [Theresa May] put before the Cabinet yesterday does not honour the result of the referendum. Indeed, it doesn’t meet the tests you set from the outset of your premiership. Repeatedly you have said that we must regain control of our money, our orders and our laws and develop our own independent trade policy. I have always supported you to deliver on those objectives. Even after Chequers when you knew I shared the concerns of a very significant number of colleagues, I believed that we could still work collectively to honour the will of the British people and secure the right outcome for the future of our country. This deal fails to do this.” (Esther McVey Resignation letter in response to the deal, 15 November 2018)217

• “The PM immediately must go to the EU and get a better deal...There are two key things in there: One is the backstop. We don’t need the backstop, we shouldn’t have the backstop...And the other bit is the £39bn. Why oh why are we handing over £39bn and what for?” (On the Ridge on Sunday Political programme, Sky News, 9 December 2018)218

• “From the outset, it was clear that the Withdrawal Agreement failed to honour the outcome of the EU referendum, secure our long-term economic independence and take full advantage of the UK leaving the constraints of the EU. How could I remain in the Cabinet knowing that?...In her statement on the delay to the vote, the Prime Minister spoke of the need to provide ‘reassurances’ on the backstop for the Northern Irish Border. This was a major misreading of the concerns which I and many others have over the backstop and of the deal which will see us hand over £39 billion with zero guarantees over a future trade agreement... She must use the clear domestic concerns about the agreement to push for two fundamental changes: That the backstop is ultimately unacceptable and must be removed and, that the £39 billion must be linked to a future trade agreement.” (Opinion piece on Conservative Home, 15 December 2018)219

218 https://twitter.com/RidgeOnSunday/status/1071700851119293400
61. Johnny Mercer MP, Plymouth, Moor View

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “This deal indicates what I have long feared, that too many in Government have failed to grasp why people voted to leave the European Union in the first place and the opportunities for that brighter future that that vote represented...To force this deal through—crossing our own red lines and our manifesto that we stood on, but particularly critically for me, threatening the Union of this United Kingdom—would speak to a democratic deficit that I have always spoken about, and if I am to retain my integrity, I must now oppose.” (statement to the House of Commons on the deal, 6 December 2018)\(^{220}\)

• “I cannot accept an agreement that makes the UK a junior partner in an international relationship that it cannot unilaterally leave, because that misses the point of why people voted for Brexit in the first place.” (statement to the House of Commons on the deal, 6 December 2018)\(^{221}\)

• “You cannot philosophise about free trade deals and then concede none are possible the moment we leave, as this agreement currently stands.” (Briefing of MP's speech to the Commons, 6 December 2018)\(^{222}\)

\(^{220}\) [Link](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-06/debates/6DF8A870-48CC-4304-9051-564F94D74E88/EuropeanUnion(Withdrawal)Act#contribution-60D29AC4-BAD9-4594-8C00-F737FCCE9721)

\(^{221}\) [Link](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-06/debates/6DF8A870-48CC-4304-9051-564F94D74E88/EuropeanUnion(Withdrawal)Act#contribution-60D29AC4-BAD9-4594-8C00-F737FCCE9721)

\(^{222}\) [Link](https://uk.news.yahoo.com/johnny-mercer-becomes-104th-tory-mp-come-theresa-mays-brexit-deal-crushing-defeat-looms-104430781.html)
62. Nigel Mills MP, Amber Valley

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Transition period.
• Backstop.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “There are however a number of significant issues: The agreement to pay around £39 billion for an orderly withdrawal when there are serious questions as to what, if anything, we are legally obliged to pay, and without any certainty that the future partnership will be acceptable to us or ever ratified by the rest of the EU.” (statement on the Brexit deal, 20 November 2018)

• “The length of the proposed transition period during which we are basically still EU members but without any MEPs or voting rights; this is currently proposed to be to 31 December 2020 but the draft agreement provides for an extension to “31 December 20XX” with significant financial implications.” (statement on the Brexit deal, 20 November 2018)

• “The ongoing role of the ECJ (which will be a foreign court with no UK representation after 29 March 2019). For these and many other reasons it looks very unlikely that the deal will find a majority in favour in the House of Commons.” (statement on the Brexit deal, 20 November 2018)

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

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226 https://standup4brexit.com/
227 https://standup4brexit.com/
63. Andrew Mitchell MP, Sutton Coldfield

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Uncertainty.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
• “It is clear, is it not, that the deal which she has so assiduously negotiated is most unlikely to secure the support of this House of Commons? In these circumstances does she not think it would be wiser to seek an extension to Article 50 rather than to leave with no deal?” (statement in the House of Commons, 17 December 2018)\(^\text{228}\)

• “This deal does the reverse of what it says on the tin. Far from settling matters over Europe, it perpetuates the deep divisions that have engulfed our Country. Indeed it enshrines them.” (MP writing in the Daily Telegraph, 9 December 2018)\(^\text{229}\)

• “This deal would leave us as a Rule Taker. That will satisfy neither side. It ensures that those who believe we should remain in the EU will campaign to become a Rule Maker once again, and those who voted to leave will feel we have not done so. They will feel the result of the referendum has not been respected. It is the worst of all worlds.” (MP writing in the Daily Telegraph, 9 December 2018)\(^\text{230}\)

• “the Deal will deliver the likelihood that Northern Ireland will be treated differently from Great Britain. This is a red line that the Democratic Unionist Party has always made clear cannot be crossed if they are to sustain the Government with Confidence and Supply. As Arlene Foster told the Annual Dinner of the Sutton Coldfield Conservatives last week, this threat to Northern Ireland is greater than having Jeremy Corbyn in Downing Street.” (MP writing in the Daily Telegraph, 9 December 2018)\(^\text{231}\)

• “And this is all before we start our negotiations for our new relationship with Europe. We would be in a fundamentally weak and subservient position.” (MP writing in the Daily Telegraph, 9 December 2018)\(^\text{232}\)

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\(^\text{228}\) https://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/midlands-news/conservative-mp-andrew-mitchell-urges-15564336

\(^\text{229}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/09/cannot-support-deal-itdoes-reverse-says-tin/?fbclid=IwAR3KwNej0eUS7aek5T4DPDvyy8LrY0h9p28-qfVcTAPhtNh5A-aqYx0Jnlk

\(^\text{230}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/09/cannot-support-deal-itdoes-reverse-says-tin/?fbclid=IwAR3KwNej0eUS7aek5T4DPDvyy8LrY0h9p28-qfVcTAPhtNh5A-aqYx0Jnlk

\(^\text{231}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/09/cannot-support-deal-itdoes-reverse-says-tin/?fbclid=IwAR3KwNej0eUS7aek5T4DPDvyy8LrY0h9p28-qfVcTAPhtNh5A-aqYx0Jnlk

\(^\text{232}\) https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/12/09/cannot-support-deal-itdoes-reverse-says-tin/?fbclid=IwAR3KwNej0eUS7aek5T4DPDvyy8LrY0h9p28-qfVcTAPhtNh5A-aqYx0Jnlk
64. Anne-Marie Morris MP, Newton Abbot

