

**NO ANSWERS. NO CHANGE.**

**Theresa May's Conservative Party**

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## Introduction: No answers, no change

When Theresa May stood on the steps of Downing Street, she said that her Premiership would be about “fighting burning injustice”. She spoke about her mission to make Britain “a country that works for everyone” and not just a “privileged few”.

But it takes more than words – even if those words are lifted straight from the Labour Party – to make a government that stands up for working people: it takes change. It requires answers to the big questions, and a plan to deal with them. This is the test for Theresa May and the early signs are not good. There is no evidence that they have answers to the challenges we face, no sign of changing an approach which has failed for six years.

Theresa May has been at the heart of a Tory Government which has failed working people. For all her talk of standing up for everyone she’s been at the side of David Cameron as he cut taxes for millionaires while putting up VAT and making ordinary people pay more. Her record as Home Secretary is defined by huge cuts to the frontline - over 19,000 fewer Police officers since 2010 - letting down the very people she now says she wants to deliver for.

Given this record, it is understandable that Theresa May would be keen to differentiate herself from her predecessor. But as the spotlight has moved to the day-to-day business of governing, the early signs are that the reality is not matching the promise.

If Theresa May was to meet the test she set herself – governing in the interests of the majority – you would expect her to be focusing intensely on the big issues facing our country: how we deal with Brexit in a way which puts working people first; safeguarding our economy; protecting our public services; and ensuring that all children are given the best chance.

If the Tories were serious about delivering for working people you would expect them not just to talk about change but to deliver it. This would mean a fixing the mess they have created in the NHS; changing direction on education to deliver opportunity for all young people; addressing the housing crisis; and reversing their commitment to austerity so our economy and public services receive the investment we so urgently need.

But to date, Theresa May and her Government have been found wanting. Rather than the change we need, we have:

- **No answers on Brexit:** no idea of how to deliver it, no plan for protecting our economy and broken promises on totemic issues like ‘£350 million more for the NHS’.
- **No change on the economy:** they may have abandoned their discredited surplus target but the Tories are still committed to deep, damaging cuts to public spending.
- **No answers on education:** taking us back to the bad old days with grammar schools meaning while nothing is done about the Tory teacher crisis.
- **No change on the NHS:** just more of the same policies which are plunging the NHS into crisis resulting in patients waiting longer and longer for care.

***No answers, no change. That’s the story of Theresa May’s Conservatives.***

## No answers on Brexit

The Tories are all over the place on Brexit. They failed to persuade a majority of their voters to support the Government's position in the referendum, and Theresa May was virtually invisible during the campaign.

In Boris Johnson, David Davis and Liam Fox, she has recklessly entrusted three right-wing free marketers with shaping Britain's new role in the world. Yet on the key challenges thrown up by the referendum result – single market access, free movement, and re-uniting the country – they have no answers.

Just as David Cameron's disastrous party management and poor negotiating strategy got us into this mess, Theresa May is proving to be hopelessly incompetent and devoid of ideas as she tries to pick up the pieces.

### No plan

- In calling the referendum, making it contingent on the success of their 'renegotiation', and then failing to plan for a leave vote, the Tories put internal party politics ahead of the best interests of the country.
- Tory ministers on both the Leave and Remain sides failed to plan for the outcome. Sky News political editor Faisal Islam was left speechless following the referendum after a pro-Brexit Tory MP told him the Leave campaign "didn't have a plan" for Brexit and "Number 10 should have had one".<sup>i</sup>
- When asked what the plan is, Theresa May simply says, "Brexit means Brexit" but can provide no further detail. Three months on from the referendum, the Government still has no idea what leaving the EU looks like.
- The Prime Minister has given no clear indication on when she will invoke Article 50, leaving other ministers and foreign dignitaries to speculate on a timetable for her.<sup>ii</sup>
- Both Martin McGuinness and Donald Tusk claim Theresa May has told them she will invoke Article 50 early in 2017. But Downing Street has refused to be so open with Parliament or with the British people, saying it will not give a "running commentary".<sup>iii</sup>
- As former Chancellor Kenneth Clarke said, "Nobody in the government has the first idea of what they're going to do next on the Brexit front".<sup>iv</sup>
- He went further in criticising May, saying that her words of choice – 'Brexit means Brexit' – failed to offer a clear answer on what it meant for the country.

"A very simple phrase, but it didn't mean anything [...] It's a brilliant reply! I thought it was rather witty. It took a day or two before people realised it didn't actually answer the question."

*Kenneth Clarke, The New Statesman, 29 September 2016*

- Ken Clarke is far from the only internal critic within the Conservative Party.

"There has been a lack of a plan coming from the government and, yes there is a danger where the government will find itself in a position where other people are setting the terms."

*Nicky Morgan, BBC Today Programme, 29 September 2016*

"I think my concern at the moment is that from government all we're hearing from is people like Liam Fox, who are talking in a way which at times concerns me as almost delusional."

*Anna Soubry, BBC Daily Politics, 30 September 2016*

- It has become apparent that many of those who campaigned to leave didn't think about what came next.

"I think there are a lot of Leave people who don't believe it, and I've always thought that Boris's wish was to lose by one so that he could be the heir apparent without having to have all the... you know... of clearing up all the mess, that's always been my view of Boris... By championing leave, he can be the great heir apparent of the future, darling of the activists, but actually it would be quite good if he didn't actually win the referendum because there would be total chaos."

*Alan Duncan, BBC, 22 June 2016*

## **No answers on the Single Market**

- Theresa May and the Conservative Party stood on a manifesto that could not have been clearer.

"We are clear about what we want from Europe. We say: yes to the Single Market."

*Conservative Party Manifesto, May 2015*

<https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/manifesto2015/ConservativeManifesto2015.pdf>

- Yet following the referendum, on the central question of Britain's future relationship with the Single Market – the destination for 44 per cent of British exports – the Tories are either deluded or bitterly divided.
- In September, David Davis, the Cabinet member tasked with negotiating Brexit, stated in the House of Commons that access to the Single Market was not guaranteed and that abandoning it was an option under consideration.

Anna Soubry: With great respect to my right hon. Friend, I think we need some clarity now about where we see our membership of the Single Market. Is he saying that this Government are prepared to abandon that membership of the Single Market?

Mr Davis: I am saying that this Government are looking at every option, but the simple truth is that if a requirement of membership is giving up control of our borders, then I think that makes that very improbable."

*Anna Soubry and David Davis, Hansard Column 54, 5 September 2016*

<http://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2016-09-05/debates/1609055000001/ExitingTheEuropeanUnion>

- But the following day, Theresa May distanced herself from his remarks, with a Downing St spokeswoman insisting that he was only setting out his opinion.

"He is setting out his opinion. A policy tends to be a direction of travel: saying something is probable or improbable is not policy."

