

A map of Europe with the United Kingdom highlighted in blue and Turkey highlighted in red. The rest of the European continent is shown in light grey. A large red rectangle is positioned in the top right corner, containing the title text.

'Paving the road from Ankara': the EU, immigration and the NHS



Vote Leave, take back control

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Abstract

If Britain votes to stay, it is voting for the permanent continuation of 'free movement of people'. There are five more countries in the queue to join the EU including Turkey. We are paying them to join. The Government's living wage policy will increase the incentive to come to Britain. This will mean net migration from the EU between about 170,000 and 430,000 each year. This will add between 2.58 million and 5.23 million people to the population of the UK by 2030. The consequences for the NHS will be a rise in A&E attendances of between 6.3 million and 12.8 million per year, the equivalent of a rise in demand for A&E services of between 28% and 57%. The public will get no further vote on enlargement. The only vote they will get is on 23 June. It is much safer to vote leave and take back control.

Executive Summary

The EU immigration record. Since 2004, net migration from the EU has averaged about 100,000 per year, totalling around 1.2 million.

The EU immigration trajectory. A reasonable estimate of net migration from the EU, based on figures from the Office for National Statistics and projections of the impact of the National Living Wage, is that by 2030 it will be between about 170,000 and 430,000 each year. This will add between 2.58 million and 5.23 million people to the population of the UK. The consequences for the NHS will be *a rise in A&E attendances of between 6.3 million and 12.8 million per year*, the equivalent of a rise in demand for A&E services of between 28% and 57%.

‘Free movement’ is the law. A core principle of the EU is the ‘free movement’ of people. This principle is strongly supported by the British Government. Under EU rules, free movement can never be limited to serve economic ends, meaning the British Government cannot take measures to manage migration, no matter how great the pressure on public services becomes. This is good for multinationals and richer people in many ways - they can hire cheaper labour. It is damaging for those who rely on public services that are over-stretched.

Government failure to forecast and prepare. Governments of all parties have made forecasts of EU immigration that have proved badly wrong and they have also failed to invest in the infrastructure needed for increases in immigration. In 2004, ten countries joined the EU, including eight in eastern Europe (the A8). Although the Government publicly admitted that there was a ‘risk’ of a considerable increase in migration, the Home Office predicted additional average net migration of between 5,000 and 13,000 per year would result. This was a very bad prediction by the Government, although Ministers initially insisted their estimates were accurate. In fact, over 50,000 A8 nationals (net) came to the UK per year during the forecast period. *The official forecast was wrong by a factor of about ten.*

Following the accession of Romania and Bulgaria (the A2) to the EU in 2007, transitional controls on the free movement rights of those countries’ nationals expired at the start of 2014. The Government refused to estimate how many would come, but initially claimed there had been a ‘notable’ fall in migration and accused those who had claimed migration would rise substantially of ‘inflammatory rhetoric’. At present, net migration from the A2 states is just short of 50,000 per year.

The ONS forecasts that in total, just under 3 million persons will be added to the UK population due to net migration by 2030. There are strong reasons to doubt this forecast. The ONS has consistently underestimated the true level of migration. In 2004, it predicted net migration would be 130,000 per year in the medium-term. In fact, it was 246,000. As a result, the ONS underestimated the scale of net migration by 1.39 million by 2015. In 2013, the ONS underestimated the level of net migration in 2015 by half.

The EU is expanding and the UK is paying to include Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey (the A5). This is the purpose of the EU's enlargement policy. The EU is paying €17.7 billion to facilitate these countries' accession, of which the UK is paying £1.8 billion. Turkish accession talks have recently been 'accelerated' by the European Commission, which is already implementing visa-free access for Turkey to the Schengen area. *This will create a **visa-free zone** from the English Channel to the borders of Syria.*

The UK Government is a champion of EU enlargement and in particular of Turkish accession to the EU. The Prime Minister has said the case for Turkish membership is 'indisputable', that he would like 'to pave the road from Ankara', that he is 'angry' at delays in the accession process and that he is the 'strongest possible advocate' of Turkish accession. The Foreign Office has said Turkish accession will increase 'our prosperity, security, and stability', the same argument that it makes for the UK's continued membership of the EU.

Our only vote on this is on 23 June. We won't get a vote on accession. A vote to stay is a vote for the enlargement of an unreformed EU. There is no requirement for a referendum under the European Union Act 2011 when these countries join, no referendum was held on previous accessions, and the Government is opposed to referendums on EU accessions in principle. Key people in the official IN campaign such as lobbyist Roland Rudd, who is a strong supporter of Britain replacing the pound, have campaigned for Turkish accession. As George Osborne, has made explicit, a vote to remain means the public will not get a say again.

The pressure on public services will grow. The *baseline forecast* used in this paper is that net migration from the EU will remain at the present level of **172,000 per year** until 2030. This will add 2.58 million additional persons to the UK population. Considerable additional pressure on the NHS will result. On top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View, the NHS will require an additional £4.61 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current levels of funding per person. *Attendances at accident and emergency will increase by 6.31 million, the equivalent of an increase in demand for accident and emergency services of 28.1%.* The UK will need an additional 7,276 doctors and 21,311 nurses just to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.

Accession forecast. In addition, this document forecasts future migration from the A5 on the assumption of their accession in 2020. It contains a *low forecast* under which persons from the A5 states move to the UK in the same proportion relative to their population as persons from the A8 states have done since 2004. It considers a *medium forecast* under which persons from the A5 states move to the UK in the same proportion relative to their population as persons from the A2 states have done since 2014. Finally, it considers a *high forecast* which combines the impact of the introduction of the national living wage with the medium forecast.

Low forecast. The low forecast is that net EU migration will rise to **233,000 per year** by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Portsmouth to the population each year. 3.19 million

persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, more than the current population of Wales. On top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View, the NHS will require an additional £5.71 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current funding levels per person. *Attendances at accident and emergency will increase by 7.81 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 34.8% increase in demand for accident and emergency services.* The UK will need an additional 9,004 doctors and 26,372 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.

Medium forecast. The medium forecast is that net EU migration will rise to **339,000 per year** by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Cardiff to the UK population each year. 4.25 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, the equivalent of four cities the size of Birmingham. On top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View, the NHS will require an additional £7.60 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current funding levels per person. *Attendances at accident and emergency will increase by 10.4 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 46.4% increase in demand for accident and emergency services.* The UK will need an additional 11,992 doctors and 35,125 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.

High forecast. The high forecast is that net EU migration will rise to **428,000 per year** by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Bristol to the UK population each year. 5.23 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, the equivalent of the population of Scotland. On top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View, the NHS will require an additional £9.35 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels. *Attendances at accident and emergency will increase by 12.8 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 57.0% increase in demand for accident and emergency services.* The UK will need an additional 14,746 doctors and 43,193 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.

None of these forecasts considers the impact of migration from outside the EU, suggesting that the pressure on the NHS is likely to be even greater by 2030 in the event of a vote to stay in the EU. It is safer to take back control by voting to leave the European Union on 23 June.

Summary table				
Forecast	Annual net EU migration in 2030	Total net EU migration by 2030	Increase in A&E annual attendances by 2030	Additional money needed to maintain per capita NHS funding
Baseline (no accession)	172,000	2,580,000	6,314,034	£4,613,293,278
Low	233,000	3,193,000	7,813,689	£5,709,003,118
Medium	339,000	4,252,000	10,406,934	£7,603,734,597
High	428,000	5,229,000	12,797,250	£9,350,197,665

If we Vote Leave, we take back control of our borders and our public services. We will be able to control immigration policy and asylum policy (which the European Court now controls via the Charter of Fundamental Rights). We will be able to have a more humane and rational immigration policy. We will be able to target abuses of the system and get democratic support for immigration policy.

It is safer to take back control by voting to leave the European Union on 23 June. The UK is unlikely to be given another chance for decades.