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- No independent trade policy.
- Rule-taker.
- Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
- “If the leaked information on the proposed Brexit deal is accurate, I cannot support it. ... The PM is not delivering the Brexit people voted for.” (tweet about the deal, 14 November 2018)

- “It appears Brussels plans to leverage the backstop customs deal agreed by the Prime Minister to keep Britain in a permanent post-Brexit customs union. Again, this is not what was voted for.” (MP statement on website, 19 November 2018)

- “Taking EU laws with no democratic say is something no self-respecting state would accept. ... If the future framework document is simply a regurgitation of Chequers, then the PM has learnt nothing. I cannot see how what was agreed at Chequers will deliver Brexit for our country. The proposal commits the UK to remain bound to the EU’s current regulatory framework via a common rule book, constraining us to maintaining a costly, anti-competitive EU regulatory structure across the economy and restricting us from pursuing independent trade deals. I will not support a deal put forward by the Prime Minister that keeps us tied to the European Union.” (MP statement on website, 19 November 2018)

- “This is bad for the Union and bad for Unionists in Ireland and Scotland...I will not support a deal put forward by the Prime Minister that keeps us tied to the European Union.” (statement about the deal on MPs website, 19 November 2018)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

233 https://twitter.com/AnneMarieMorris/status/1062716626368253953

234 https://www.annemariemorris.co.uk/news/anne-maries-weekly-column-41

235 https://www.annemariemorris.co.uk/news/anne-maries-weekly-column-41

236 ibid.

237 https://standup4brexit.com/

238 https://standup4brexit.com/
65. Sheryll Murray MP, South East Cornwall

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Fisheries.
• Divorce-bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Uncertainty.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “It’s very, very clear from the third paragraph under fishing opportunities, in the Political Declaration, which is a statement of intent, that we’re going to link the economic situation with access to resources. That’s totally unacceptable” (statement via Stand up for Brexit, via Stand up for Brexit twitter feed, 23 November 2018)239

• “The EU agreement states “Within the context of the overall economic partnership the Parties should establish a new fisheries agreement on, inter alia, access to waters and quota shares.” Wholly unacceptable link between access to markets for access to an important UK resource.” (statement on twitter, 22 November 2018)240

• “Will my right hon. Friend please confirm that, after 31 December 2020, other nations will not have access to anything other than the surplus fish stocks in British waters that the UK fleet cannot catch, even if the implementation period is extended?” (Hansard, 15 November 2018)241

• “I do not believe that this agreement is worth £39 billion... It is becoming clear that we will continue to be tied into EU rules... It is not clear when we will leave this withdrawal agreement, whether it will be extended or whether we end up in the backstop. This is unacceptable.” (MP Statement, Twitter)242

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)243

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)244

239 https://twitter.com/StandUp4Brexit/status/1066066962613190656
240 https://twitter.com/sheryllmurray/status/1065596713954656256
242 ibid.
243 https://standup4brexit.com/
244 https://standup4brexit.com/
66. Matthew Offord MP, Hendon

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Rule-taker.
- Integrity of the Union.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
- “I fear that the deal that the Prime Minister has presented would leave us bound to the European Union in many ways and put at risk the United Kingdom by splitting Northern Ireland from the rest of the country.” (statement on MPs website, 29 November 2018)\(^\text{245}\)

- “I cannot support a deal which hands over £39 billion without certainty of a future trading relationship. For this reason, as the deal stands at the moment, I will vote against it.” (statement on MPs website, 29 November 2018)\(^\text{246}\)

\(^\text{245}\) [https://www.matthewofford.co.uk/statement-brexit-deal](https://www.matthewofford.co.uk/statement-brexit-deal)

\(^\text{246}\) [https://www.matthewofford.co.uk/statement-brexit-deal](https://www.matthewofford.co.uk/statement-brexit-deal)
67. Neil Parish MP, Tiverton and Honiton

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Integrity of the United Kingdom.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
• “But as I have explained to the Prime Minister, the current deal needs work, or it will not pass in the Commons. Vital issues remain on the Northern Ireland ‘backstop’ and leverage for getting a good future trade deal. Until these are resolved, I cannot support the Withdrawal Agreement. At Prime Minister’s Questions, I raised the specific issue of the £39 billion ‘divorce bill’. It is a crucial part of the leverage we hold to get a good future trade agreement with the EU. Yes, some obligations are owed. But ongoing commitments to the EU budget, the application of EU law without our say, the inability to diverge - or leave this arrangement unilaterally, stack up to give the EU little incentive to quickly agree a looser free trade deal. We are locking ourselves in, and kicking an expensive can down the road.” (Statement in “Devon Live”, 10 December 2018)\(^\text{247}\)

• “…I cannot support the deal as it stands. The Prime Minister must renegotiate. First, the Northern Ireland ‘backstop’ threatens the integrity of the United Kingdom. It includes a commitment by the UK to apply, in Northern Ireland, EU legislation on industrial, environmental and agricultural goods. As a Conservative and Unionist MP, applying different rules and regulations to Northern Ireland is not an ‘insurance policy’, but an unthinkable reality of failing to agree our future trade relationship by 2020. It must not be allowed to happen. Second, by agreeing to the EU's sequencing, we agree to pay over £39 billion now. I accept that we have obligations to meet, but a substantial part of the £39 billion sum is made up of contributions to the EU Budget during the upcoming transition period. Whilst we continue to pay into the EU Budget and accept the EU's rules and regulations in a transition period, the EU clearly have no incentive to end the transition period and work quickly towards a looser trade deal.” (statement in “Devon Live”, 21 November 2018)\(^\text{248}\)

• “I was on @daily_politics with @bbcmartynoates yesterday to talk all things Brexit. My farming instincts tell me don’t pay over £39 billion without a legally binding agreement on zero-tariff future trade. We must not vote away our leverage.” (statement about withdrawal agreement on twitter, following Sunday Politics appearance)\(^\text{249}\)


\(^{249}\) https://twitter.com/neil_parish/status/1064471190935351296
68. Priti Patel MP, Witham

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.
• No independent trade policy.
• Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
• “Our aims are straightforward: to put on the table the necessary changes to the Withdrawal Agreement, a concrete future framework for a trade agreement that builds on their offer to us.” (tweet about the “A better deal” document which Priti Patel supports, 14 December 2018)250

• “The Withdrawal Agreement which the Cabinet has approved does not deliver the outcome of the EU Referendum” (Statement on Withdrawal Deal, 16 November 2018)251

• “Our Parliament will not be in control of our laws and we will be explicitly excluded from any opportunities to influence laws the EU imposes on our country. We will be a rule-taker with no seat at the table when those rules are made.” (Statement on Withdrawal Deal, 16 November 2018)252

• “Under the Agreement, Britain surrenders its freedom, sovereignty and place in world and will be firmly under the control of the EU. No self-respecting nation would accept these terms. I cannot support it and will be voting against it” (Tweet on the withdrawal agreement, 17 November 2018)253

• “It puts our precious Union at risk, something which a member of the Conservative and Unionist Party should never contemplate” (Statement on Withdrawal Deal, 16 November 2018)254