*No 10 spokeswoman, 6 September 2016*

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/06/david-davis-single-market-stance-not-government-policy>

- Under Liam Fox, the Department for International Trade has issued comments suggesting he is content for Britain to leave the Single Market altogether and trade with Europe under World Trade Organisation rules.

"If the UK does exit the European Single Market, it will be governed by World Trade Organization (WTO) rules until any new trade deals are negotiated. We'll remain a competitive player on the global stage because all major economies and most minor ones are members of the WTO. The WTO requires each member to charge the others the same tariffs and grant them 'most favoured nation' market access."

*Department for International Trade press release, 13 August 2016 (subsequently deleted)*

<https://politicalscrapbook.net/2016/08/incompetent-liam-foxs-dept-deletes-press-release-after-making-big-brexiteu-admission/>

- Liam Fox also stated that he would prefer for the UK to remove itself from the EU 'customs union'. Downing Street was again forced to clarify that no decision had been made.<sup>v</sup>
- The state of confusion is such that both Liam Fox and David Davis have been admonished for expressing 'private views' on how Britain should leave the EU<sup>vi</sup> and for criticising British business.<sup>vii</sup>
- Liam Fox has also been slapped down by a number of foreign officials after claiming trade deal negotiations with countries such as the USA, Australia and Canada were underway.<sup>viii</sup>
- The Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson, has added to the confusion. In February this year he argued leaving the Single Market would "embroil the Government for several years in a fiddly process of negotiating new arrangements, so diverting energy from the real problems of this country."<sup>ix</sup> Yet, he has also given an indication of where his views now lie, joining the hard Brexit pressure group Change Britain.<sup>x</sup>
- Further confusion has been caused by David Davis predicting that new trade deals with countries outside the EU would be negotiated not just quickly, but *within two years*. And this despite the fact that the Government currently has just 20 trade negotiators<sup>xi</sup> compared to Canada's 300, and that it is illegal under European law for Britain to negotiate trade deals whilst it remains a member of the EU.<sup>xii</sup>

"So be under no doubt: we can do deals with our trading partners, and we can do them quickly. I would expect the new prime minister [on 9 September]... to immediately trigger a large round of global trade deals with all our most favoured trade partners. I would expect

that the negotiation phase of most of them to be concluded within between 12 and 24 months. So within two years, before the negotiation with the EU is likely to be complete, and therefore before anything material has changed, we can negotiate a free trade area massively larger than the EU."

*David Davis, Conservative Home, 11 July 2016*

<http://www.conservativehome.com/platform/2016/07/david-davis-trade-deals-tax-cuts-and-taking-time-before-triggering-article-50-a-brexiteconomic-strategy-for-britain.html>

- David Davis later elaborated on his unlikely plan, suggesting we are on course to have a free trade area more than twice as big as the global economy.

"Liam's going round the world. He's going to be making trade deals - huge trade deals, all over the place... And we'll get a very, very, very large trade area, much bigger than the European Union - probably ten times the size... Well, I'm not going to set Liam targets, but a multiple of the size of the European Union. And the moment we leave, they'll all come in. Now that's actually an enormous upside to this thing."

*David Davis, Sky News Murnaghan, 17 July 2016*

<https://inews.co.uk/essentials/news/politics/does-david-davis-want-a-trading-area-10-times-the-size-of-the-earth/>

- Ten times the size of the GDP of the European Union would be \$162,203,700 million. Global GDP in 2015 was less than half that sum, at \$73,170,986 million.
- In the words of Ken Clarke, the "three Brexiteers" of David Davis, Liam Fox and Boris Johnson represent an "appalling problem" at the centre of Government as they struggle to present a "coherent policy" and a "united cabinet".<sup>xiii</sup>

## **No answers on free movement**

- During the EU referendum campaign pro-Brexit Tories repeatedly claimed they could easily and immediately get immigration down. David Davis went so far as to say that immigration could fall to almost zero.

"I think somewhere between nought and 100,000 is where it will be. Some years it will be near 100,000 and some years it will be nearly nought, depending on the economy. If the economy is growing gangbusters it will be going up. We will have a points-type scheme. But we cannot possibly deliver on the manifesto promise as it now stands."

*David Davis, The Guardian, 26 May 2016*

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/26/immigration-could-fall-to-almost-zero-if-uk-leaves-eu-says-david-davis>

- The one thing most of them agreed on was that a points-based immigration system was the answer. Boris Johnson and Priti Patel launched a manifesto for Vote Leave during the referendum campaign calling for this, while fellow cabinet ministers Liam Fox, Andrea Leadsom and Chris Grayling are all said to be supportive of the idea.<sup>xiv</sup>
- Yet Theresa May has slapped down the proposal.

"The precise way in which the government will control the movement of EU nationals to

Britain after Brexit is yet to be determined. However, as the PM has said many times in the past, a points-based system will not work and is not an option."

*No 10 spokesman, 5 Sept 2016*

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37271420>

- The Tories have no answers on what they intend to do about free movement. All the Prime Minister will say is that she remains committed to her pledge on reducing the net figure to "tens of thousands", a flagship Tory promise long broken.

### **No answers on workers' rights, regional funding or security**

- The Tories have no answers on how workers' rights, underpinned by EU law, will be safeguarded.
- The Tories refused to support a motion passed in the House of Commons calling for EU nationals to be guaranteed the right to remain in Britain following the vote for Brexit.<sup>xv</sup> And again, Theresa May has repeatedly refused to provide a satisfactory answer.

"I want to be able to guarantee their rights in the UK. I expect to be able to do that and I intend to be able to do that, to guarantee their rights. The only circumstances in which that would not be possible would be if the rights of British citizens living in other EU member states were not guaranteed."

*Theresa May, press conference, 27 July 2016*

- The Tories have also failed to pledge to protect deprived communities dependent on EU funding. Labour, meanwhile, has committed to make up any shortfall in funding after Britain leaves the EU into the 2020s and beyond.
- And, crucially, there has been no reassurance for Northern Ireland. David Davis created confusion on 1 August when he suggested there would be no need for a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

"We had a common travel area between the UK and the Republic of Ireland many years before either country was a member of the European Union. We are clear we do not want a hard border – no return to the past – and no unnecessary barriers to trade."

*David Davis, Belfast Telegraph, 1 September 2016*

- His claim was branded "ridiculous" by former EU Commissioner Peter Sutherland, who said "I am absolutely mystified, not for the first time in this debate, about what is coming out of London."<sup>xvi</sup>
- Davis's confusion may stem from a misunderstanding. In an interview with Sky's Murnaghan, he referred to the border between the North and South as an "internal border" within the UK.

"One of our really challenging issues to deal with will be the internal border we have with southern Ireland, and we are not going to go about creating other internal borders inside the United Kingdom."