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1 Free movement and its recent impact on the UK

Free movement of persons is a founding principle of the so-called 'single market'. Under the EU Treaties, every national of every member state has the right to move freely within the EU (Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), art. 20, [link](#)). The free movement of workers also extends to jobseekers (*R v Immigration Appeal Tribunal, Ex parte Antonissen* [1991] ECR I-745, [link](#)). There is nothing member states can do to manage migratory flows, no matter how large, or to relieve the resulting pressure on public services. EU law is clear that limitations on free movement can never be justified 'to serve economic ends' (Directive 2004/38/EC, art. 27(1), [link](#)).

The current Government strongly supports the principle of free movement. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, has said: 'The principle of the free movement of labour is a basic treaty right and it is a key part of the single market... We do not want to destroy that principle' (Chatham House speech, 10 November 2015, [link](#)). The Foreign Secretary, Philip Hammond, has noted 'freedom of movement is a core principle of the European Union' (Evidence to European Scrutiny Committee, 17 November 2015, [link](#)). As the Prime Minister has said: 'we should continue to support migration and free movement... I do not want us to get out of the idea of free movement... Let me be clear: I support the principle of free movement' (*Hansard*, 5 January 2016, cols 31, 35 & 37, [link](#)).

1.1 The 2004 EU enlargements and their impact on migration

On 1 May 2004, ten new member states joined the EU, including eight Eastern European countries (the A8): the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia (European Commission, 5 January 2016, [link](#)). These countries had a combined population of 73.2 million (UN, 2016, [link](#)). The UK Government decided not to impose transitional controls on free movement, with the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, stating: 'There will be free movement of people after 1 May this year. Free movement of workers... is a concession that we are prepared to grant' (*Hansard*, 11 February 2004, col. 1406, [link](#)).

This was despite the Government being aware of the risk of this option at the time it was adopted. The Prime Minister, Tony Blair, publicly admitted that: 'It is important that we recognise that there is a risk that people from the accession countries will come into the country... We will take whatever measures are necessary to make sure that the pull factor that might draw people here is closed off' (*Hansard*, 4 February 2004, col. 753, [link](#)). Only the UK, Ireland and Sweden chose not to impose transitional controls (European Commission, 28 April 2011, [link](#)).

Pro-EU campaigners praised the decision. The Chairman of Business for New Europe, Roland Rudd, who campaigned for the euro and is now co-Treasurer of the Britain Stronger in Europe (BSE) campaign, said this was necessary to promote the so-called 'single market':

'Large numbers are not settling permanently in the UK, but returning home after period of work here... By taking the decision to open its labour market in 2004, the UK, so often seen as the laggard of Europe, seized the initiative. It has been rewarded handsomely for this decision... This is part of the EU's overall task of promoting a genuine single market in goods, services and people' (Independent, 24 October 2006, [link](#)).

Official estimates minimised the impact of the A8 accessions on migration flows. A report commissioned by the Home Office's Immigration and Nationality Directorate in 2003 just before the accessions forecast 'between 5,000 and 13,000 net immigrants per year' between 2004 and 2010. The report said that: 'even in the worst case scenario, migration to the UK as a result of Eastern enlargement of the EU is not likely to be overly large... net migration from the AC-10 to the UK will be broadly in line with current migration movements' (Home Office/Dustmann *et al.*, 5 June 2003, [link](#)).

Government Ministers initially insisted that these figures were accurate. The Home Office Minister Des Browne claimed that 'a trickle, not a flood' was coming, and 'the wilder exaggerations of some sections of the press' had been shown to be wrong (*Guardian*, 17 June 2004, [link](#)). In July 2004, Brown said: 'the predicted dramatic increase of new arrivals has not materialised' (*Hansard*, 7 July 2004, col. 35WS, [link](#)). These claims and the official estimates were wrong, as the table below shows:

Errors in Home Office forecasts of A8 net migration between 2004 and 2010	
Forecast net A8 migration (2003)	5,000
Actual Mean net A8 migration (2004-2010)	50,429
Factor of error	10.1

Source: Home Office/Dustmann *et al.*, 5 June 2003, [link](#); ONS, November 2015, [link](#).

The table shows that the official forecast of as little as 5,000 net migrants from the A8 countries was 10.1 times wide of the mark. Average migration from A8 countries between 2004 and 2010 was over 50,000 per year.

In November 2013, the Foreign Secretary at the time of the A8 accessions, Jack Straw, admitted that the Government had made a 'spectacular mistake' in failing to impose transitional controls. He admitted that 'events proved these [the official] forecasts worthless' and that this had generated 'lots of red faces, mine included' (*Daily Telegraph*, 13 November 2013, [link](#)). Some pro-EU campaigners, such as former Home Secretary Lord Blunkett remain 'unrepentant' about the decision (*Guardian*, 24 March 2015, [link](#)).

1.2 The 2007 accessions and their effect on migration

On 1 January 2007, Romania and Bulgaria acceded to the EU (European Commission, 28 December 2006, [link](#)). The UK imposed transitional controls for a period of seven years. In October 2006, the then Home Secretary, John Reid, announced that: 'the UK will maintain controls on Romania and Bulgaria's access to jobs for a transitional period' (*Hansard*, 24 October 2006, col. 83WS, [link](#)). These controls expired on 31 December 2013, with the Home Secretary, Theresa May, admitting that 'there are no further transitional controls that we can put on' (*The Andrew Marr Show*, 11 November 2012, [link](#)). In 2014, Romania and Bulgaria had a combined population of 26.9 million (UN, 2016, [link](#)).

The decision to impose transitional controls was not for want of lobbying by big businesses. In 2006, it was reported that the Chairman of Business for New Europe, Roland Rudd, had personally lobbied Tony Blair at a private dinner not to impose transitional controls on Romanian and Bulgarian migrants (*The Observer*, 17 September 2006, [link](#)). Rudd argued that 'the UK should continue with its open door policy' in respect of Romania and Bulgaria and that those who raised concerns were propagating 'hysterical scare stories' (*Financial Times*, 29 August 2006, [link](#)).

Ahead of the expiry of transitional controls at the end of 2013, the Government refused to produce a numerical forecast of net migration from Romania and Bulgaria to the UK (DCLG, 5 April 2013, [link](#)). A report by the National Institute for Economic and Social Research commissioned by the Government did state that: 'the UK is not a favoured destination for Bulgarians and Romanians who are considering migration as a future option' (NIESR/FCO, March 2016, [link](#)).

Other leading figures claimed the ending of transitional controls had either had no effect on, or had in fact reduced migration. *Roland Rudd claimed: 'the migratory peaks of 2005 have been left far behind... free movement must be embraced. There is no prospect of restricting the right to free movement'* (*The Guardian*, 8 June 2014, [link](#)). The Chairman of the Home Affairs Committee, Keith Vaz, said 'many may have actually left the UK' (*BBC News*, 14 May 2014, [link](#)).

In the immediate aftermath of the ending of transitional controls, Government Ministers initially denied any significant change in migratory flows was occurring. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, claimed there had been a 'notable' reduction in immigration from the A2 states 'following the lifting of the controls' (*Hansard*, 14 May 2014, col. 744, [link](#)). The Chief Secretary to the Treasury, Danny Alexander, claimed the number of migrants from A2 states was 'very modest and accused those who predicted net migration of 50,000 per annum of 'inflammatory rhetoric' (*BBC News*, 14 May 2014, [link](#)).

In fact, the ending of transitional controls resulted in a very significant increase in the level of migration from the A2 countries, as the table below shows.

A2 migration	
Year	Net migration
2010	7,000
2011	8,000
2012	8,000
2013	21,000
2014	44,000
YE Sep 2015	49,000
Total	137,000

Source: ONS, February 2016, [link](#).

The table shows that net migration from Romania and Bulgaria rose from 8,000 per year in 2013 to 44,000 in the 2014. In the year ending September 2015, net migration from the A2 states was 49,000, just short of the 50,000 forecast derided by pro-EU campaigners.

2. The A5 accessions in 2020

It is the EU's stated aim to expand. The Commission notes that: 'The EU is open to all democratic European countries that wish to join.' It claims that enlargement 'makes Europe a safer and more prosperous place'. The Commission states that 'the European Union enlargement agenda covers the western Balkans and Turkey. All EU Member States have confirmed that these countries have a "European perspective"' (European Commission, June 2015, [link](#)).