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)255

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)256

250 https://twitter.com/patel4witham/status/1073532689154760705
251 https://www.eadt.co.uk/news/priti-patel-blasts-withdrawal-agreement-1-5782660
252 https://www.eadt.co.uk/news/priti-patel-blasts-withdrawal-agreement-1-5782660
253 https://twitter.com/StandUp4Brexit/status/1063760592014622722
254 https://www.eadt.co.uk/news/priti-patel-blasts-withdrawal-agreement-1-5782660
255 https://standup4brexit.com/
256 https://standup4brexit.com/
69. Owen Paterson MP, North Shropshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised.
• No independent trade policy.
• Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
• “Spectacular opportunities await after a clean Brexit, but the Withdrawal Agreement would leave UK farming in a potentially dire situation, remaining bound to the EU so that these vital opportunities would be squandered.” (Tweet to article penned by Owen Paterson in The Telegraph, 3 January 2019)257

• “It is clear that the Prime Minister's deal will not get through the Commons. She must return to the Free Trade Agreement offered by President Tusk, honouring her Manifesto commitments to leave the Single Market, the Customs Union and the remit of the ECJ.” (Tweet following appearance on Politics Live, 13 December 2018)258

• “I was the Secretary of State for the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and represented the country for the common agricultural policy negotiations. We worked with our allies in Germany, Hungary and wherever. We stopped some of the more stupid proposals going through in the CAP reform, but we had to swallow an awful lot because we always got outvoted eventually in the qualified majority voting. We will not be there from now on. We will have law imposed on us. We will not be able to amend it or to repeal it in this House.” (statement in the House of Commons, 4 December 2018)259

• “The idea that we can sign trade deals is, sadly, nonsense. I was in Washington two weeks ago. Democrats, Republicans and senior members of the United States Trade Representative made it absolutely clear that countries cannot do trade deals with other countries that do not set their tariffs or their regulatory regimes. We will not set our tariffs and we will not set our regulatory regime.” (statement in the House of Commons, 4 December 2018)260

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)261

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers… we do not control our laws… we do not have control of our money… we will not have control of our borders… the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one

257 https://twitter.com/OwenPaterson/status/1080895805224034304
258 https://twitter.com/OwenPaterson/status/107322800331194368
259 https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-04/debates/C112155E-C163-4D6B-A4E2-F0F7DD0D7D14/EuropeanUnion(Withdrawal)Act#contribution-70240033-87FA-4A26-8DEF-EA612230C35C
260 https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2018-12-04/debates/C112155E-C163-4D6B-A4E2-F0F7DD0D7D14/EuropeanUnion(Withdrawal)Act#contribution-70240033-87FA-4A26-8DEF-EA612230C35C
261 https://standup4brexit.com/
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\textsuperscript{262}

\textsuperscript{262} https://standup4brexit.com/
70. Sir Mike Penning MP, Hemel Hempstead

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Rule-taker.
• Divorce-bill.
• Not what was promised.
• No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “The draft agreement requires that we continue to be bound by EU law in areas such as social policy, environmental policy and labour regulations. These are called ‘non-regression clauses’. Whilst I have no desire to lower standards on social, environmental or labour regulations, these clauses make us a ‘rule taker’ in these areas. We cannot remain governed by EU rules that we have no say over.” (MP Statement on website)263

• “There is also the subject of money. We are paying £39 billion for this deal when there is no commitment (as yet) to us getting a trade deal. Whilst I accept that there are some unfunded commitments that we do need to pay for, it is a lot of money and I have always backed calls for this money to be tied to a trade deal.” (MP Statement on website)264

• “This is a deal that appears to have been drafted to appease the EU and large multinational businesses. It does not put British voters first. In the referendum it was the people who voted for Brexit, not multinational corporations. Brexit is what we want. The EU and international businesses will have to find a way to work with that.” (MP Statement on website)265

• “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)266

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)267

263 https://www.penning4hemel.com/content/draft-withdrawal-agreement
264 https://www.penning4hemel.com/content/draft-withdrawal-agreement
265 https://www.penning4hemel.com/content/draft-withdrawal-agreement
266 https://standup4brexit.com/
267 https://standup4brexit.com/
Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• No independent trade policy.
• Political declaration.
• Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
• Mistake to think DUP and Conservative MPs would vote differently if changes made to ‘Backstop’. If care is taken in reading and 'listening' to both - it is clear there are many more changes that need to take place for the Deal to be satisfactory” (tweet on the deal, 10 December 2018)268

• “Trade deals can be agreed, even signed, but the truth is, they cannot take effect until the UK leaves the future Customs Union/Arrangement. In reality new trade deals will be in the ‘Waiting Room’ for many years under the Withdrawal Agreement....” (MP Statement, Twitter, 28 November 2018)269

• “Despite the Prime Minister’s honourable and good intentions, is it not an indisputable fact, irrespective of whether colleagues voted remain or leave, that the political declaration is not legally binding and the withdrawal agreement is legally binding?” (MP Question in Commons, 26 November 2018)270

• “If this deal goes through it will be the United Kingdom that is disbanded... never, never, never!” (Tweet on the deal, 15 November 2018)271

268 https://twitter.com/MPrichardUK/status/1072103236293853184
269 https://twitter.com/MPrichardUK/status/1067737860575502336
270 https://www.markpritchard.com/content/brexit-withdrawal-agreement-mark-raises-concerns-agreement-legally-binding-yet-political
271 https://twitter.com/MPrichardUK/status/1063104991022510080
72. Dominic Raab MP, Esher and Walton

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill.
- Integrity of the Union.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.
- No independent trade policy.
- Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
- “Under the deal, UK taxpayers would give Brussels £39 billion. The British people rightly expect a good return. Yet, when it comes to taking back democratic control over our laws, the final terms are even worse than EU membership.” (Telegraph, 9 December 2018)\textsuperscript{272}

- “For my part, I cannot support the proposed deal for two reasons. First, I believe that the regulatory regime proposed for Northern Ireland presents a very real threat to the integrity of the United Kingdom.” (Resignation letter, 15 November 2018)\textsuperscript{273}

- “Well, I’m not going to advocate staying in the EU but if you just presented me terms, this deal or EU membership - we’d effectively be bound by the same rules without a control or voice over them - yes, I think this would be even worse than that.” (Interview BBC Radio 4, 23 November 2018)\textsuperscript{274}

- “That arrangement is now also taken as the starting point for negotiating the Future Economic Partnership. If we accept that, it will severely prejudice the second phase of negotiations against the UK. Above all, I cannot reconcile the terms of the proposed deal with the promises we made to the country in our manifesto at the last election. This is, at its heart, a matter of public trust.” (From Dominic Raab’s resignation letter as Brexit Secretary, 15 November 2018)\textsuperscript{275}

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\textsuperscript{276}

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one

\textsuperscript{272} https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2018/12/09/pms-deal-bad-economy-democracy-drains-opportunities-brexit/


\textsuperscript{274} https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/23/dominic-raab-theresa-mays-deal-worse-than-staying-in-eu


\textsuperscript{276} https://standup4brexit.com/
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)277