*David Davis, Sky Murnaghan, 17 July 2016*

## **No answers, but plenty of broken promises**

- Since the referendum, Tory ministers have been frantically rowing back on key pledges they made to the British people. The most totemic of these was the infamous promise to spend the money saved from the UK's contribution to the EU budget – spuriously claimed to be £350 million a week – on the NHS.
- Chris Grayling, a leading Leave campaigner and now Secretary of State for Transport, diluted the pledge immediately after the referendum, saying it would be a much lower figure and that it was only an “aspiration”.

Susanna Reid: The leaflet and poster say ‘let’s give our NHS the £350m the EU takes every week’. Are you going to give that to the NHS?

Chris Grayling: Well, the specific proposal put forward by the Vote Leave campaign was in fact to spend £100m a week of that on the NHS, I hope that aspiration will be met when we leave.

*ITV, Good Morning Britain, 27 June 2016, <http://www.itv.com/goodmorningbritain>*

- Leading Tory Brexiteer Iain Duncan Smith also stated that the NHS would not receive the full £350 million following Brexit.

Andrew Marr: Your side said it was all going to go to the NHS.

Iain Duncan Smith: Well actually what we actually said was, a significant amount of it will go to the NHS and that is essentially down to the government but I actually believe that is what was pledged and that’s what should happen.

AM: So that £350 million will go to the NHS?

IDS: That money will go – well we must talk about it going to the NHS but there are also other bits and pieces like agriculture and stuff which is part of that process, so that is the divide up. It was never total but it is a commitment.

*BBC One, The Andrew Marr Show, 26 June 2016*

## No answers on the economy

When Theresa May launched her leadership campaign in July 2016, she said we need a “vision of the country that works not for a privileged few but for every one of us”.<sup>xvii</sup>

But for the last six years she has been part of a Tory Government that has stood up for the privileged few at the expense of ordinary working people. A Government which has failed to balance the books, get debt down or invest for our future.

We need a change of direction from the Tories, but they have no proper answers on how we build a strong economy that delivers for working people. Instead they have merely spoken about a “reset” of economic policy without saying what that means, just making vague promises of more to come in the Autumn Statement.

“Over the medium term we will have the opportunity with our Autumn Statement, our regular late year fiscal event, to reset fiscal policy if we deem it necessary to do so in the light of the data that will emerge over the coming months”

*Philip Hammond, BBC news, 22 July 2016*

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-36864099>

And Theresa May has confirmed that, while she is no longer committed to George Osborne’s surplus target, she is still committed to cuts.

“While it is absolutely vital that the government continues with its intention to reduce public spending and cut the budget deficit, we should no longer seek to reduce the budget surplus by the end of the parliament.”

*Theresa May, Leadership campaign launch, 30 June 2016*

<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-mays-tory-leadership-launch-statement-full-text-a7111026.html>

We cannot afford to wait for Theresa May to make up her mind. We need a plan to rebuild and transform the economy so no one is left behind. The Tories offer no answers and no plan.

### Growth

- Under the Tories the economic recovery has been the slowest since the 1920s, with the UK only reaching the size it had been before the recession in the second quarter of 2013.<sup>xviii</sup>
- In Budget 2016, GDP growth was revised down for last year, this year and every year of the forecast compared to the Autumn Statement 2015.

*GDP growth (%)*

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
Nov-2015	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.3
Mar-2015	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1
Change	-0.2	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.2	-0.2

*Source: OBR, EFO, March 2016, Table 1.1; and OBR, EFO, November 2015, Table 3.6*

*March 2016 <http://cdn.budgetresponsibility.org.uk/March2016EFO.pdf> & November 2015*

*[http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/docs/dlm/uploads/EFO\\_November\\_2015.pdf](http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/docs/dlm/uploads/EFO_November_2015.pdf)*

## **Deficit and debt**

- The Tories have failed to deliver on their promises on the deficit, with national debt continuing to increase.
- The Tories promised to balance the books by 2015.<sup>xxix</sup> However, the OBR are forecasting Public Sector Net Borrowing of £55.5 billion this year.<sup>xx</sup>
- The Tories economic failure means UK national debt has risen by £595 billion since 2010.<sup>xxi</sup>

## **Investment**

- The Tories have failed to invest in our economy, with investment levels failing to reach those of the last Labour government.
- Public Sector Net Investment was 2.5 per cent of GDP in 2010/11- since then, the Tories have failed to deliver investment at that level for every single year since 2010, and the OBR projections show them failing to do so every year to 2020/21.<sup>xxii</sup>
- Public Sector Net Investment is set to fall as a share of GDP from 1.9 per cent to 1.5 per cent over the course of this Parliament.<sup>xxiii</sup>

## **Productivity**

- The Tories have presided over a productivity problem that is continuing to damage the UK economy.
- The Tories have said that productivity is key to raising living standards in the UK. But under them productivity has been less than two per cent in every year since 2010. In the decade before the 2008/09 recession the average rate of growth was two per cent.<sup>xxiv</sup>
- In Budget 2016, productivity growth was revised down last year, this year and every year of the Parliament.

### *Productivity per hour*

	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2019</b>	<b>2020</b>
Nov-2015	1.1	1.5	1.9	2.2	2.2	2.2
Mar-2015	0.8	1	1.7	2	2	2
Change	-0.2	-0.5	-0.2	-0.1	-0.2	-0.2

Source: OBR, EFO, March 2016, Table 1.1; and OBR, EFO, November 2015, Table 3.6

March 2016 <http://cdn.budgetresponsibility.org.uk/March2016EFO.pdf>

November 2015 [http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/docs/dlm\\_uploads/EFO\\_November\\_2015.pdf](http://budgetresponsibility.org.uk/docs/dlm_uploads/EFO_November_2015.pdf)

## **Exports**

- The Tories are failing to meet their promise to double UK exports to £1 trillion by 2020.<sup>xxv</sup>
- The OBR have forecast that the Tories are set to miss this target by £357billion.<sup>xxvi</sup>

## **Tax avoidance and evasion**

- The Tories have described tax dodging as “morally repugnant” but their record on tackling it is woeful.<sup>xxvii</sup>
- The latest figures from HMRC put the tax gap at £34 billion; up from £33 billion in 2009/10.<sup>xxviii</sup>
- Theresa May voted against full country-by-country reporting in the wake of the Panama Papers, a measure that would have helped tackle tax avoidance and evasion.<sup>xxix</sup>

## **Pay**

- Theresa May has promised to build “a country that works not for a privileged few but for every single one of us”, but the truth is that a crisis of low pay and stagnating wages has developed under the Tories.<sup>xxx</sup>
- Wages have stagnated, with workers’ real wages 10 per cent lower than they were in 2007; a drop equalled only by Greece among major developed countries.<sup>xxxi</sup>
- 1-in-5 employees in Britain are stuck in low paid jobs. 1.4 million people are in jobs that just pay the National Minimum Wage; 5.7 million people are in jobs that pay less than the Living Wage.<sup>xxxii</sup>
- 3.5 million people, currently in employment, want to work more hours than they currently have but are unable to find the work.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