At present, there are five official candidate countries ('the A5'): Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey. In addition, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo have both been 'promised the prospect of joining when they are ready' (European Commission, 27 January 2016, [link](#)). The President of the Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, has also hinted that Moldova and Ukraine may also be in the queue (European Commission, 15 July 2014, [link](#)). This suggests nine countries could join in the coming years.

In 2014, Juncker said: 'under my Presidency of the Commission, ongoing negotiations will continue, and notably the Western Balkans will need to keep a European perspective, but no

further enlargement will take place over the next five years' (European Commission, 15 July 2014, [link](#)). This suggests accession could occur in 2020, less than three and a half years' after the UK's referendum membership on EU membership on 23 June 2016. The five candidate countries are forecast to have a combined population of 96.6 million in 2020 when they join the EU (UN, 2016, [link](#)).

This will result in a significant expansion in the number of persons who can come to the UK and use our NHS. Every national of a candidate country will become an EU citizen on accession, with a right of free movement (TFEU, art. 20, [link](#)). As the Government had admitted, 'once a country becomes a Member State of the EU its citizens have the same rights under EU law as other EU nationals' (HM Government, April 2016, [link](#)).

2.1 The Government supports the accessions of candidate countries to the EU

The UK Government is a strong supporter of the enlargement of the EU. In 2011, the Minister for Europe, David Lidington, 'set out Britain's strong commitment to an ambitious agenda for enlargement' (Speech in Vienna, 15 February 2011, [link](#)). In 2012, Mr Lidington said:

'The UK remains a strong supporter of EU enlargement to all countries of the Western Balkans, Iceland and Turkey... Enlargement is good for the EU and one of the EU's greatest achievements. The Foreign Secretary visited Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo in October. He set out clearly the UK's support for each country's EU future... the UK remains committed to Turkey's EU membership. We strongly believe that this would contribute to Europe's prosperity and security' (Briefing following Council of Ministers, 12 December 2012, [link](#)).

Some have noted the dangers of this approach. On 25 April 2016, the Home Secretary, Theresa May, said: 'it is time to question the principle of ever wider expansion.' She argued that: 'The states now negotiating to join the EU include Albania, Serbia and Turkey – countries with poor populations and serious problems with organised crime, corruption, and sometimes even terrorism' (Institute of Mechanical Engineers speech, 25 April 2016, [link](#)). This directly contradicted the Prime Minister's policy.

Nonetheless, the UK remains particularly committed to Turkish accession to the EU. The Prime Minister, David Cameron, has said that: 'In terms of Turkish membership of the EU, I very much support that. That's a longstanding position of British foreign policy which I support' (*Daily Telegraph*, 9 December 2014, [link](#)). He has made clear that: 'We continue to support Turkey's membership of the European Union; we hope we can make good progress with that over the months and years to come' (Prime Minister's Office, 30 July 2012, [link](#)).

In 2010, Mr Cameron made a speech in which he stated that:

*'It makes me **angry** that your progress towards EU membership can be frustrated in the way that it has been. My view is clear: I believe it is just wrong to say that Turkey can guard the camp but not be allowed to sit in the tent. I will remain your **strongest possible advocate** for EU membership and for greater influence at the top table of European diplomacy. This is something I feel very strongly and very passionately about. Together I want us to **pave the road from Ankara** ... [T]he case for Turkish membership of the European Union is indisputable... a European Union without Turkey is not stronger but weaker, not more secure but less secure, not richer but poorer' (Prime Minister's Office, 27 July 2010, [link](#)).*

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has said that:

'the Government, like its predecessors, strongly supports Turkey's ambition to join the European Union... Turkey's accession to the EU is a key goal for the Government... We believe that Turkish accession would be to the wider benefit of the UK and EU, contributing to our prosperity, security, and stability. The Government believes the case for Turkey's EU membership is clearer than ever... the UK is Turkey's strongest supporter in the EU. The Government works closely with our counterparts in EU Member States and with the European Commission at all levels to encourage, support, and recognise progress in Turkey's accession process' (FCO, 18 August 2011, [link](#)).

The process towards Turkish accession in 2020 is currently being accelerated. On 4 May 2016, the European Commission announced that: 'The accession process will be re-energised, with Chapter 33 to be opened... and preparatory work on the opening of other chapters to continue at an accelerated pace' (European Commission, 4 May 2016, [link](#)). On the same day, the Commission formally proposed Turkey be given visa-free access to the Schengen Area just after the UK referendum, which would create a visa-free zone from the English Channel to the borders of the warzones of Syria and Iraq (European Commission, 4 May 2016, [link](#)).

The UK even advocates further EU expansion, to the Ukraine and beyond. The Prime Minister, David Cameron has called for the EU to expand to the Urals. He has said: 'Britain has always supported the widening of the European Union. Our vision of the European Union is that it should be a large trading and cooperating organisation that effectively stretches, as it were, from the Atlantic to the Urals. We have a wide vision of Europe, and we've always encouraged countries to join' (Q&A in Nazarbayev University, 1 July 2013, [link](#)).

2.2 The EU is giving €17.7 billion to candidate countries to join the EU

In 2014, the EU Council agreed to an Instrument for pre-accession assistance to pay money to potential candidate countries. These include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iceland, Kosovo, Montenegro, Serbia, Turkey and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (Regulation 2014/231/EU, [link](#)). The UK voted against the creation of this instrument in the EU Council, but

was outvoted (Council of Ministers, 11 March 2014, [link](#); Council of Ministers, 12 March 2014, [link](#)).

Money is paid to 'align' candidate countries' laws 'with EU laws and standards' in order that they can join the EU. The Commission describes it as 'an investment in the future of the EU', which 'creates incentives for EU future members' (European Commission, 2016, [link](#)). The Commission is explicit that the funds are paid to prepare the countries 'for the rights and obligations that come with EU membership' (European Commission, 24 February 2016, [link](#)).

The total amount to be paid to these countries between 2014 and 2020 is €11.7 billion (Regulation 2014/231/EU, art. 15, [link](#)). Using HM Treasury figures for the total proportion of EU revenue accounted for by UK contributions, it is possible to calculate the UK's total and annual payments into this fund. For consistency, we have used 2014 exchange rates.

Instrument for pre-accession assistance	
Budget (2014-2020) (€m)	€11,699
UK share (€m)	€1,471
UK share (£m)	£1,186
UK annual payment (£m)	£169.5

Source: Regulation 2014/231/EU, art. 15, [link](#); HM Treasury, December 2015, [link](#); HMRC, 6 April 2016, [link](#).

The table shows that the UK will pay £1.19 billion to the EU's pre-accession assistance programme between 2014 and 2020, or £170 million each year. The annual sum is half of the NHS Cancer Drugs Fund (NHS England, 12 January 2015, [link](#)).

It is also possible to calculate the sums the UK is paying to each different country, using figures from the European Commission. Using HM Treasury figures for the total proportion of EU revenue accounted for by UK contributions, it is possible to calculate the UK's total and annual payments to each recipient. For consistency, we have used 2014 exchange rates.

Funding allocations			
Country	EU Budget 2014-2020 (€m)	UK payment: 2014-2020 (£m)	UK annual payment (£m)
Albania	€649.4	£65.86	£9.41
Bosnia and Herzegovina	€165.8	£16.81	£2.40
FYROM	€664.2	£67.36	£9.62
Kosovo	€645.5	£65.46	£9.35
Montenegro	€270.5	£27.43	£3.92
Serbia	€1,508.0	£152.93	£21.85
Turkey	€4,453.9	£451.69	£64.53
Multi-country	€2,958.6	£300.05	£42.86

Source: European Commission, 2016, [link](#); HM Treasury, December 2015, [link](#); HMRC, 6 April 2016, [link](#).