277 https://standup4brexit.com/
73. John Redwood MP, Wokingham

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Uncertainty.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• No independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “Do the Government understand that opposition to the withdrawal agreement goes way beyond the unacceptable Irish backstop and includes paying huge sums of money with nothing nailed down over the future partnership? Worse still, it would plunge us into 21 to 45 more months of endless rows and disagreements, with all the uncertainty that would bring.” (House of Commons, 7 January 2018)²⁷⁸

• “I see some are wrongly suggesting I am wobbling over voting against the Withdrawal Agreement. They are mischief making and should read this website to understand why I oppose it. They would then see I have several fundamental objections which cannot be fixed by tweaks or reassurances.” (From MP’s website, 27 December 2018)²⁷⁹

• “1. Signing the Withdrawal Agreement gives the EU what they want, taking away most of our bargaining power. 2. The financial commitments are open ended, with some very long lasting. They will doubtless be much more than the Treasury £39 bn forecast. This is money given for nothing in return that we do not legally owe them. 3. We have to accept and follow any law they pass for the next two years or more, without any vote or voice to try to stop laws that damage our interests. 4. We cannot sign any trade deals with other countries all the time we stay in the so called Implementation period. 5. Under the Agreement we might be another 45 months stuck in the EU, making a total of 78 months or six and a half years from our decision to leave. Parliament promised to enact the decision of the People’s vote, not to delay it indefinitely. 6. The Irish backstop splits the UK up. 7. The Withdrawal Agreement is legally binding. The Political Declaration is a vague wish list including the contradiction of a possible free trade agreement and a possible customs partnership. 8. Far from ending business uncertainty it prolongs it and makes it worse, as it makes a good outcome for the UK less likely. This is an unbelievably bad Agreement for the UK and a great one for the EU. It is not a deal, as it does not offer the UK any of the things the PM said she wanted. It is an invitation to much more uncertainty and more talks on worse terms for the UK.” (From MP’s website, 27 December 2018)²⁸⁰

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one

²⁷⁸ https://www.theyworkforyou.com/debates/?id=2019-01-07a.24.6#g29.2
trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)281

281 https://standup4brexit.com/
74. Jacob Rees-Mogg MP, North East Somerset

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Transition period.
• Independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
• “The deal is so bad it’s hard to think of anything that could be worse” *(Express, 18 December 2018)*

• “This deal hands over £39bn of UK taxpayers money with no guarantee of any long term agreement in return. In two years time we could be in the same place less £39bn. Our money should be conditional on a trade deal.” *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

• “This deal, Article 174, keeps the supremacy of the European Court over our own law.” *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

• “We could remain tied to the EU for an extendable ‘transition’ period, paying and accepting new laws over which we will have no say.” *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

• “Unrestricted immigration of EU nationals will still be continuing at least 4 years after the referendum.” *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

• This deal leaves us with regulatory border checks on British goods at Calais, failing to solve the one issue it uses to justify the payment of money and other concessions. *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” *(Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)*

• This deal will deny the UK an independent trade policy while potentially keeping us out of existing EU trade policy. We would be cut off from the world with our trade and economy regulated from Brussels. *(Twitter, 7 December 2018)*

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283 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021172421201920](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021172421201920)

284 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021284539142144](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021284539142144)

285 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021361915678720](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021361915678720)

286 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021442194653184](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021442194653184)

287 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021519218847744](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021519218847744)

288 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

289 [https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021608112922625](https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021608112922625)
75. Laurence Robertson MP, Tewkesbury

Concerns other than the backstop:
- No independent trade policy.
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
- “It has the prospect of keeping the UK in the customs union indefinitely, with no unilateral ability to leave it, thus keeping us from striking trade deals across the world; and it places Northern Ireland in a different regulatory framework.” (Gloucester Live, 6 December 2018)\(^{290}\)
- “The proposals being made do not reflect the “Brexit means Brexit” and Lancaster House stances which the Prime Minister has previously taken. They also put a higher value on achieving frictionless trade (which is very important) than on achieving true independence for our country – independence which would allow us forge trade deals across the world” (laurencerobertson.org.uk, 15 November 2018)\(^{291}\)
- “My objections to the proposals centre round the fact that they would tie us into the customs union for longer; that we could not unilaterally decide to leave the customs union; and that Northern Ireland would have a separate status to the rest of the UK. Objections to this latter point have been made by the Northern Ireland Minister, Shailesh Vara, who has also resigned.” (laurencerobertson.org.uk, 15 November 2018)\(^{292}\)
- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{293}\)
- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{294}\)

\(^{290}\) https://www.gloucestershirelive.co.uk/news/cheltenham-news/what-gloeustershires-mps-saying-brexit-2293259

\(^{291}\) https://www.laurencerobertson.org.uk/news/update-brexit-negotiations

\(^{292}\) https://www.laurencerobertson.org.uk/news/update-brexit-negotiations

\(^{293}\) https://standup4brexit.com/

\(^{294}\) https://standup4brexit.com/
76. Andrew Rosindell MP, Romford

Concerns other than the backstop:
- No independent trade policy.
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Uncertainty.
- Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:
- “Locking the UK into a “single customs territory”, with no clear leaving date and ability to unilaterally leave puts us in weakened position, unable to utilise the promising trade agreements the International Trade Department have been working on since the Brexit vote.” (Rosindell.com, 21 November 2018) 295

- “The Prime Minister promised the British people that “no deal was better than a bad deal”. I have always given my support to @theresa_may to get the best outcome for the UK, but today we now know that far from being a “good deal”, it’s an horrendous deal and I cannot vote for it!” (Twitter, 16 November 2018) 296

- “I agree with the people of Romford who are deeply unhappy by the proposed EU deal, which they believe does not represent the Brexit they voted for. Will she now, even at this late stage, please think again and instead lead our country in a new direction completely cutting away the tentacles of the EU over our cherished island nation once and for all?” (Shropshire Star, 21 November 2018) 297

- “This is not about transition terms. It’s about the range of agreements agreed which aim to tie the UK into the European Defence Fund. UK officials have waved through all steps to create an EU Military at six Council meetings since the Brexit Vote.” (MP Statement on Twitter, 29 November 2018) 298

- “It is now clear that this Withdrawal Agreement does not deliver the Brexit that the people of Havering voted for.” (MP Statement on website, 21 November 2018) 299

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to) 300

296 https://twitter.com/andrewrosindell/status/1063395486525206528
298 https://twitter.com/AndrewRosindell/status/1068118261387141120
300 https://standup4brexit.com/
77. Douglas Ross MP, Moray

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Fisheries.
- Integrity of the Union.
- Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
- “I want a Brexit that protects the UK’s integrity and wins back control of our fishing waters. On this basis I concluded that I could not support the deal that was presented and due to be voted on the House of Commons today before it was deferred.” (Twitter, 11 December 2018)301

- “The EU does not care about Scottish fishermen and neither do the SNP government, which actually wants us to re-join the Common Fisheries Policy and the EU. But I have to say the UK Government has delivered far less than I hoped or expected. There is no spinning this as a good outcome. It would be easier to get someone to drink a pint of cold sick than to try to sell this as a success.” (Holyrood.com, March 20 2018)302