## **Fairness at work**

- Under the Tories work is too insecure for too many while workers’ rights have been undermined.
- Theresa May has said “there isn’t much job security out there” and that “some find themselves exploited by unscrupulous bosses”<sup>xxxiv</sup> but the crisis is getting worse. More than 900,000 people are on zero-hours contracts, not knowing how much work they have from one week to the next.<sup>xxxv</sup>

- 4.5 million people in England and Wales are in insecure work; 2.3 million people are on variable shift patterns, with an additional 1.1 million people on temporary contracts.<sup>xxxvi</sup>
- Irresponsible and exploitative business practices, such as those most recently revealed at Sports Direct and BHS, are going unchecked.
- Investigations by the Employment Agency Standards Inspectorate (EAS) which helps tackle abuse have fallen by half, at the same time as complaints have risen by a fifth.<sup>xxxvii</sup>
- The introduction of employment tribunal fees by the Tories has resulted in a fall of almost 70 per cent in the number of cases being taken to tribunal for unfair and discriminatory employment practices.<sup>xxxviii</sup>
- Theresa May says she wants greater transparency when it comes to the way big business is governed, including putting employees on company boards. But she is part of a government that dismissed calls from Labour to put workers on remuneration committees as not “practical” and “not the right way forward”.<sup>xxxix</sup>
- And despite calling for greater transparency on remuneration and bonuses she was part of a government that refused to enact legislation which the last Labour Government had put on the statute book requiring banks to disclose the number of employees earning more than £1 million, broken down by bands of pay.<sup>xi</sup>

## **Child poverty**

- Under the Tories child poverty has increased, as have the number of children in poverty who live in working households.
- The number of children in poverty who live in working households increased in the last Parliament. Almost two-thirds (63 per cent) of children in poverty live in working households – up from just over half (54 per cent) in 2009-10.<sup>xli</sup>
- The number of children living in absolute poverty, after housing costs, has risen by 500,000 under the Tories – from 3.6 million in 2009-10 to 4.1 million in 2013-14.<sup>xlii</sup>

## **Fair taxes and the cost of living**

- Theresa May claims she will stand up for all, not just a few, but her record is very different. She was at David Cameron’s side as the Tories cut the 50p rate of tax for the richest earners - giving someone earning £1 million a tax cut of more than £42,000 - while hiking up VAT to 20 per cent – a move that cost couples with children £450 a year.
- Just last September she voted in favour of cutting tax credits for working people – a move that would have left more than three million working families an average of £1,300 worse off this year.<sup>xliii</sup>

- Theresa May has said that “fixed items of spending, like energy bills, have rocketed.”<sup>xliv</sup> But she consistently opposed, and voted against, Labour’s policy to freeze energy bills.<sup>xlv</sup>

## No answers on education

The Tories have overseen a crisis in our schools: a shortage of teachers, budgets under pressure, more children in super-sized classes and no progress on closing the attainment gap.

If Theresa May was serious about building the “great meritocracy”<sup>xlvi</sup> she would be acknowledging this problems and putting in place a plan to deal with them.

But instead of addressing the problems they’ve created in our schools they are looking backwards to bring back grammar schools despite the evidence showing they failed most children.

Theresa May have no answers to the big challenges facing our education system, just more of the same failed policies which will take the country backwards and make us more unequal

### Grammar schools

- Instead of facing up to the Tory education crisis, Theresa May’s priority has been to call for an expansion of selective Grammar schools.
- Most evidence shows that selective grammar education does nothing to raise the standards of most children.<sup>xlvii</sup>
- The evidence is clear:
  - Grammar schools contain a significantly lower proportion of deprived pupils than live in the local area.<sup>xlviii</sup>
  - Prep schools provide four times more grammar school entrants than free school meal pupils.<sup>xlix</sup>
  - Children from disadvantaged backgrounds are still less likely to go to grammar schools even if they get the grades.<sup>i</sup>
  - Disadvantaged children are more likely to be behind at the age of 11 and less likely to pass the 11 plus.<sup>ii</sup>
  - Nearly a fifth of all private tuition in England and Wales of school-age children is for grammar school tests.<sup>iii</sup>
  - Disadvantaged children are less likely to score very highly at GCSE in grammar areas than non-selective areas.<sup>iiii</sup>
  - Grammar schools accept proportionately fewer children with special educational needs than non-grammars.<sup>liv</sup>
- The Government’s Chief Inspector of Schools has condemned the grammar school policy as “a profoundly retrograde step”.

“The notion that the poor stand to benefit from the return of grammar schools strikes me as quite palpable tosh and nonsense – and is very clearly refuted by the London experience.”

*Sir Michael Wilshaw, London Councils education summit, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2016*

"A grammar school in every town, as some are calling for, would also mean three secondary moderns in every town – a consequence rarely mentioned. That is why I am in no doubt that a return to selection would be a profoundly retrograde step that would actually lead to overall standards sliding back, not improving."

*Sir Michael Wilshaw, London Councils education summit, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2016*

- Theresa May's predecessor David Cameron said that grammar schools were not the answer to creating "excellence for all". He said that under him the Tory Party would not go backwards to "silly class war".

"I don't want us to waste our time as a party having this argument about shall we create some extra grammar schools when we want excellence for all. Very important message."

*David Cameron, Monthly Press Conference, 23 June 2008*

"Stop your silly class war. Under my leadership there'll be no going back to the 11-plus, no going back to grammar schools."

*David Cameron, Daily Mail, 10 January 2006*

## Class sizes

- Class sizes are soaring as there are not enough good school places. Over half a million primary-age children are now in super-size classes in primary school, as class-sizes continue to rise. Of these, over 40,000 children are in primary school classes of over 36 pupils.

		<b>Class size X in state funded primary schools</b>		
		31 to 35	36+	<b>Total 31+</b>
<b>2014</b>	<b>number of pupils in classes of X taught by one teacher</b>	460,563	39,951	<b>500,514</b>
<b>2015</b>		481,885	38,560	<b>520,445</b>
<b>2016</b>		498,152	40,102	<b>538,245</b>

Sources: Figures from the underlying datasets - DfE, *Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2015 and January 2014*, published 11 June 2015 and 12 June 2014, 28<sup>th</sup> June 2016, <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-school-and-pupil-numbers>

## Teachers

- There are chronic shortages of teachers, after years of missed Government targets for recruiting new trainees and demoralising the profession.<sup>lv</sup> It is subjects that are key to boosting our country's competitiveness, such as maths and science, which are among the worst hit. The total number of trainees recruited for 2015/16 is 7,000 fewer than in 2009/10.
- Between 2011 and 2014 the number of teachers leaving the profession increased by 11 per cent, and the proportion of those who chose to leave the profession ahead of retirement increased from 64 per cent to 75 per cent.<sup>lvi</sup>