In addition, the UK agreed to pay up to an **additional £640 million to Turkey** as part of the recent EU-Turkey deal. This deal has been struck with the stated aim of ‘re-energis[ing] the accession process’ of Turkey to the EU (European Council, 18 March 2016, [link](#)). The UK will pay Turkey £250 million in bilateral assistance and will pay a further £97 million as part of EU payments to Turkey: £347 million in total between 2016 and 2017 (Turkey Refugee Facility: Written statement - HCWS582, 7 March 2016, [link](#); HM Treasury, December 2015, [link](#); HMRC, March 2016, [link](#)). A further €3 billion will be provided by the EU by 2018 (European Council, 18 March 2016, [link](#)). The UK’s share of this payment will be at least £293 million (HM Treasury, December 2015, [link](#); HMRC, March 2016, [link](#)).

Combining commitments under the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance and obligations to Turkey under the recent deal, the UK’s total payments to candidate countries will be **£1.8 billion**. The EU as a whole will be paying over €17.7 billion in total to candidate countries to join the EU. Total UK payments to Turkey in the period 2014 to 2020 could be as high as £1.09 billion. This is enough to train an additional 2,830 GPs, 13,500 nurses, or 15,500 social workers (PSSRU, 2015, [link](#)).

2.3 The UK public will not get a say on the accession of candidate countries to the EU

The British public will not get a vote on the accession to the EU of any of the current candidate countries in 2020. The European Union Act 2011 allows the Government to ratify EU accession treaties without a referendum (European Union Act 2011, s. 4(4)(c), [link](#)). There was no referendum on the accession of Croatia to the EU in 2013 (European Union (Croatian Accession and Irish Protocol) Act 2013, s. 1, [link](#)).

The Government does not consider that a referendum on accessions is justified, even in the case of Turkey, since a referendum was not held on the A8 accessions in 2004. As the Minister for Europe, David Lidington, said in 2011:

'A few years ago, 10 new member states joined the European Union at the same time. I believe that their combined population then was 73 million, which is slightly greater than Turkey's population is now. I do not believe that anybody in this country argued at that time that a British referendum on those accessions was right' (Hansard, 24 January 2011, col. 123, [link](#)).

This means that if the British public votes to remain in the EU on 23 June, they will not have a say on the accession of any of the five candidate countries to the EU in 2020. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, has said 'this is the once-in-a-lifetime decision' (*BBC News*, 15 January 2016, [link](#)). A vote to remain in the EU on 23 June is a vote for the accession of the five candidate countries in 2020.

3 Modelling EU net migration to the UK until 2030

Macroeconomic models are notoriously unreliable. Many Government modelling exercises are spurious. For example, the 2003 study for the Home Office which so dramatically underestimated the scale of net migration from the A8 countries used deliberately obscure notations, which were proved to be wholly inaccurate, to justify its deeply flawed conclusions. An excerpt is provided below:

$$\begin{aligned} g_0 : E(m_{s,t}^d) &= \mu_d \\ g_1 : Var(m_{s,t}^d) &= \sigma_{d,s}^2 + \sigma_{d,t}^2 + \sigma_{d,s,t}^2 \\ g_2 : Cov(m_{s,t}^d, m_{s',t}^d) &= \sigma_{d,s}^2 + \rho^{|t-t'|} \sigma_{d,t}^2 \\ g_3 : Cov(m_{s,t}^d, m_{s',t'}^d) &= \rho^{|t-t'|} \sigma_{d,t}^2 \quad \text{for } s \neq s' \\ g_4 : Cov(m_{s,t}^d, m_{s',t}^d) &= \sigma_{d,t}^2 \quad \text{for } s \neq s' \end{aligned}$$

Home Office/Dustmann et al., 5 June 2003, [link](#).

This facade was also found in HM Treasury's recent analysis of the costs and benefits of UK's membership of the European Union, an excerpt of which is provided below:

$$\begin{aligned}
\ln(IFDI_{ijt}) &= \alpha_{ij} + \alpha_1 \ln(Y_{it}) + \alpha_2 \ln(Y_{jt}) + \alpha_3 \ln(DIST_{ij}) + \alpha_4 POP_{it} + \alpha_5 POP_{jt} + \\
&\quad \alpha_6 COMLANG_{ij} + \alpha_7 COLONY_{ij} + \alpha_8 BORDER_{ij} + \alpha_9 EMU2_{ijt} + \\
&\quad \alpha_{10} EMU1_{ijt} + \varepsilon_{ijt} \\
&= \alpha_{ij} + \alpha X_{ijt} + \varepsilon_{ijt}
\end{aligned}$$

Source: HM Treasury, 18 April 2016, [link](#).

Almost no ‘models’ used by Government bear any resemblance to the accurate models used in physical sciences.

We have set out simply the basis of our projections and the assumptions which we have made.

3.1 Flaws in the ONS’s forecasts of net migration

The most widely cited projections of net migration in the years ahead are those of the ONS. It currently forecasts that net migration will fall to 185,012 per year by 2020-2021, with an additional 2.996 million persons added to the UK population between the year ending June 2016 and the year ending June 2030 (ONS, 29 October 2015, [link](#)). These projections have been endorsed by both the Office for Budget Responsibility and HM Treasury (OBR, March 2016, [link](#); HM Treasury, 18 April 2016, [link](#)).

The ONS’s forecasts are likely to be a significant underestimate. The ONS has a consistent record of failing to predict the true level of net migration into the UK. In 2004, the ONS issued a projection which ‘assume[d] a constant annual net inflow of 130,000 persons a year into the United Kingdom’ in the medium-term (ONS, September 2004, [link](#)). It is worth comparing this to what actually happened.

Errors in 2004 ONS forecast			
Year ending	ONS forecast (000s)	Actual net migration (000s)	Error (000s)
June 2004	130	194	64
June 2005	130	320	190
June 2006	130	234	104
June 2007	130	287	157
June 2008	130	267	137
June 2009	130	205	75
June 2010	130	244	114
June 2011	130	263	133
June 2012	130	167	37
June 2013	130	182	52
June 2014	130	254	124
June 2015	130	336	206
Total	1,560	2,953	1,393
Average	130	246	116

Source: ONS, September 2004, [link](#); ONS, 2015, [link](#); ONS, February 2016, [link](#).

The ONS's 2004 forecast was hopelessly wrong. As the table shows, net migration into the UK between the years ending June 2004 and June 2015 averaged 246,000 per annum, 116,000 per annum higher than the average forecast by the ONS. In total, the ONS forecast net migration of 1.56 million in that period. In fact, 2.95 million persons were added to the UK population as a result of net migration.

The ONS was also wrong about the scale of EU migration in particular. In June 2006, it forecast a net inflow of EEA nationals of 25,000 per year from 2007-2008 onwards (ONS, June 2006, [link](#)). This turned out to be a significant underestimate. Net migration from the EU is currently 172,000 per year (ONS, February 2016, [link](#)). This is nearly seven times the ONS' 2006 forecast,

The ONS's forecasting record has not improved in recent years. For example, in October 2011, it predicted that total net migration in the year ending June 2015 would be 216,500 (ONS, October 2011, [link](#)). In fact, net migration in that period was 336,000 (ONS, February 2016,

[link](#)). The ONS forecast was out by 119,500, with under two-thirds of the true level of net migration accurately forecast. In November 2013 (its penultimate forecast), the ONS suggested net migration in the year ending June 2015 would be 164,500 (ONS, 6 November 2013, [link](#)). The actual figure was 336,000 (ONS, February 2016, [link](#)). The forecast was 171,500, or 51.0%, too low.

In the light of the ONS's track record of errors, it is reasonable to assume that its current forecast of net migration until 2030 will significantly underestimate future migratory flows into the UK. We have therefore chosen not to adopt it.

3.2 The possible impact of proposed welfare changes under the EU renegotiation

In modelling the level of net migration over the next fifteen years, we do not take into account the effect of possible changes to welfare for migrants as a result of the Prime Minister's renegotiation, particularly the so-called 'emergency brake' on non-contributory in-work benefits. There is no guarantee that these changes will ever enter into force. They could be vetoed by the European Parliament after the referendum. In addition, the agreement itself states that even if the principle is agreed, the Council 'could' trigger the brake, not that it would do so (European Council, 19 February 2016, [link](#)). The European Court could overturn any restrictions on welfare payments at any time.