- “Brexit is an issue where Members of Parliament must put country before party but I also acknowledge that no matter how I vote I will not be able to please all of the people in Moray with my choice. I strongly believe that the Brexit deal cannot, and must not, put the integrity of the United Kingdom at risk. And on that basis I concluded after wrestling with the issue for many days, and seeking reassurances, that I could not support the Prime Minister’s proposal if it had come to a vote in the House of Commons. I did not believe it would have sufficiently guaranteed the protection of the Union. (MP statement on website, 11 December 2018)303

- “It is now for the Prime Minister to go back to the EU and make it clear that we need a solution that respects the result of the referendum” (MP Statement on Website, 11 December 2018)304

- “I could not put aside my belief that the agreement reached with the EU was not good for the long-term stability of the UK.” (MP Statement on Website, 11 December 2018)305

301 https://twitter.com/Douglas4Moray/status/1072504313912705025
78. Ross Thomson MP, Aberdeen South

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill
- Fisheries
- Integrity of the Union.
- No independent trade policy.
- Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:
- “As things stand, we are about to hand over £39 billion for a vague 15-page political declaration on a future framework, we are putting our Union at risk through different arrangements for Northern Ireland” (Scotsman, November 14 2018)

- “This means sovereignty over our waters sacrificed for a trade deal. That is unacceptable. We must be a normal independent coastal state like Norway.” (The Guardian, November 22, 2018)

- “The PM’s deal erodes the integrity of the UK. I simply will not stand by and allow our United Kingdom to be broken up by the back door. No Unionist can ever accept that.” (Telegraph article, 7 December 2018)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)
79. Lee Rowley MP, North East Derbyshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Independent trade policy.
• Not what was promised
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:
• “This morning I sat through the Prime Minister’s statement on the Brexit proposal. After two hours of listening, I’m afraid nothing convinced me that this is anything other than a bad deal. I cannot support, and will not vote, for this deal. It should be withdrawn immediately.” (Derbyshire Times, November 15 2018)\textsuperscript{311}

• “I do not want to make my country poorer, and I know what will make my country poorer. What will make my country poorer is the inability to sign meaningful trade deals. It is the inability to be flexible, to take advantage of the global growth which is coming outside of the European Union.” (BBC, December 6 2018)\textsuperscript{312}

• “I know what else my country will be poorer for if the deal goes through. It will be poorer from a democratic perspective. I represent a constituency which voted 63% to leave and I cannot go back to my constituents in Clay Cross, and Killamarsh and Eckington, and all of those other villages who voted overwhelmingly to leave and say that this deal delivers Brexit. It does not.” (BBC, December 6 2018)\textsuperscript{313}

• “The money: To top it all, we pay a huge sum to the EU and we are given nothing but an assurance we can talk about a future partnership with no firm confirmation of what that will look like. I absolutely recognise that we have obligations and I support paying them. However, the important thing we need to resolve with the European Union is how we are going to work with them in the future. Whilst this deal forces us to sign up to many things which we don’t like, the key part of the discussion about our future relationship is deferred to a future date. We are signing away our leverage and negotiating position for the promise of a future discussion rather than real, concrete outcomes which will benefit our country.” (MP Statement on website, 22 December 2018)\textsuperscript{314}

• “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\textsuperscript{315}

\textsuperscript{311} https://www.derbyshiretimes.co.uk/news/politics/ne-derbyshire-mp-lee-rowley-calls-for-brexit-deal-to-be-scrapped-1-9446628

\textsuperscript{312} https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-46476651/tory-rebel-brexit-deal-will-make-country-poorer

\textsuperscript{313} https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-politics-46476651/tory-rebel-brexit-deal-will-make-country-poorer

\textsuperscript{314} https://leerowleymp.wordpress.com

\textsuperscript{315} https://standup4brexit.com/
80. Grant Shapps MP, Welwyn Hatfield

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Divorce bill.
- Uncertainty.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “This deal hands over £39bn of UK taxpayers money with no guarantee of any long term agreement in return. In two years time we could be in the same place less £39bn. Our money should be conditional on a trade deal.” (Twitter, 7 December 2018)\(^{316}\)

- “To summarise the 585 page Brexit WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT (plus future partnership proposal): We gain back immigration control, but the price is agreeing to a permanent de facto Customs Union - which we may never unilaterally leave. Looks like a poor trade off.” (Twitter, 7 December 2018)\(^{317}\)

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\(^{316}\) https://twitter.com/grantshapps/status/1064183361151877121

\(^{317}\) https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1071021284539142144
81. Henry Smith MP, Crawley

Concerns other than the backstop:

- No independent trade policy.
- Uncertainty.
- Rule-taker.
- Not what was promised.
- Divorce bill.

Views on the deal:

- “Following publication of the Prime Minister’s deal, and after being in the Commons chamber to hear her statement, it became clear to me that allowing and maintaining the bloc’s jurisdiction over us without any say, limiting our global scope to complete our own trade deals and threatening UK constitutional integrity with particular regard to customs arrangements is ultimately the reverse of taking back control.” (Henrysmit.info, December 3 2018)

- “The ECJ is a political court and part of the EU’s political project. Interesting that most cases take years to reach judgement but this one is handed down as MPs decide on withdrawal. This MP will be voting against the agreement because it seeks to bind Britain further still.” (Twitter, December 10 2018)

- “The EU Council and Commission may have just signed a post 29 March 2019 agreement with the UK Government but Parliament still has to endorse. This MP will vote no, like I suspect a majority of others because it unnecessarily cedes key sovereignty, denying true self-determination.” (Twitter, November 25 2018)

- “I work for my constituents and country, on reading the document, Theresa May’s Brexit strategy works for neither. A majority voted to leave the EU, this deal on offer does in name only by maintaining the bloc’s jurisdiction, limiting our global scope and threatening [sic] UK integrity.” (Twitter, November 15 2018)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)

318 https://www.henrysmit.info/news/standing-brexit
319 https://twitter.com/HenrySmithUK/status/1072083409676263426
320 https://twitter.com/HenrySmithUK/status/1066684332281159683
321 https://twitter.com/HenrySmithUK/status/1063006315998597120
322 https://standup4brexit.com/
323 https://standup4brexit.com/
Concerns other than the backstop:
• Not what was promised.
• Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:
• “Since Chequers was announced I have expressed my concern about the direction of the negotiations, and now having seen the final proposals I have concluded that they do not honour the outcome of the referendum on our membership of the European Union. When, or if, these proposals are put to a vote in the House of Commons I will vote against them.” *(Roystonsmith.co.uk, November 15 2018)*

• “It is now obvious we will never manage to agree a deal which would answer the fundamental questions of sovereignty and repatriation of powers to the UK Parliament.” *(Leave.eu, Twitter)*

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324 [https://www.roystonsmith.co.uk/royston-smith-mp-statement-on-draft-eu-withdrawal-agreement/](https://www.roystonsmith.co.uk/royston-smith-mp-statement-on-draft-eu-withdrawal-agreement/)

325 [https://twitter.com/search?q=%40Royston_smith%20%22brexit%22&src=typd](https://twitter.com/search?q=%40Royston_smith%20%22brexit%22&src=typd)
83. Bob Stewart MP, Beckenham