- Earlier this year the National Audit Office (NAO) reported growing teacher shortages, with vacancy rates doubling and more classes in secondary schools taught by teachers without a relevant post-A level qualification in their subject. Over a quarter of physics classes are now taught by a teacher without such a qualification.<sup>lvii</sup>
- The NAO also found the Department for Education has a weak understanding of the extent of local teacher supply shortages and whether they are being locally resolved. The NAO's own research found that more than half of leaders in schools with large proportions of disadvantaged pupils said attracting and keeping good teachers was a major problem.<sup>lviii</sup>

## **School budgets**

- Under the Tories, capital spending on education fell by 34 per cent in real-terms over the last parliament and post-16 education was cut by 14 per cent in real terms, with the sector set to experience further reductions.<sup>lix</sup>
- According to the IFS, school spending is expected to fall by at least 7 per cent in real terms between 2015–16 and 2019–20, which would be the largest real-terms fall over any period since at least the late 1970s.<sup>lx</sup>
- The introduction of a new funding formula will create winners and losers. It has been estimated that London schools alone will lose out on £260 million as a result.<sup>lxi</sup>

## **Attainment gap**

- The Prime Minister has said that closing the attainment gap is central to social justice. Yet the attainment gap between pupils who are known to be eligible for free school meals and their peers has widened for yet another consecutive year and is now wider than it was in 2010.<sup>lxii</sup>
- The gap between disadvantaged pupils and their peers remains significant, with 4 out of 5 disadvantaged pupils failing to achieve a world-class standard at secondary and more than half not reaching our primary benchmark.<sup>lxiii</sup>

	<b>% achieving 5+ A*-C GCSEs inc. English and maths</b>					
	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014*</b>	<b>2015*</b>
<b>FSM</b>	31.2	34.6	36.3	37.9	33.5	33.1
<b>All other pupils</b>	58.8	62.0	62.6	64.6	60.5	60.9
<b>Attainment Gap</b>	<b>27.6</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>26.3</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>27.8</b>

*\*As measured using the updated methodology - when measured using the '2013 methodology' to discount the effects of two performance measure reforms that occurred since 2013, the gap widens further.*

Sources: DfE, Revised GCSE and equivalent results in England: 2014 to 2015, 21 January 2016, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/revised-gcse-and-equivalent-results-in-england-2014-to-2015>; DfE, Attainment by pupil characteristics, 2012-13, <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-gcse-key-stage-4>

## No change on the NHS

For the last six years, the Government that Theresa May now leads has said the NHS is their priority and it is safe in their hands.

But since 2010 NHS performance has deteriorated across the board with patients struggling to get a GP appointment, longer waiting lists, overcrowded A&Es, older patients trapped on hospital wards and growing deficits.

If Theresa May was serious about “fighting burning injustice” and making Britain “a country that works for everyone” she would be tackling the problems facing the health service head on.

Instead she has signalled no change. Jeremy Hunt is still in place as Health Secretary, the junior doctors dispute rumbles on, there is no answer on the financial crisis facing hospitals and patient care gets worse and worse.

### Longer waits and deteriorating care

- Under the Tories it has got harder to see a GP. One in four patients have to wait a week or more to see or speak to a GP or nurse, or don't get an appointment at all.<sup>lxiv</sup>
- When the Tories came to office, just over 350,000 people were waiting longer than four hours in A&E departments in England. Just six years later that number has soared by over 500 per cent, to over 1.8 million people.

2009/10	2015/16
353,617	1,854,980

Source: NHS England<sup>lxv</sup>

- In March this year, the NHS had its worst A&E performance on record, with only 87.3 per cent of patients being seen within four hours against a target of 95 per cent.<sup>lxvi</sup>
- The Tories haven't met the four hour target at all since July 2015.<sup>lxvii</sup>
- Under the Tories, more patients are waiting longer than four hours on trolleys after being seen in A&E because there is no bed to admit them to. The numbers suffering these waits have soared by over 600 per cent.

2009/10	2015/16
61,969	388,408

Source: NHS England, A&E Attendances and Emergency Admissions

<https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/ae-waiting-times-and-activity/statistical-work-areas-ae-waiting-times-and-activity-ae-attendances-and-emergency-admissions-2016-17/>

- Delayed discharges from hospital hit a record high in July 2016.<sup>lxviii</sup>

August 2010	July 2016
55,332	123,832

Source: NHS England, *Delayed Transfers of Care Time series (series began August 2010)* - <https://www.england.nhs.uk/statistics/statistical-work-areas/delayed-transfers-of-care/2016-17-data/>

- The latest figures from the NHS estimate that around 3.9 million people are now on the English waiting list to start treatment.<sup>lxix</sup>
- The Government are missing key targets, including the 62 day target to start cancer treatment following an urgent GP referral, which they have not met once this year.<sup>lxx</sup> In 2015/16 over 24,000 people waited longer than 62 days to start treatment following an urgent referral from their GP, compared to 6,444 in 2009/2010.<sup>lxxi</sup>
- Health experts are seriously concerned about NHS performance.

"We should be winning in July, yet the latest statistics show urgent and emergency care under further strain..."

*Nigel Edwards, Chief Executive Nuffield Trust, 8 September 2016*

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-37307853>

"It feels as if the NHS has stepped through the wardrobe and into the perpetual winter of Narnia," Marx said. "We cannot forget that behind these statistics are potentially very ill and anxious patients who are being made to wait far too long for treatment. This is the true impact of the serious financial pressure we've seen the NHS come under in recent months."

*Claire Marx, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, 8 September 2016*

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/sep/08/nhs-perpetual-winter-waiting-list-record-bed-blocking>

"We are becoming increasingly worried about this continuing deterioration in performance. The summer is usually a quieter time for the NHS but these figures show the strain is being felt by NHS trusts all year round. "We are heading towards a winter of discontent, with this relentless cycle of record high A&E attendances, increasing emergency admissions and greater numbers of patients who cannot be discharged because the services they need in the community are not being properly resourced. This is really taking its toll on NHS services and health care staff."

*Siva Anandaciva, Head of analysis, NHS Providers, 8 September 2016,*

<http://www.nationalhealthexecutive.com/Health-Care-News/winter-of-discontent-warnings-over-latest-nhs-performance-figures>

## **Social Care**

- Older people are being failed by this Tory Government. Figures show that there was an 18 per cent increase in emergency admissions of older people between 2010-11 and 2014-15.<sup>lxxii</sup>
- The NAO also estimates that the NHS spends £820 million a year treating older patients who no longer need to be there.<sup>lxxiii</sup>

- The truth is these people have nowhere to go because of huge Tory cuts to social care. Over the last Parliament, £4.6 billion was cut from social care.<sup>lxxiv</sup>
- The Tories also promised to cap residential social care charges.