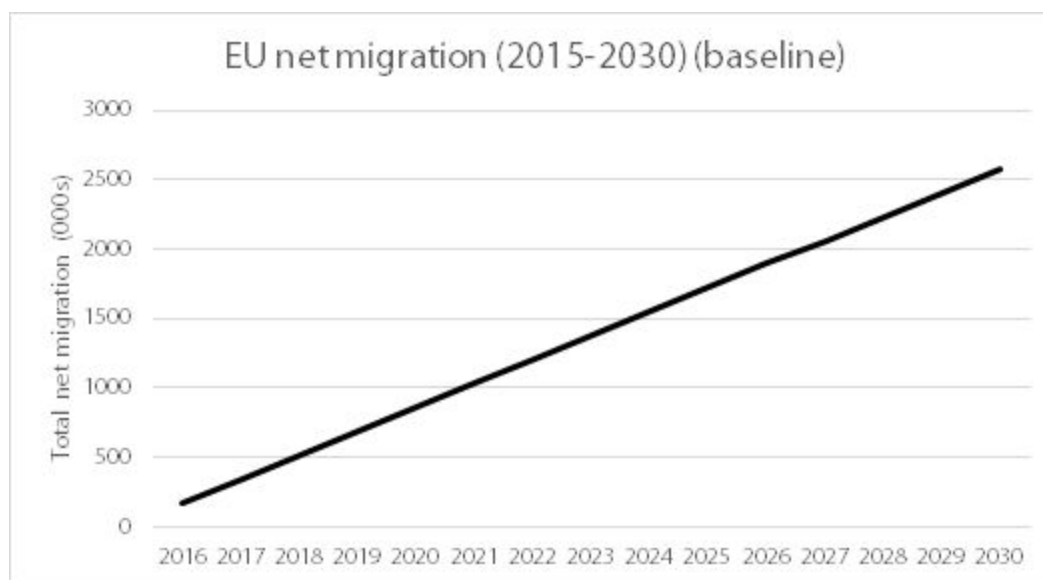
The Government has itself admitted that the 'emergency brake' may not come into force. Just after the renegotiation agreement of 19 February, the Commercial Secretary to the Treasury, Lord O'Neill of Gatley, conceded that: 'Details of the proposals for restricting in-work benefits for EU nationals will be subject to further negotiation and we cannot speculate on these'. The Minister was unable even to state which benefits the 'emergency brake' might apply to (Social Security Benefits: EU Nationals: Written question - HL5972, 8 February 2016, [link](#)).

Even if the emergency brake did enter into force, it is unlikely to have any significant impact on migration from the EU. As one of the top three members of the independent Office for Budget Responsibility, Sir Stephen Nickell CBE, has said, any changes to welfare entitlements will have 'not much' impact on immigration (*BBC News*, 8 December 2015, [link](#)). After an exhaustive analysis, Oxford University's Migration Observatory concluded that the proposed welfare reforms are 'unlikely' to 'lead to a large reduction in EU migration to the UK' (Oxford University Migration Observatory, 4 May 2016, [link](#)).

3.3 Baseline projection of EU net migration until 2030

We assume instead that current levels of net migration will remain constant until 2030 as a baseline projection. In the year ending September 2015, EU-net migration was 172,000 per year (ONS, February 2016, [link](#)). We assume this will remain constant between 2016 and 2030.

Baseline forecast of EU net migration (000s)														
2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	2030
172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172
Total							2,580							



The table and graph shows that if net EU migration continues at current levels, then a further 2.58 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result.

3.4 Modelling the impact of the A5 accessions 2020

In addition to the baseline forecast, it is necessary to take account of the rise in net migration due to the accession of the A5 in 2020. We consider three forecasts, a low forecast, a medium forecast and a high forecast. In these three forecasts, we assume that as in 2004, the decision is taken not to impose transitional controls on migrant workers from the A5 states (although we do also include a forecast of what would happen if transitional controls were imposed). As the table below shows, in 2020 the population of the A8 states is projected by the UN to be 96.6 million.

The A5 states in 2020	
Country	Population (000s)
Albania	2,935
FYROM	2,088
Montenegro	626
Serbia	8,674
Turkey	82,256
Total	96,579

Source: UN, 2016, [link](#) (the medium variant is used).

3.5 The low forecast

This assumes that the persons from the A5 states move to the UK in the same proportion relative to their population as persons from the A8 states have done since 2004. The population of the A8 states in 2004 was 73.2 million, as the table below shows.

The A8 states in 2004	
Country	Population (000s)
Czech Republic	10,212
Estonia	1,364
Hungary	10,117
Latvia	2,257
Lithuania	3,377
Poland	38,455
Slovakia	5,384
Slovenia	1,991
Total	73,156

Source: UN, 2016, [link](#).

Between 2004 and 2015, 557,000 persons (net) moved from the A8 states to the UK, an average of 46,417 per year, or 0.063% of the population of the A8 states.

Immigration from the A8		
	Persons	Percentage of population
Population	73,156,227	100%
Net migration (2004-2015)	557,000	0.761%
Mean net migration (2004-2015)	46,417	0.063%

See the Annex.

The low forecast is that the same percentage of the population will move from the A5 states to the UK from 2022 onwards, having risen to that level from the date of the A5's accession in 2020. It suggests that net migration from the A5 will rise to 20,000 in 2020, 41,000 in 2021 to reach 61,000 in 2022 and remain at that level until 2030. Net EU migration will rise to 233,000 by 2030 as a result. This is the equivalent of adding a city the size of Portsmouth to the UK population each year (ONS, 2012, [link](#)).

3.6 The medium forecast

This assumes that the persons from the A5 states move to the UK in the same proportion relative to their population as persons from the A2 states have done since the lifting of transitional controls at the beginning of 2014. The combined population of the A2 states in 2004 was 26.9 million, as the table below shows.

Immigration from the A2	
Country	Population (2014)
Romania	19,652
Bulgaria	7,201
Total	26,853

Source: UN, 2016, [link](#).

Between 2014 and 2015, 93,000 persons (net) moved from the A2 states to the UK, an average of 46,500 per year, or 0.173% of the population of the A2 states.

Immigration from the A2		
	Persons	Percentage of population
Population (2014)	26,852,862	100%
Net migration (2014-2015)	93,000	0.346%
Mean net migration (2014-2015)	46,500	0.173%

See the Annex

The medium forecast is that the same percentage of the population will move from the A5 states to the UK from 2022 onwards, having risen to that level from the date of the A5's accession in 2020. It suggests that net migration from the A5 will rise to 56,000 in 2020, 111,000 in 2021 to reach 167,000 in 2022 and remain at that level until 2030. Net migration from the EU will rise to 339,000 by 2030 as a result. This is the equivalent of adding a city the size of Cardiff to the UK population each year (ONS, 2012, [link](#)).

3.7 The high forecast

The low and medium forecasts do not take into account the impact of the introduction of the national living wage on 1 April 2016. The minimum hourly wage payable to employees in the UK will rise from £6.70 in January 2016 to £9.00 by 2020, the date on which the A5 are scheduled to join the EU (BIS, 1 April 2016, [link](#)). This is a 34% increase in wages, which will act a major pull factor in attracting migrants both from within the current members of the EU and from the A5 when they join.

The high forecast combines the medium forecast with an indicative projection of the consequences of the introduction of the national living wage on net migration. The forecast is that immigration from the A8 and the A2 will increase by 34% by 2020, and that net migration from the A5 countries will be 34% higher than in the medium forecast due to the national living wage. This forecast depends on the conservative assumption that the introduction of the national living wage will have no impact on net migration from the remaining 17 EU member states. The result is net migration from the EU of 428,000 per annum by 2030. This is the equivalent of adding a city the size of Bristol to the UK population each year (Bristol City Council, 2016, [link](#)).