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Gibraltar.
- Fisheries.
- Not what was promised.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
- “The Political Declaration although not the Draft Withdrawal Agreement also suggests that Spain could have an influence on trade for the British Sovereign territory of Gibraltar; again, that is hugely unacceptable to me - especially as I am Secretary of the All-party Parliamentary Group for Gibraltar.” (Bobstewart.org.uk, December 10 2018)\(^\text{326}\)
- “Our fishermen are up in arms about the draft deal too. They are hugely concerned by the French President saying that he would never agree to us controlling waters where French fishermen can come now under EU arrangements. They see this as a betrayal and that is a fact.” (Bobstewart.org.uk, December 10 2018)\(^\text{327}\)
- “Speaking too as an MP with a considerable personal investment in Defence from my past I am also concerned that the former head of MI6 Sir Richard Dearlove, known as ‘C’, along with many other past senior Defence and Security officials, has warned that the Government would put the UK into European Union Defence structures. This aspect of the Draft Withdrawal Agreement is there but not obvious.” (Bobstewart.org.uk, December 10 2018)\(^\text{328}\)
- “I believe that Mrs May’s current deal is so bad for the UK that even staying in the European Union (against the Referendum result) may be preferable to what she proposes. The current Draft Withdrawal Agreement fails to satisfy many in either camp: both those who want to leave the European Union as well as many that want to remain in it.” (Bobstewart.org.uk, December 10 2018)\(^\text{329}\)


84. Anna Soubry MP, Broxtowe

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Economic harm.
• Uncertainty.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “Our wonderful country has made a terrible mistake #Brexit. I’m not voting to make my constituents #Broxtowe poorer. I will continue to campaign for & will vote for @peoplesvote_uk @NottPeoplesVote @conservative4pv to give my constituents a #FinalSay with #Remain on ballot paper.” (Twitter, December 6 2018)330

• “I’m not voting for @theresa_may ‘s #BlindfoldBrexit it’ll make #Broxtowe constituents poorer. They should have #FinalSay now we know what #Brexit looks like. It’s shameful Govt using #nodeal as blackmail when real alternative to Mays deal is the current deal we have with #EU.” (Twitter, December 18 2018)331

• “It’s a #BlindfoldBrexit providing under 2 years of certainty for British biz & aspirations for a trade deal that doesn’t deliver frictionless trade. That means my constituents will be poorer & I can’t vote for that.” (Twitter, 19 December 2018)332

• “It is not the “deal” we were promised. This is the Withdrawal Agreement. We won’t negotiate our future relationship until AFTER we have left.” (Twitter, 15 November 2018)333

330 https://twitter.com/Anna_Soubry/status/1078931456897007616
331 https://twitter.com/Anna_Soubry/status/1075170072044440834
332 https://twitter.com/Anna_Soubry/status/1075290922030587904
333 https://twitter.com/anna_soubry/status/1063041499162701825
85. Derek Thomas MP, St Ives

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.
• Independent trade policy.
• Fishing.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
• “Only the Attorney General’s legal opinion will clarify the following points .. It’s very difficult to see that he can, given the detail available to us so far.” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

• “Control of our laws: That the UK becomes a Sovereign Independent State with full control over our own laws.” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

• “United Kingdom: That nothing in the agreement undermines the integrity of Britain and Northern Ireland and that nothing agreed commits to any part of the UK being treated differently” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

• “Independent Trade Policy: That the UK has unfettered ability to strike free trade deals with countries outside of the EU (from March 2019)” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

• “Fishing: That access to UK waters will be completely in the control of the UK by 01/01/2021 (when the transition period concludes).” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

• “We must do everything to avoid continued uncertainty. This should not mean rolling over and allowing the EU to continue to determine the future destiny of the UK. If the Attorney General can answer yes to each of the conditions above than I shall be voting for it. It’s very difficult to see that he can, given the detail available to us so far.” (Facebook, November 15 2018)

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334 https://www.facebook.com/derekthomas.org/posts/1139499136203572
335 https://www.facebook.com/derekthomas.org/posts/1139499136203572
336 https://www.facebook.com/derekthomas.org/posts/1139499136203572
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338 https://www.facebook.com/derekthomas.org/posts/1139499136203572
339 https://www.facebook.com/derekthomas.org/posts/1139499136203572
86. Michael Tomlinson MP, Mid Dorset and North Poole

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Transition period.
- Integrity of the Union.
- Rule-taker.

Views on the deal:

- “I take the view that our laws should be made in Westminster, by our elected politicians, and not in Brussels. Therefore Brexit is a question of sovereignty. This means that the Withdrawal Agreement needs to meet two key tests. Firstly that any transition is strictly time limited and that we can get out of it. And secondly that it maintains the integrity of the United Kingdom. As the attorney general confirmed in the House, neither of these key tests have been met. It is with great sadness that I will not be able to support the PM’s deal and it will be the first time I have ever voted against the government.” (Bournemouth Echo December 10 2018)³⁴⁰

- “There is also the European court. It is technically right to say that we will be leaving the jurisdiction of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU). But that is little comfort when the CJEU will still retain such a significant and prominent role under the proposed treaty.” (The Guardian, December 10 2018)³⁴¹

- “There are other fundamental objections to the deal, such as that it risks the integrity of the United Kingdom.” (Twitter, 7 December 2018)³⁴²

³⁴⁰ https://www.bournemouthecho.co.uk/news/17286581.how-will-my-mp-vote-on-tuesday/


87. Anne-Marie Trevelyan MP, Berwick upon Tweed

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Fisheries.
• Divorce bill.
• Rule-taker.
• Integrity of the Union.

Views on the deal:
• “As an MP with an historic and active fishing community, the policy framework proposed in the draft agreement published last night would prevent the UK from independently negotiating access and quota shares, and would mean the UK would become an independent coastal state in name only.” (Twitter - resignation letter, November 15 2018)³⁴³

• “The NI backstop is not acceptable and handing over £39 billion without a trade agreement is not acceptable and neither is maintaining ECJ oversight of our country going forward, this is also not acceptable.” (Briefings for Brexit, December 2018)³⁴⁴

• “The Withdrawal Agreement doesn’t give us our sovereignty back.” (Briefings for Brexit, December 2018)³⁴⁵

• “The reality is that we must be able to maintain sovereign capability, industrial autonomy, freedom to protect our defence industry we believe necessary and beneficial.” (Teamtrevelyan.co.uk - speech to the commons, December 6 2018)³⁴⁶

• “I believe that it poses a real threat to the stability and integrity of the Union.” (Resignation statement, 15 November 2018)³⁴⁷

³⁴³ https://twitter.com/annietrev/status/1063147748814393345
³⁴⁴ https://briefingsforbrexit.com/theresa-may-must-come-back-with-a-new-agreement/
³⁴⁵ https://briefingsforbrexit.com/theresa-may-must-come-back-with-a-new-agreement/
³⁴⁶ https://www.teamtrevelyan.co.uk/news/anne-maries-speech-withdrawal-agreement
88. Shailesh Vara MP, North West Cambridgeshire

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Rule-taker.
- Not what was promised.
- No independent trade policy.
- Uncertainty.
- Gibraltar.