“We will cap charges for residential social care from April 2016”  
*Conservative Party Manifesto, 2015*

- But just months after they won the 2015 election they went back on this key manifesto pledge.

“A time of consolidation is not the right moment to be implementing expensive new commitments such as this, especially when there are no indications the private insurance market will develop as expected. Therefore in light of genuine concerns raised by stakeholders, we have taken the difficult decision to delay the introduction of the cap on care costs system until April 2020.”

*Lord Prior of Brampton, Written Statement, Hansard, 17 July 2015 -*

<https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/written-questions-answers-statements/written-statement/Lords/2015-07-17/HLWS135/>

## **NHS Finances**

- The Tories have no plan to tackle the financial crisis facing the NHS and social care – their plan to make £22 billion worth of efficiency savings would make things worse, risking staff cuts and service closures.
- Hospital trusts have this year reported their worst ever levels of deficits.

“NHS finances are in a truly dreadful state. Today’s figures show NHS providers ended the year £2.45bn in the red. A staggering 85% of acute hospital trusts could not balance their books - only around 20 managed to spend within their budget.”

*Adam Roberts, Head of Economics, Health Foundation, 20 May 2016*

<http://www.health.org.uk/news/health-foundation-response-nhs-provider-deficit>

- NHS bosses are warning that if appropriate funding isn’t put in place for the NHS then this could lead to charging patients for services, service closures, rationing, relaxing performance targets or cutting staff. This would undoubtedly damage patient care.

“A range of options are now open to political and NHS leaders. Additional funding is the most obvious, with the new government’s first autumn statement on 23 November providing an immediate opportunity. If, however, there are to be no extra funding, the NHS must make some quick, clear choices on what gives, however unpalatable these choices may be. The logical areas to examine would be more draconian rationing of access to care; formally relaxing performance targets; shutting services; extending and increasing charges; cutting the number of priorities the NHS is trying to deliver; or more explicitly controlling the size of the NHS workforce.”

*Chris Hopson, Chief Executive NHS Providers, The Observer, 10 September 2016*

- On top of this, an investigation has shown that plans are being drawn up which could see closures and cutbacks to services.

“NHS bosses throughout England are quietly drawing up plans for hospital closures, cutbacks and radical changes to the way healthcare is delivered in an attempt to meet spiralling demand and plug the hole in their finances...”

*Guardian, 26 August 2016*

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/aug/26/nhs-plans-radical-cuts-to-fight-growing-deficit-in-health-budget>

## **NHS Staffing**

- Tory policies are putting our NHS workforce in jeopardy and putting patients at risk.
- Under this Government we have seen the first doctors’ strike for 40 years. Jeremy Hunt’s mishandling of the junior doctors’ dispute, including the imposition of the contract, has done nothing to improve junior doctors’ morale and resulted in an erosion of trust.
- The Tories’ decision to scrap NHS bursaries will put our future supply of hardworking nurses, midwives and health workers at risk.<sup>lxxv</sup>
- According to a survey by the RCN, two thirds of nurses said that they would not have studied nursing if they had had to take out a full student loan and pay fees. 89 per cent of nurses believe that the changes would result in decreased numbers of student nurses and 80 per cent believe that these student funding proposals will have a negative impact on patient care.<sup>lxxvi</sup>
- The Royal College of Midwives estimates that there is a shortage of 3,500 midwives under the Tories.<sup>lxxvii</sup> This is despite the fact that the Tories promised 3,000 more midwives before the 2010 General Election.<sup>lxxviii</sup>

## No answers on housing

For the past six years Theresa May has been at the heart of a Government that has presided over a housing crisis in this country.

- Under the Tories house-building fell to its lowest peacetime rate since the 1920s.<sup>lxxix</sup>
- There are over 200,000 fewer homeowners since 2010, the lowest rate of home ownership in a generation.<sup>lxxx</sup>
- The overall number of under-35s who own their home has fallen by a fifth since the Tories came to power.<sup>lxxxi</sup>
- Homes built for affordable ownership since 2010 have decreased by 28 per cent. Homes built for social rent are at their lowest levels since official records began in the early 1990s: less than a third of the level they were at when Labour left government.<sup>lxxxii</sup>
- England has over 2.5 million additional renters since 2010 who are paying £1,560 more on average every year in rent.<sup>lxxxiii</sup> 900,000 more families now rent privately than in 2010, including one in four families with children.<sup>lxxxiv</sup>
- The Conservatives have failed to deliver a promised one-for one replacements for homes sold through right-to buy – instead only one is being built for every eight sold.<sup>lxxxv</sup>
- Under the Tories rough sleeping has doubled and overall homelessness acceptances are up by a third since 2010.<sup>lxxxvi</sup>
- Theresa May has no answers to the continuing housing crisis under the Conservatives. They have made the dream of ownership a distant prospect for many families.

## A record of failure in the Home Office

We should not be surprised at Theresa May's lack of answers to the biggest issues this country faces given her record of failure as Home Secretary and her failure to recognise it.

Her record at the Home Office – police cuts and broken promises on immigration – leaves much to be desired. If she were serious about offering change, she would acknowledge the mistakes she made and bring forward new ideas to tackle the problems facing our country.

But she is doing nothing of the sort. In fact Theresa May likes to claim her record as Home Secretary shows she can deliver as Prime Minister.

*“You just look at my track record as Home Secretary ... I think that is a track record that shows that I would be able and would deliver what I am talking about here today.”  
Theresa May, Q&A, 11 July 2016*

Her approach since entering Number 10 has been of doubling-down on existing failure, with more cuts to frontline policing and no plan to control migration or protect our borders.

### Policing

- The Tories said they would protect frontline policing, but they have slashed funding to the police since coming to power, hitting the frontline hard.
- Government funding to police forces fell by £2.3 billion (25 per cent) in real-terms between 2010-11 and 2015-16.<sup>lxxxvii</sup>
- Over 19,000 officers have been lost under the Tories –12,000 from the frontline. Nearly 6,000 Police Community Support Officers have gone.<sup>lxxxviii</sup>
- They promised to protect funding over this Parliament, but Sir Andrew Dilnot, the chair of the UK Statistics Authority, ruled that forces actually faced a £160m real-terms cut in their Whitehall funding in 2015-16 and 2016-17.<sup>lxxxix</sup>
- Forces are also seeing more of their budgets lost to Home Office top-slicing to fund national projects. The total value of top-slicing in 2016-17 is £294m and is a 69 per cent increase on the 2015-16 figures.<sup>xc</sup>
- Theresa May is still not giving police forces what they need. The lack of clarity from the Home Office on police funding beyond next year is making it difficult for police forces to plan for the medium- and long-term.
- The National Police Chiefs Council are clear that forces should receive longer-term funding arrangements so they can plan and innovate.