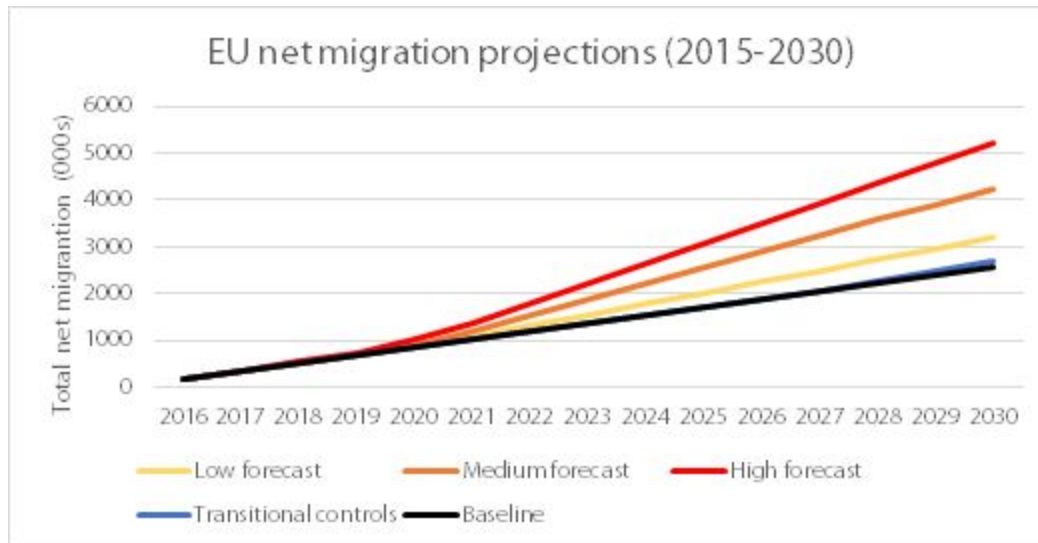
3.8 Summary

The table below shows the annual net migration under the baseline, low, medium and high forecasts. We also include a scenario in which transitional controls are imposed for a period of seven years from 2020 until the end of 2027, the duration of transitional controls following the A2 accessions in 2007. This forecast assumes the same migration as in the case of the baseline until 2028, and the increases in net migration that occur under the low forecast thereafter. Net migration rises from 172,000 in 2027 to 233,000 in 2030. Net EU migration results in an additional 2.70 million persons being added to the UK population by 2030, 123,000 more than in the baseline forecast.

Net migration forecasts (2016-2030) (000s)					
Year	Baseline	Transitional controls	Low forecast	Medium forecast	High forecast
2016	172	172	172	172	172
2017	172	172	172	172	184
2018	172	172	172	172	190
2019	172	172	172	172	197
2020	172	172	192	228	278
2021	172	172	213	283	353
2022	172	172	233	339	428
2023	172	172	233	339	428
2024	172	172	233	339	428
2025	172	172	233	339	428
2026	172	172	233	339	428
2027	172	172	233	339	428
2028	172	192	233	339	428
2029	172	213	233	339	428
2030	172	233	233	339	428

The table belows shows the total number of net EU migrants who are forecast to move to the UK on a cumulative basis compared to 2015.

Total net migration forecasts (2016-2030) (000s)					
Year	Baseline	Transitional controls	Low forecast	Medium forecast	High forecast
2016	172	172	172	172	172
2017	344	344	344	344	356
2018	516	516	516	516	546
2019	688	688	688	688	743
2020	860	860	880	916	1,022
2021	1,032	1,032	1,093	1,199	1,375
2022	1,204	1,204	1,327	1,538	1,803
2023	1,376	1,376	1,560	1,878	2,231
2024	1,548	1,548	1,793	2,217	2,660
2025	1,720	1,720	2,026	2,556	3,088
2026	1,892	1,892	2,260	2,895	3,516
2027	2,064	2,064	2,493	3,235	3,944
2028	2,236	2,256	2,726	3,574	4,373
2029	2,408	2,469	2,960	3,913	4,801
2030	2,580	2,703	3,193	4,252	5,229
Difference from baseline		123	613	1,672	2,649



- Under the low forecast, 3.19 million persons (net) will come to the UK from the EU between 2016 and 2030, 613,000 more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join. This is greater than the population of Wales (3.09 million) (ONS, 25 June 2014, [link](#)).
- Under the medium forecast, 4.25 million persons (net) will come to the UK from the EU between 2016 and 2030, 1.67 million more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join. This is the equivalent of four cities the size of Birmingham (4.29 million) (ONS, 16 July 2012, [link](#)).
- Under the high forecast, 5.23 million persons (net) will come to the UK from the EU between 2016 and 2030, 2.65 million more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join. This is nearly the size of the population of Scotland (5.35 million) (ONS, 25 June 2014, [link](#)).

4 The impact of projected net migration on the NHS

The NHS is already under financial strain. In October 2014, the NHS presented a 'Five Year Forward View'. It identified a £30 billion funding shortfall for the NHS by 2020/2021:

'a combination of growing demand if met by no further annual efficiencies and flat real terms funding would produce a mismatch between resources and patient needs of nearly £30 billion a year by 2020/21' (NHS England, October 2014, [link](#)).

The Forward View suggested that net efficiency savings of 2% per year would be needed to meet this funding shortfall, even with spending increases of £8 billion by the end of the period (NHS England, October 2014, [link](#); BBC News, 23 October 2014, [link](#)). The Five Year Plan has been championed by NHS England Chief Executive Simon Stevens (NHS England, 18 May 2015, [link](#)).

The Prime Minister pledged before the election to meet the £8 billion target (*ITV News*, 10 April 2015, [link](#)). The Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Osborne, said: 'we will commit to a minimum real-terms increase in NHS funding of £8bn in the next five years' (*Guardian*, 10 April 2015, [link](#)). The Conservative Manifesto stated that the Party would 'commit to increasing NHS spending in England in real terms by a minimum of £8 billion over the next five years' (Conservative Party, 2015, [link](#)).

In December 2015, the Nuffield Trust, the Health Foundation and the King's Fund said that health spending in England will rise by just £4.5 billion in real terms between 2015/2016 and 2020/2021. This is because health spending not included in NHS England's budget will fall by £3.6 billion, despite NHS England's budget being protected. The organisations stated that the real terms increase was 'clearly much less than was expected when the NHS settlement was announced' (Nuffield Trust/Health Foundation/King's Fund, December 2015, [link](#)).

In December 2015, the Nuffield Trust, the Health Foundation and the King's Fund said that 'attention will now focus on the need to find £22 billion in efficiency savings by 2020/21, for which there is, as yet, no plan.' It said it would be a 'huge challenge', and that 'the budget for prevention is being cut and funding for social care is falling short of meeting need' (Nuffield Trust, 2015, [link](#)). The Nuffield Trust has previously stated that 'there is little detail from NHS England or from the Government about how the service will deliver these or what proportion will release savings in terms of cash' (Nuffield Trust, June 2015, [link](#)).

The King's Fund has said that: 'A step change in thinking and action is urgently needed if the NHS is to get anywhere near finding £22 billion of productivity improvements by the end of this parliament' and that 'we are much less certain that productivity improvements to the value of £22 billion can be delivered by 2020/21' (The King's Fund, July 2015, [link](#)). In January 2016, it reiterated that 'the biggest challenge for the NHS in 2016 is to redouble efforts to deliver the £22 billion of productivity improvements it is expected to realise by 2020/21' (The King's Fund, 4 January 2016, [link](#)).

The NHS has historically made productivity increases of between 0.7% and 1.2% per year (King's Fund, July 2015, [link](#)). If the NHS consistently achieves 1.2% annual savings until 2020-2021, this will only be enough to meet 60% of the 2.0% net savings required by the Five Year Forward View, or £13.2 billion.