Views on the deal:
- “With respect Prime Minister, this Agreement does not provide for the the United Kingdom being a sovereign, independent country leaving the shackles of the EU, however it is worded. We are a proud nation and it is a sad day when we are reduced to obeying rules made by other countries who have shown that they do not have our best interests at heart” (Politics Home – resignation letter, November 15 2018)\(^{348}\)

- “The result was decisive with the UK public voting to leave and that is what we, their elected representatives, must deliver. The Agreement put forward however, does not do that as it leaves the UK in a half-way house with no time limit on when we will finally be a sovereign nation.” (Politics Home – resignation letter, November 15 2018)\(^{349}\)

- “I want this to be an agreement that is sovereign and independent and this agreement shackles us from perusing the free trade.” (Hunts Post, November 28 2018)\(^{350}\)

- “We will have no alternative but to make concessions we don’t want to. The Spanish could use Gibraltar as a bargaining chip and the French could demand continued access by EU boats to UK fishing waters. We can’t possibly let the backstop hold our future trade talks hostage in this way.” (Conservative Home, 14 December, 2018)\(^{351}\)


\(^{350}\) [https://www.huntspost.co.uk/lifestyle/no-deal-will-be-better-than-this-deal-says-mp-shailesh-vara-on-brexit-1-5798031](https://www.huntspost.co.uk/lifestyle/no-deal-will-be-better-than-this-deal-says-mp-shailesh-vara-on-brexit-1-5798031)

89. Martin Vickers MP, Cleethorpes

Concerns other than the backstop:

- Not what was promised.
- Fishing.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:

- “The point was made that [the deal] does not deliver on the referendum result. I told her it was political [sic] damaging. If I voted for it, I wouldn’t be able to look my constituents in the eye, having stood in four elections - winning three of them - on a platform of leaving the EU.” (Grimsby Live, December 6 2018)\(^{352}\)

- “Can she [Theresa May] give an absolute assurance that it will be for the UK, and the UK alone, to determine who fishes in our national waters after a deal is signed?”. (Twitter - question in parliament, November 14 2018)\(^{353}\)

- “After much deliberation and discussion with my local association, I submitted a letter of no confidence in the Prime Minister when the Chequers deal was revealed in the summer. Further concessions mean the Withdrawal Agreement is much worse than Chequers. Whilst I have great admiration for the Prime Minister, I cannot support a deal which fails to deliver what my constituents voted for in the referendum.” (Facebook, November 15 2018)\(^{354}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{355}\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{356}\)

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353 [https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/1062688816262193155](https://twitter.com/BrexitCentral/status/1062688816262193155)


355 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)

356 [https://standup4brexit.com/](https://standup4brexit.com/)
90. Theresa Villiers MP, Chipping Barnet

Concerns other than the backstop:
• Divorce bill.
• Uncertainty.
• Rule-taker.
• Not what was promised.

Views on the deal:
• “The agreement would place us under a legal obligation to pay £38 billion to the EU without any certainty regarding our future trading relationship. The political declaration proposed on that relationship is brief and vague. In signing away the money, we would be giving up a key advantage in the negotiations for little in return.” (Theresavilliers.co.uk, November 18 2018) \(^{357}\)

• “A further serious concern with the draft agreement is that it retains a significant role for the European Court of Justice, meaning that we would not be regaining control of making our laws.” (Theresavilliers.co.uk, November 18 2018) \(^{358}\)

• “But what is proposed in the draft agreement does not respect the vote to leave and would not be in the best interests of the country.” (Theresavilliers.co.uk, November 18 2018) \(^{359}\)
91. John Whittingdale MP, Maldon

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Rule-taker.
- Divorce bill.
- No independent trade policy.

Views on the deal:
- “I am very sad the Government has abandoned its original commitment to deliver Brexit and instead is proposing an indefinite arrangement whereby we are still bound by EU rules without any ability to influence them. I am convinced that an alternative way forward is available should we choose to pursue it.”  (Essex County Standard, December 7 2018)\(^{360}\)

- “I don’t know of anybody who previously said they aren’t and are now willing to vote for it. If those people existed, Downing Street would wheel them out.” (Politics Home, January 4 2019)\(^{361}\)

- “But while respecting your efforts, we have grave concerns that your proposal does not take back control of our borders our money and our laws; does not permit us to negotiate new trade deals with the rest of the world; and does not safeguard our own precious United Kingdom.” (Huffington Post - joint letter, November 11 2018)\(^{362}\)

- “The proposed deal would also cost British taxpayers at least £39billion - in excess of £1,400 per household - with mechanisms in the Agreement which could cause that to increase. This eye-watering sum is paid without any guarantee of a trade deal. It would be in our national interest as a bare minimum to insist on a legally binding trade deal before we part with taxpayers’ hard-earned money.” (Huffington Post - joint letter, November 11 2018)\(^{363}\)

- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{364}\)

- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers... we do not control our laws... we do not have control of our money... we will not have control of our borders... the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which the MP has signed up to)\(^{365}\)

\(^{360}\)https://www.gazette-news.co.uk/news/17281128.how-your-north-essex-mps-plan-to-vote-on-the-brexit-bill/

\(^{361}\)https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/theresa-may/analysis/100867/analysis-meaningful-vote

\(^{362}\)https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/theresa-may-brexit-deal_uk_5bfd5b5be4b03b230fa7145d?5nv

\(^{363}\)https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/theresa-may-brexit-deal_uk_5bfd5b5be4b03b230fa7145d?5nv

\(^{364}\)https://standup4brexit.com/

\(^{365}\)https://standup4brexit.com/
92. Sarah Wollaston MP, Totnes

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised.
- Economic harm.
- Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:
- “Withdrawal Agreement is a profoundly depressing document for anyone concerned about the future loss of rights & freedoms built up over decades. Time for MPs to put aside narrow Party Political or personal interest & unite to demand a #PeoplesVote on the final deal” (Twitter, 14 November 2018)366
- “Brexit is bad for our health, science, social care & public health. It’s not too late to demand the right to a #PeoplesVote” (13 November 2018)367
- There is no version of Brexit which will benefit the NHS, social care, public health, or our life sciences sector—only varying degrees of harm. This, together with the wider economic fallout from Brexit, will have the hardest impact on the most disadvantaged people in society.” (BMJ, 13 November 2018)368
- “PM’s deal pleases no one, especially not those who were the loudest voices for Brexit.” (Twitter, December 6 2018)369
- “This version of Brexit is the only one that could be negotiated. It’s taken years but at least we know that we would face years of further uncertainty under the ‘Future Framework’.” (Twitter, 1 December 2018)370

366 https://twitter.com/sarahwollaston/status/1062826587371028481?lang=en
367 https://twitter.com/sarahwollaston/status/1062491412057468929
369 https://twitter.com/sarahwollaston/status/1070597456428179456
370 https://twitter.com/sarahwollaston/status/1068811656044703744
93. Charlie Elphicke MP, Dover and Deal

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Not what was promised.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:

• “This proposal fails to honour the referendum mandate. We will not take back control of our laws, waters, money or trade. ... It fails to honour the Conservative Manifesto. We will not leave the EU’s single market or customs union in any meaningful way. Nor will we make the Supreme Court supreme again as the European Court of Justice will still hold sway over us.” (MP’s website, 30 November 2018)\(^{371}\)

• “5. The Future Relationship political declaration is just that – a declaration not a treaty. Should £39 billion of your hard-earned money be spent on a promise rather than a legally enforceable trade treaty?” (MP’s website, 30 November 2018)\(^{372}\)

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94. Tom Pursglove MP, Corby

Concerns other than the backstop:

• Divorce bill.
• Uncertainty.