*“Ideally, a new formula would be part of arrangements that provide multiyear agreements to help forces to plan and innovate with certainty and reflect broader thinking about the future funding of the police.”*

*NPCC, Reshaping policing for the public, June 2015, p46,*  
<https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmic/wp-content/uploads/reshaping-policing-for-the-public.pdf>.

- Instead the Government has made clear that Home Office Ministers will only “decide on the level of reallocations for each year on an annual basis”.<sup>xci</sup>
- The Home Office was also forced to delay reforms to the funding formula after a statistical error was discovered in the department's calculations.<sup>xcii</sup>
- This meant that forces are stuck with a formula that a Home Office minister described as “complex, opaque and out of date” until 2017/18 at the earliest.<sup>xciii</sup>

## **Crime**

- Some of the most serious and violent crimes on the rise again - the worst time to cut the police.
- Of the 44 forces in England and Wales (including the British Transport Police), 40 showed an annual increase in their recorded crime over last year (YE March 2016), largely driven by rises in violent and sexual offences.<sup>xciv</sup>
- There were 571 homicides recorded by the police in the latest year - up 34 on the previous year and among the highest recorded in the last five years.<sup>xcv</sup>
- Police recorded offences involving the use of knives or sharp instruments increased by 10 per cent in the latest year and offences involving the use of firearms over the same period increased by four per cent.<sup>xcvi</sup>
- Police recorded sexual offences increased by 21 per cent in the last year.<sup>xcvii</sup>
- There were 117,882 Domestic Abuse referrals from the police to the Crown Prosecution Service 2015-16. While rape referrals from the police rose 11 per cent to 6,855 in 2015-16.<sup>xcviii</sup>
- This year has also seen the highest number of sexual offences against children reported to the police in the past decade.<sup>xcix</sup>
- New computer-enabled offences are also pushing crime rates up. There were an estimated 3.8 million fraud and 2 million computer misuse offences in the 12 months up to March 2016.<sup>c</sup>

## **Immigration**

- David Cameron put Theresa May in charge of one of the Conservatives’ flagship election pledges to reduce net migration to the “tens of thousands”. But she broke this promise. Now rather than admit her mistake and take a different course, she simply wants to carry on with a failing policy without any idea of how to do it.

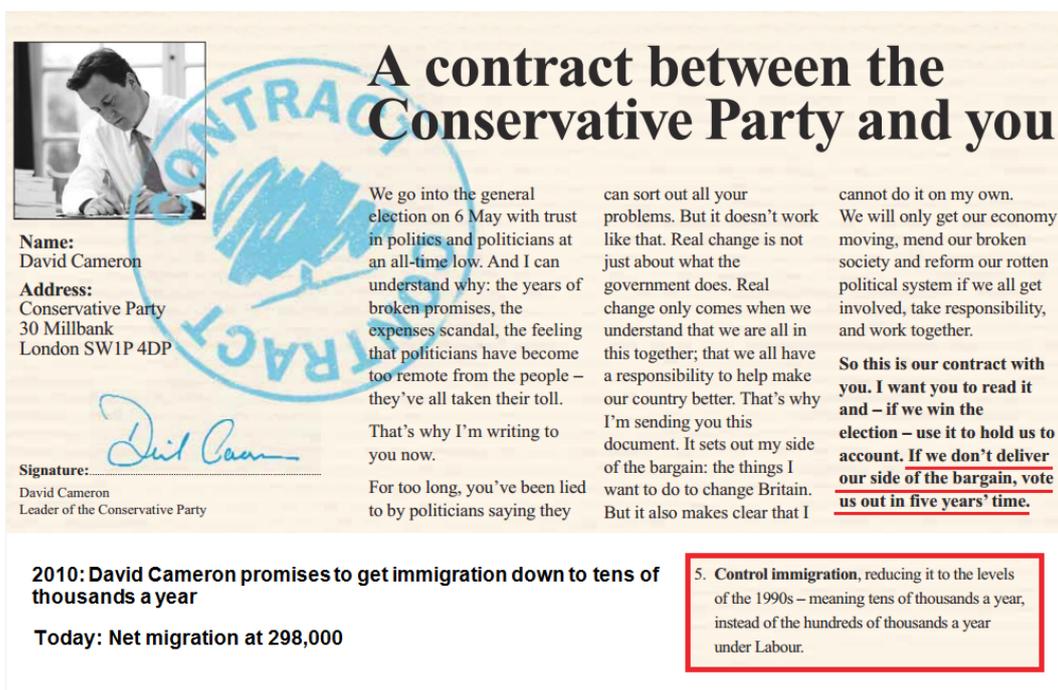
- Before the 2010 election, the Conservatives promised to reduce net migration to the tens of thousands.

“So we will take steps to take net migration back to the levels of the 1990s – tens of thousands a year, not hundreds of thousands.”  
*Conservative Party Manifesto 2010*

- This target was one of the promises in the pre-election ‘Contract between the Conservative Party and you’, which also said “If we don't deliver our side of the bargain, vote us out in five years' time”.

“If you elect a Conservative government on 6 May, we will:…  
 5. Control immigration, reducing it to the levels of the 1990s – meaning tens of thousands a year, instead of the hundreds of thousands a year under Labour.”  
*David Cameron, “A contract between the Conservative Party and you”, 30 April 2010*

“If we don't deliver on our side of the bargain, vote us out in five years' time”  
*David Cameron, “A contract between the Conservative Party and you”, 30 April 2010*



**A contract between the Conservative Party and you**

**Name:**  
David Cameron

**Address:**  
Conservative Party  
30 Millbank  
London SW1P 4DP

**Signature:**  
David Cameron  
Leader of the Conservative Party

We go into the general election on 6 May with trust in politics and politicians at an all-time low. And I can understand why: the years of broken promises, the expenses scandal, the feeling that politicians have become too remote from the people – they've all taken their toll.

That's why I'm writing to you now.

For too long, you've been lied to by politicians saying they

can sort out all your problems. But it doesn't work like that. Real change is not just about what the government does. Real change only comes when we understand that we are all in this together; that we all have a responsibility to help make our country better. That's why I'm sending you this document. It sets out my side of the bargain: the things I want to do to change Britain. But it also makes clear that I

cannot do it on my own. We will only get our economy moving, mend our broken society and reform our rotten political system if we all get involved, take responsibility, and work together.

**So this is our contract with you. I want you to read it and – if we win the election – use it to hold us to account. If we don't deliver our side of the bargain, vote us out in five years' time.**

**2010: David Cameron promises to get immigration down to tens of thousands a year**

**Today: Net migration at 298,000**

**5. Control immigration, reducing it to the levels of the 1990s – meaning tens of thousands a year, instead of the hundreds of thousands a year under Labour.**

- But net migration reached a record high of 336,000 on Theresa May's watch. That's 101,000 higher than when the Tories came into office.<sup>ci</sup>
- The latest figures show net migration standing at 327,000 last year.<sup>cii</sup>
- This is despite the fact that Theresa May has previously said that immigration at this level is unsustainable and hinders integration:

“Because when immigration is too high, when the pace of change is too fast, it's impossible to build a cohesive society ... So there is no case, in the national interest, for immigration of the scale we have experienced over the last decade.”