If spending on health is only increased by £4.5 billion and only £13.2 billion of efficiency savings are made, the NHS would face a shortfall of £12.3 billion in 2020-2021. The NHS is already under great financial strain. The forecast NHS deficit in 2015-2016 is £2.37 billion. By February 2016, the NHS was already £2.26 billion in the red. The forecast deficit is £622 million worse than planned. The NHS Trust Development Authority and Monitor have stated that: 'this level deficit is neither sustainable nor affordable'. The NHS was also under 'operational pressure', in respect of 'urgent and emergency' care and elective patients. The target that 92% of inpatients

would be treated within 18 weeks was missed (NHS Trust Development Authority/Monitor, 25 February 2016, [link](#)).

The financial and operational situation in the NHS will continue to deteriorate in the years ahead due to rising demand for services. The pressure on the NHS will only be exacerbated in the case of the A5 accessions in 2020.

4.1 The NHS will need billions in additional funding on top of promised increases

Under all scenarios, considerable additional pressure will be put on the NHS. At present, £1,788.10 is spent per capita on the NHS, as the table below shows.

NHS spending per person	
NHS budget (2015-2016)	£116,400,000,000
UK population	65,097,097
Funding per person	£1,788.10

Source: NHS, 13 April 2016, [link](#); ONS, 2015, [link](#).

The effect of increased migration from the EU will place a considerable burden on NHS resources. By 2030, significant spending increases will be required to maintain current NHS funding per person.

Required increases in NHS funding	
Baseline	£4,613,293,278
Low forecast	£5,709,003,118
Medium forecast	£7,603,734,597
High forecast	£9,350,197,665

The table shows that projected level of net migration will require a large injection of cash into the NHS to maintain current funding levels per person.

- If existing levels of EU net migration continue, the NHS will require an additional £4.61 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels.

This shortfall becomes even greater when the effect of the A5 joining the EU in 2020 is taken into account.

- Under the low forecast, the NHS will require an additional £5.71 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels.
- Under the medium forecast, the NHS will require an additional £7.60 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels.
- Under the high forecast, the NHS will require an additional £9.35 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels.

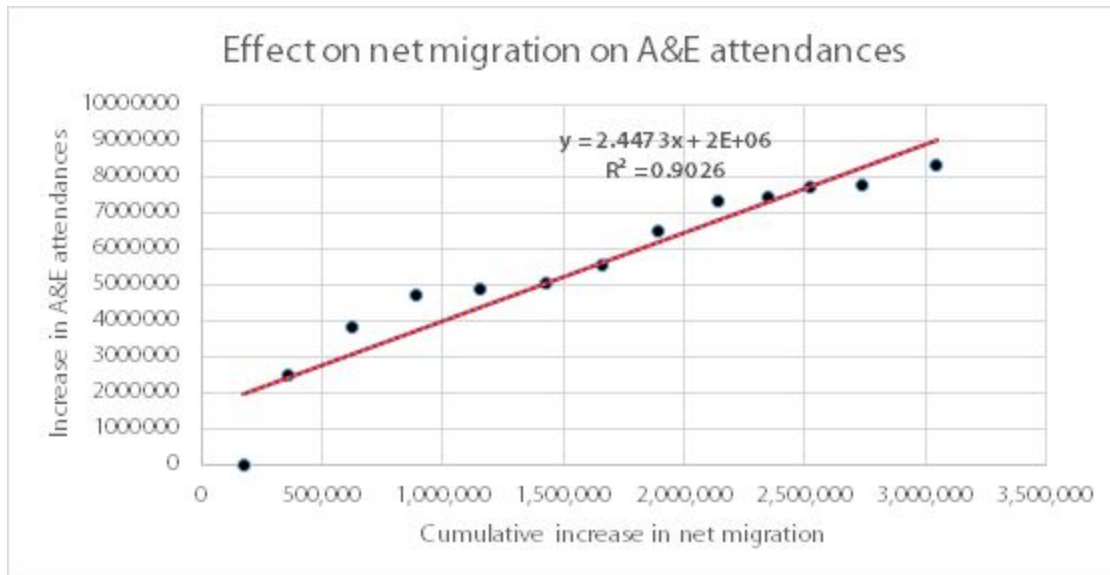
4.2 Accident and emergency attendances will increase

There is a close correlation between net migration and total attendances at accident and emergency services.

Year	A&E attendances	Net migration
2002	14,045,575	172,000
2003	16,516,845	185,000
2004	17,837,180	268,000
2005	18,759,164	267,000
2006	18,922,275	265,000
2007	19,076,831	273,000
2008	19,588,344	229,000
2009	20,511,908	229,000
2010	21,380,985	256,000
2011	21,481,402	205,000
2012	21,738,637	177,000
2013	21,778,657	209,000
2014	22,354,781	313,000

Source: NHS England, 11 February 2016, [link](#); ONS, February 2015, [link](#) (for ease of comparison, A&E attendances in a given financial year are treated as if they had occurred in the corresponding calendar year, so figures for 2014-2015 are treated as if they had occurred in 2014).

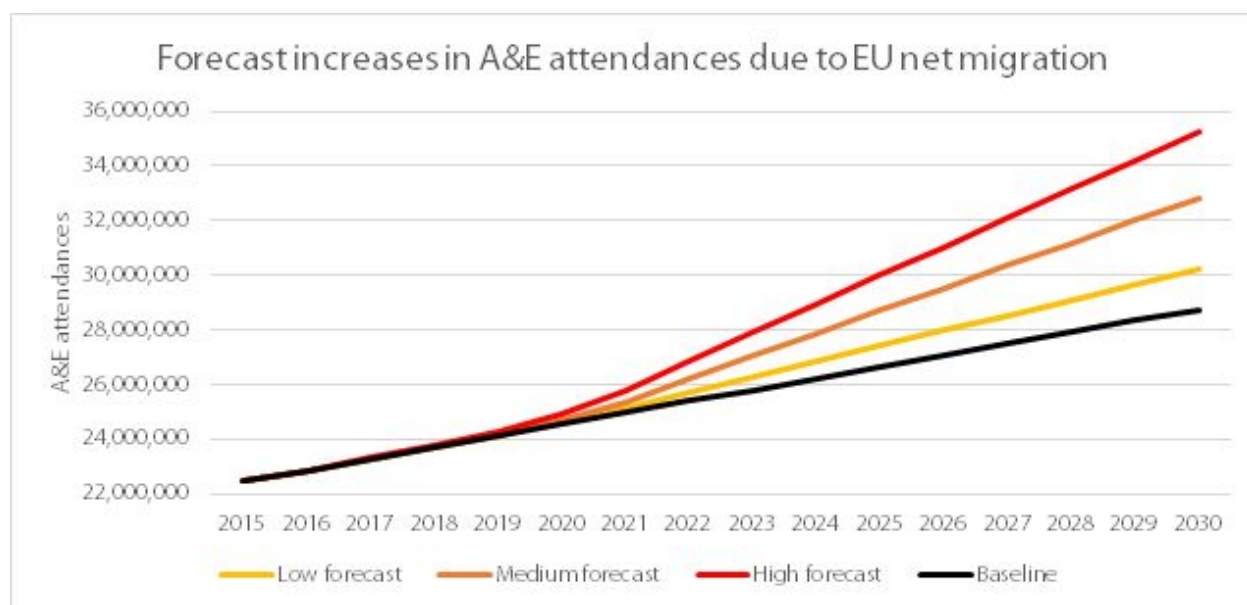
The graph shows the relationship between cumulative increases in net migration and attendances at accident and emergency in England.



As the graph shows, there is a very strong correlation (>0.9) between cumulative net migration and A&E attendances. As a result, it is possible to project the impact on A&E attendances of rising EU net migration until 2030. The table and graph below summarise the forecast.