Views on the deal:

• “The fact the Agreement would commit us to paying £39 billion, as a minimum, to the European Union, with no guarantee of anything in return, abandoning the mantra “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.” (MP’s Facebook statement, 16 January 2019)373

• “The fact there is no real clarity on the future of the UK’s ability to broker its own trade deals once we leave.” (MP’s Facebook statement, 16 January 2019)374

373 https://www.facebook.com/TomPursgloveMP/posts/1162615057250638?__tn__=-R
374 https://www.facebook.com/TomPursgloveMP/posts/1162615057250638?__tn__=-R
95. Greg Hands MP, Chelsea & Fulham

Concerns other than the backstop:
- No independent trade policy
- Uncertainty
- Transition

Views on the deal:
- “The Commission’s top German Brexit officials are clear: the Withdrawal Agreement hugely favours the EU, and was always meant to be so. The word from these top EU officials is that: “Northern Ireland is the price that Britain must pay for Brexit;” that the Withdrawal Agreement shows Brexit “doesn’t work”; that “the power is with the EU” and that “the EU has the best negotiating position for the future relationship”… If they succeed in getting the Withdrawal Agreement over the line, who will be able to stop them? (Conservative Home, 8 January 2019)"\(^{375}\)

- “An EU source told The Times: “We want all parties and factions in the British parliament to feel the bleak mid-winter”. (Twitter, 27 January 2019)"\(^{376}\)

- “My view, however, is that as it currently stands, this agreement is one of the worst possible combinations. I am stating today for the first time that, as the deal currently stands, I will vote against it tomorrow night. Brexit is a set of challenges and opportunities, but this deal fails to address the challenges. It kicks the can down the road on EU trade until at least December 2020. It closes down the opportunities: most prominently, there is not going to be an independent trade policy of any consequence.” (Statement in the House of Commons, 14 January 2019)"\(^{377}\)

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\(^{376}\) [https://twitter.com/GregHands/status/1089565085788487680](https://twitter.com/GregHands/status/1089565085788487680)

96. Julian Sturdy MP, York Outer

Concerns other than the backstop:
- No independent trade policy
- Rule taker
- Not what was promised

Views on the deal:
- “I feel the government needs to make clear that we could not be held in this customs arrangement with the EU against our will. I am concerned by the possibility that being trapped in this way could weaken our negotiating hand in talks on a future trade agreement with the EU.” (MP’s own website, 30 November 2018)\(^{378}\)

- “I also think it is vital for the government to address concerns over the role of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) under the agreement. I want to be assured that the technical role of the Court in clarifying and ruling on EU law and the provisions of the agreement will not give it unreasonable influence over the UK” (MP’s own website, 30 November 2018)\(^{379}\)

- “Overall, I have some reservations about whether the deal is fully compatible with the Brexit commitments in the Conservative manifesto on which I was elected, and the objectives outlined by the Prime Minister in the Lancaster House speech. These committed the government to leaving the EU Single Market and Customs Union. If the United Kingdom ends up locked into the customs arrangement with the EU as a result of the Irish backstop, I am concerned we have not fulfilled our commitment to leave the Customs Union.” (MP’s own website, 30 November 2018)\(^{380}\)

- “I hoped that the Prime Minister would be able to present an agreement to the House after the pause with a formal guarantee and a mechanism that would give us power to leave the backstop. “There are amendments that might be able to achieve that, and if that is the case, I will be prepared to change my position, but ultimately, as it stands at the moment, the agreement is unacceptable with the backstop.” (Statement in the House of Commons, 15 January 2019)\(^{381}\)

\(^{378}\) [http://www.juliansturdy.co.uk/news-and-articles/the-eu-withdrawal-agreement/](http://www.juliansturdy.co.uk/news-and-articles/the-eu-withdrawal-agreement/)

\(^{379}\) Ibid

\(^{380}\) Ibid

\(^{381}\) [https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/pm-s-brexit-deal-is-a-leap-of-faith-and-i-can-t-support-it-says-york-outer-mp-julian-sturdy-1-9538715](https://www.yorkshirepost.co.uk/news/pm-s-brexit-deal-is-a-leap-of-faith-and-i-can-t-support-it-says-york-outer-mp-julian-sturdy-1-9538715)
Concerns other than the backstop:
  • Rule taker

Views on the deal:
  • “The Withdrawal Agreement fails on returning control of laws. . . I could not in good conscience vote for an agreement that does not give us the freedom to control our own destiny.” (eddiehughes.co.uk, 15 January 2019)

  • “People in Walsall North voted to leave the EU to take back control of money, borders and our laws. I campaigned and voted leave to do this. The fact the process is taking so long shows just how much influence the EU has over the UK!” (eddiehughes.co.uk, 15 January 2019)
98. Fiona Bruce MP, Congleton

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Uncertainty
- Integrity of the United Kingdom
- Not what was promised

Views on the deal:
- “This Agreement will not settle anything; it is full of uncertainties. It would leave the UK “half-in and half-out” of the EU, subject to all manner of rules and regulations but without the ability to influence them, for an indeterminate period of time and at unquantified expense.” (fionabruce.org.uk, 15 January 2019)
- “The different treatment of Northern Ireland potentially splits the Union of the United Kingdom.” (fionabruce.org.uk, 15 January 2019)
- “No wonder, therefore, that this satisfies neither many of those who voted leave nor who voted remain! Of the hundreds of letters, emails, and calls I have received from constituents on this issue, no less than 78% have urged me not to support it, for a variety of reasons.” (fionabruce.org.uk, 15 January 2019)
99. Richard Bacon MP, South Norfolk

Concerns other than the backstop:
- Not what was promised
- Rule taker
- Divorce bill
- No independent trade policy

Views on the deal:
- “We don’t need this deal, we just need to leave.” (Eastern Daily Press, 15 January 2019)\(^{387}\)
- “We ask MPs to #StandUp4Brexit by rejecting Theresa May’s Withdrawal Agreement and delivering the Brexit that was promised at Lancaster House and in the Conservative manifesto. That means leaving the Single Market, Customs Union and ECJ overrule.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bacon has signed up to)\(^{388}\)
- “Under the Draft Agreement: we are rule takers not rule makers… we do not control our laws… we do not have control of our money… we will not have control of our borders… the UK cannot freely agree trade deals, even with our number one trading partner the US.” (Website for Stand Up for Brexit, which Bacon has signed up to)\(^{389}\)

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\(^{388}\) https://standup4brexit.com/

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