Theresa May, speech to Conservative Party Conference, October 6<sup>th</sup> 2015,  
<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-s-speech-to-the-conservative-party-conference-in-full-a6681901.html>

"Net migration at that volume is simply unsustainable."

Theresa May, *Sunday Times*, August 29<sup>th</sup> 2015,

[http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world\\_news/article1600014.ece](http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/world_news/article1600014.ece)

- Far from changing tack as Prime Minister, Theresa May has made it clear there will be no change on immigration. She recently slapped down the new Home Secretary and the Foreign Secretary after they appeared to suggest the target should be scrapped.
- In July, Amber Rudd told the BBC the Government's goal was to see manageable levels of immigration but did not spell out what they were. When pressed on whether the net migration target had been scrapped, she replied.

"I'm going to stick to my comment which is about bringing it down to sustainable levels. That has to be the most important thing for the country."

Amber Rudd, *BBC News*, July 19<sup>th</sup> 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36836978>

- Asked whether her comments represented a U-turn, Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson said Ms Rudd was "entirely right" not to commit to numbers.

"entirely right to be careful about committing to numbers because one doesn't want to be in a position where you are disappointing people again".

Boris Johnson, *Telegraph*, July 19<sup>th</sup> 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/07/19/amber-rudd-and-boris-johnson-signal-that-net-migration-target-ha/>

- The next day the Prime Minister contradicted two of her most senior ministers, claiming that her Government was still committed to reducing net migration to the tens of thousands, but dropping any specific deadline.

"I also remain absolutely firm in my belief that we need to bring net migration down to sustainable levels, the government believes that that is tens of thousands."

Theresa May, *Prime Minister's Questions*, July 20<sup>th</sup> 2016

## **Border Security**

- Theresa May likes to claim that she improved the security of our borders during her time in the Home Office. In reality, she reduced funding for border force operations by £56m.<sup>ciii</sup>
- As a result, staff numbers fell by over 1,200, from 9,145 in 2010<sup>civ</sup> to just 7,864 in 2015-16.<sup>cv</sup>
- Border Force staff have previously said that they were unable to effectively protect the UK's borders due to staff shortages which left morale at the agency at "rock bottom".<sup>cvi</sup>

- In May this year, it was revealed that Theresa May had scrapped aerial border surveillance despite warnings from a former security minister.<sup>cvii</sup>
- While in August, the Home Affairs Select Committee warned that the Border Force had a "worryingly low" three boats available to patrol 7,000 miles of shoreline.<sup>cviii</sup>
- In 2011, following the revelation that identity checks on travellers from outside Europe had been scaled back, Theresa May was forced to admit that, "we will never know how many people entered the country who should have been prevented from doing so".<sup>cix</sup>
- In 2014 she was forced to apologise to the thousands of holidaymakers who suffered severe delays because of a massive backlog in passport applications.<sup>cx</sup>
- In January 2015, she claimed the Government were on track to bring 100 per cent exit checks.<sup>cxii</sup> But was then forced to delay their introduction, fearing travel chaos over the Easter bank holiday. They also decided to exempt all coach parties of schoolchildren under 16 from the checks.<sup>cxii</sup>
- In April this year, Theresa May was forced to admit the Semaphore eborder system, put in place after 9/11 to help protect our borders from terrorists, had failed completely for two days in 2015.<sup>cxiii</sup>

## Notes

<sup>i</sup> Faisal Islam, Sky News, 26 June 2016, [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/faisal-islam-brexit-no-plan\\_uk\\_576fe22ee4b0d2571149cffd](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/faisal-islam-brexit-no-plan_uk_576fe22ee4b0d2571149cffd)

<sup>ii</sup> The Independent, 27 September 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-tells-deputy-first-minister-when-article-50-will-be-triggered-a7332801.html>

<sup>iii</sup> The Independent, 27 September 2016, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-tells-deputy-first-minister-when-article-50-will-be-triggered-a7332801.html>

<sup>iv</sup> Ken Clarke, New Statesman, 29 Sept 2016 <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/09/ken-clarke-theresa-may-has-no-idea-what-do-about-brexit>

<sup>v</sup> PoliticsHome, 27 July 2016, <https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/economy/business-regulation/news/77695/no-10-forced-clarify-liam-fox-comments-post-brexit>

<sup>vi</sup> The Telegraph, 4 September 2016, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/06/theresa-may-rebukes-david-davis-over-warning-that-uk-could-leave/>

<sup>vii</sup> BBC News, 10 September 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-37324491>

<sup>viii</sup> City A M, 7 September 2016, <http://www.cityam.com/248943/australian-trade-minister-hits-brakes-quick-fire-trade-deal>

<sup>ix</sup> 'Voters have to ask Donald Tusk some hard questions before they accept his EU 'deal'', Boris Johnson, The Telegraph, 7 February 2016

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopping/eureferendum/12145593/Voters-have-to-ask-Donald-Tusk-some-hard-questions-before-they-accept-his-EU-deal.html>

<sup>x</sup> 'Boris Johnson backs Brexit pressure campaign Change Britain', The Guardian, 11 Sept 2016 <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/sep/11/boris-johnson-backs-brexit-pressure-campaign-change-britain>

<sup>xi</sup> 'UK lacks expertise for trade talks with Europe, says top civil servant', The Guardian, 28 June 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/28/uk-lacks-expertise-for-trade-talks-with-europe-says-top-civil-servant>

<sup>xii</sup> 'Cabinet aims to have trade deals in place before Brexit', Financial Times, July 2016, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cde1dc04-4c31-11e6-8172-e39ecd3b86fc.html?siteedition=uk#axzz4LkyM3T5d>

<sup>xiii</sup> The New Statesman, 29 September 2016, <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/09/ken-clarke-theresa-may-has-no-idea-what-do-about-brexit>

<sup>xiv</sup> 'Brexit minister says it is 'very improbable' UK will remain a member of the single market', The Telegraph, 4 Sept 2016

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/09/04/g20-summit-theresa-may-ready-to-block-boris-johnsons-point-based/>

<sup>xv</sup> The Independent, 7 July 2016 <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-news-eu-nationals-right-to-remain-status-deportation-boris-johnson-labour-motion-guarantee-a7124341.html>

<sup>xvi</sup> Irish Times, 2 Sept 2016, <http://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/sutherland-rejects-claim-brexit-would-not-bring-hard-border-1.2776397>

<sup>xvii</sup> CCHQ Press, 11 June 2016, <http://press.conservatives.com/post/147947450370/we-can-make-britain-a-country-that-works-for>

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