Forecast increase in A&E attendances due to EU net migration (2016-2030)				
Year	Baseline	Low forecast	Medium forecast	High forecast
2015	22,434,016	22,434,016	22,434,016	22,434,016
2016	22,854,952	22,854,952	22,854,952	22,854,952
2017	23,275,887	23,275,887	23,275,887	23,304,787
2018	23,696,823	23,696,823	23,696,823	23,770,753
2019	24,117,758	24,117,758	24,117,758	24,252,849
2020	24,538,694	24,588,683	24,675,124	24,934,340
2021	24,959,630	25,109,595	25,368,920	25,799,095
2022	25,380,565	25,680,496	26,199,145	26,847,114
2023	25,801,501	26,251,397	27,029,371	27,895,133
2024	26,222,436	26,822,298	27,859,596	28,943,152
2025	26,643,372	27,393,200	28,689,822	29,991,171
2026	27,064,308	27,964,101	29,520,048	31,039,190
2027	27,485,243	28,535,002	30,350,273	32,087,209
2028	27,906,179	29,105,903	31,180,499	33,135,228
2029	28,327,114	29,676,804	32,010,724	34,183,247
2030	28,748,050	30,247,705	32,840,950	35,231,266
Increase	6,314,034	7,813,689	10,406,934	12,797,250
Increase (%)	28.1%	34.8%	46.4%	57.0%

Source: NHS England, February 2016, [link](#).



- Under the low forecast, A&E attendances will rise by 7.81 million between 2015 and 2030 to 30.2 million. This is 1.5 million attendances more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join the EU in 2020. It is the equivalent to a 34.8% rise in demand for NHS A&E services.
- Under the medium forecast, A&E attendances will rise by 10.4 million between 2015 and 2030 to 32.8 million. This is 4.09 million attendances more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join the EU in 2020. It is the equivalent to a 46.4% rise in demand for NHS A&E services.
- Under the high forecast, A&E attendances will rise by 12.7 million between 2015 and 2030 to 35.2 million. This is 6.48 million attendances more than the baseline in which the A5 do not join the EU in 2020. It is the equivalent to a 57.0% rise in demand for NHS A&E services.

4.3 Considerable increases in NHS workforce will be required

In 2014, there were 2.82 doctors per thousand persons in the UK and 8.26 nurses per thousand persons. The number of doctors per head in the UK is already below the OECD average of 3.93 doctors per thousand persons. The relative number of nurses in the UK is already below the OECD average of 12.5 nurses per thousand persons (OECD, 11 November 2015, [link](#)). The NHS already needs more staff.

Higher net migration from the EU will require considerable increases in the size of the NHS workforce to maintain the current numbers of doctors and nurses per head, as the table below shows:

Additional NHS staff needed by 2030 due to higher EU net migration		
	Doctors	Nurses
Per capita (2014)	0.00282	0.00826
Baseline	7,276	21,311
Low forecast	9,004	26,372
Medium forecast	11,992	35,125
High forecast	14,746	43,193

Source: OECD, 11 November 2015, [link](#).

Comparison to current NHS workforce in England		
	Doctors	Nurses and midwives
Current population	111,158	318,640
Low	8.10%	8.28%
Medium	10.79%	11.02%
High	13.27%	13.56%

Source: Health and Social Care Information Centre, 2016, [link](#).

- Under the baseline forecast in which the A5 do not join the EU in 2020, the UK will need an additional 7,276 doctors and 21,311 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.
- Under the low forecast, the UK will need an additional 9,004 doctors and 26,372 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of 8.1% of the current number of NHS doctors in England and 8.3% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.
- Under the medium forecast, the UK will need an additional 11,992 doctors and 35,125 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of 10.8% of the current NHS number of doctors in England and 11.0% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.
- Under the high forecast, the UK will need an additional 14,746 doctors and 43,193 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of

13.3% of the current NHS number of doctors in England and 13.6% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.

Conclusion

If we vote remain on 23 June, we are voting for the free movement of persons. This principle requires the UK to accept unlimited EU migration, no matter how great the impact on public services. If current levels of net migration from the EU continue until 2030, 2.58 million persons will be added to the UK population. Considerable additional pressure on the NHS will result. The NHS will require an additional £4.61 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current levels of funding per person. Demand for accident and emergency services will increase by 28.1%. The UK will need an additional 7,276 doctors and 21,311 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita.

A vote to remain on 23 June is also a vote for the expansion of the EU in 2020 to include Albania, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Turkey (the A5). This is the stated aim of the EU's enlargement policy and is strongly supported by the Prime Minister and the Government. The UK will pay over £1.8 billion to facilitate this in the coming years. The British public will have no say over the accessions, which could occur just three and a half years after the referendum

The future A5 accessions will considerably increase net migration from the EU and the pressure on public services. *This document does not consider what immigration from outside the EU will be in this period*, so its forecasts are likely underestimates of the true level of pressure that public services like the NHS will face in the event of a vote to remain on 23 June.

The *low forecast* is that net EU migration will rise to 233,000 per year by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Portsmouth to the population each year. 3.19 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, the equivalent of the population of Wales. The NHS will require an additional £5.71 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current funding levels per person on top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View. Attendances at A&E will increase by 7.81 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 34.8% increase in demand for A&E services. The UK will need an additional 9,004 doctors and 26,372 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of 8.1% of the current number of NHS doctors in England and 8.3% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.

The *medium forecast* is that net migration from the EU will rise to 339,000 by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Cardiff each year. 4.25 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, the equivalent of four cities the size of Birmingham. The NHS will require an additional £7.60 billion per year by 2030 to maintain current funding levels per person on top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View. Attendances at A&E will increase by 10.4 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 46.4% increase in

demand for A&E services. The UK will need an additional 11,992 doctors and 35,125 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of 10.8% of the current NHS number of doctors in England and 11.0% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.

The *high forecast* is that net migration from the EU will rise to 428,000 per annum by 2030, the equivalent of adding a city the size of Bristol to the UK population each year. 5.23 million persons will be added to the UK population as a direct result, the equivalent of the population of Scotland. The NHS will require an additional £9.35 billion by 2030 to maintain current funding levels on top of the existing savings required by the Five Year Forward View. Attendances at A&E will increase by 12.8 million per year by 2030, the equivalent of a 57.0% increase in demand for accident and emergency services. The UK will need an additional 14,746 doctors and 43,193 nurses to maintain current levels of medical staff per capita. This is the equivalent of 13.3% of the current NHS number of doctors in England and 13.6% of the current number of NHS nurses in England.

If we Vote Leave, we take back control of our borders and our public services. We will be able to control immigration policy and asylum policy (which the European Court now controls via the Charter of Fundamental Rights). We will be able to have a more humane and rational immigration policy. We will be able to target abuses of the system and get democratic support for immigration policy.

It is safer to take back control by voting to leave the European Union on 23 June. The UK may not get another chance for decades.

Annex: Migration from the EU (2003-present)

Immigration (000s)					
Year	EU	EU-15	EU-8	EU-2	EU - other
2003	66	66	-	-	-
2004	130	77	53	-	-
2005	152	73	76	-	3
2006	170	74	92	-	4
2007	195	77	112	-	6
2008	198	90	89	-	19
2009	167	82	68	-	17
2010	176	76	86	10	4
2011	174	83	77	13	1
2012	158	85	60	11	2
2013	201	104	70	25	3
2014	264	129	80	49	5
2015*	257	130	69	55	2

Emigration (000s)					
Year	EU	EU-15	EU-8	EU-2	EU - other
2003	51	51	-	-	-
2004	43	39	3	-	1
2005	56	40	15	-	1
2006	66	44	22	-	-
2007	69	41	25	-	3
2008	134	54	69	-	11
2009	109	53	52	-	4
2010	99	58	37	2	1
2011	92	49	37	5	1
2012	75	41	30	3	1
2013	78	47	26	3	2
2014	89	51	32	5	1
2015*	85	51	27	6	1

Net migration (000s)					
Year	EU	EU-15	EU-8	EU-2	EU - other
2003	15	15	-	-	-
2004	87	38	49	-	-
2005	96	33	61	-	2
2006	104	30	71	-	3
2007	127	36	87	-	4
2008	63	37	20	-	6
2009	58	29	16	-	13
2010	77	18	49	7	3
2011	82	34	40	8	0
2012	82	44	30	8	1
2013	123	58	44	21	1
2014	174	79	48	44	4
2015*	172	80	42	49	1

Source: ONS, 2015, [link](#); ONS, 2015, [link](#); ONS, February 2016, [link](#).

*We assume that the figure for the 2015 will be the same as in the year ending September 2015.



Vote Leave, take back control

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