

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE TALKS

What are the issues that really matter?

Can you tell the difference between right facts and wrong facts, opinions, arguments, hearsay and emotions?

Can you see into the future?

Are you ambitious for the country that your children and their children will live in?

ABOUT DEVONSHIRE HOUSE

Devonshire House is a people-focused membership club for Director-level professionals in leadership roles who have an instinctive focus on the human side of enterprise.

DHN Members have a serious interest in all aspects of people at work and how people can flourish within whatever and wherever the work environment and context may be. This interest is professional and is also personal in that Devonshire House also exists for the benefit of its members, seeking to address these needs in the most congenial, convivial and supportive of environments.

Devonshire House Management Club was set up by a senior group of Personnel Directors at a time of great and unprecedented industrial strife. Their first event – on a Saturday evening in 1967 – when more than thirty senior Personnel Professionals gathered at the Royal Albion in Brighton is seen as the time when the Devonshire House Management Club started.

The next three decades and a bit were the glory years for the DHMC. Some of the best management thinking took place there – some formalised but much spontaneous. They also knew that the relationships that were formed within its Chatham House Rule environment were special and privileged.

But, moving into the new millennium, change came. Some of this change was obvious, some inevitable, some was avoidable but most of

it was fairly slow. Probably the major change was that the Manufacturing/Engineering component of GDP was about 30% in the DHMC early days – now it's about 10%. Industrial Relations were no longer front of stage. Directors had to learn new skills, be more flexible and nimble and face up to new issues, with the more astute ones recognising that the fundamentals never change.

Line Managers were now the people leaders and they had to enthuse, inspire and solve problems with the support of their HR resource.

Recognising all these changes, Devonshire House Management Club became the Devonshire House Network in 2013. It seeks to preserve the ethos of the past, build on the professional and intellectual exclusivity of its origins and recognise, crucially, that success in any business is mostly still about people and it is all professionals at Director level who are responsible for their people. It is this broader range of Director level managers who now comprise the expanding DHN membership base.

In growing Devonshire House, we are particularly grateful to our Partner Firms – our Sponsors – for their support and guidance. www.CharlesRussellSpeechlys.com (The top 25 full service law firm) and www.Russam-GMS.co.uk (The longest established Interim Management Provider in the UK and Executive Search Firm). We also have a Reciprocal Agreement with the Economic Research Council - www.ERCouncil.org.



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Devonshire House Network Ltd is a company registered in England and Wales. Registered number: 8477779.
Registered Office: Dukes Court, 32 Duke Street, St James's, London SW1Y 6DF. 01582 666970.

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DEVONSHIRE HOUSE
NETWORK

WHO YOU MEET CHANGES WHAT YOU BECOME

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE TALKS

LEAVE OR STAY: WHAT DOES BRITISH BUSINESS WANT FROM THE EU?

The story of a good-natured and lively debate about the forthcoming EU Referendum – trying very hard to keep to the business issues!

In association with Business for Britain and
Business for New Europe
Devised and produced by Devonshire House
Network Ltd

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February 2016

ABOUT THIS EVENT

This is the story about an Event held at the East India Club, 16 St. James's Square, London SW1Y 4LH on 18.11.15. It was a debate. **"Leave or Stay: What does British business want from the EU?"**

The idea emerged from a Devonshire House Topical Issues Forum that Devonshire House organized in June 2014 with "Business for Britain", seen as the leading Campaign Group for major re-negotiation of the EU Treaty, failing which they would campaign to leave the EU.

For 2015, we thought, let's turn it into a debate and bring in the other side to the argument. In so doing, we finished up with the two leading Campaign Groups most likely to win accreditation from the Electoral Commission –

- **Business for Britain - now part of Vote Leave - www.voteleavetakecontrol.org**
(See also www.businessforbritain.org).
- **Business for New Europe - now part of www.strongerin.co.uk**
(See also www.businessforneweurope.org).

As the organisers, we decided that, although we finished up calling it a Debate – and debates have winners and losers – this one would be called a draw from the very beginning. The aim was, like all Devonshire House Events, to present the facts, the arguments, the emotion and, inevitably, some element of fiction-masquerading-as-opinion-trying-to-be-fact. We want all those listening to be better informed and to be questioning – as senior leaders of businesses and with major responsibilities for people who work for them in those businesses. Devonshire House does not take sides. We showcase important national debates and key issues. Our members make up their own minds.

What made this Event really special was that it was probably the first time that the two EU Referendum leading campaign groups had shared a platform in debate. For convenience, we refer in this publication to them as BfB and BNE, even though they may well not be calling themselves as such when this document is published.

The Session was chaired by leading Media figure Giles Dilnot and:

- Presenting the business case for Remaining/ Staying in the EU were **Hugo Dixon and Tim Skeet**. Hugo spoke in an independent capacity. Neither are BNE board members. Tim spoke in a personal capacity but is a board member of the ICMA.
- Presenting the business case for Leaving the EU were **Jon Moynihan** OBE, former Executive Chairman of PA Consulting and **Matthew Elliott**, Chief Executive of Business for Britain and also of VOTE LEAVE.

Disclaimer

This booklet was based on a voice recording taken at the actual Event - hence its chatty style. Turning actual speech into verbatim text presents some interesting features and some difficulties in adapting into suitable presentation for this publication. Editing has resulted in some pruning of superfluous, some amendments for clarity purposes and an occasional note from the Editor for other purposes.

Devonshire House Network Ltd and those individuals to whom text, figures, statistics, opinions and comments are attributed as authors in this publication accept no responsibility whatsoever and they should not be relied upon without independent confirmation. Whilst some comments may be seen by some as somewhat fruity – even disrespectful to some extent - nothing in this publication should be construed as defamatory, slanderous or libellous. However, it will be noted that there are a number of differing views on some facts and figures.

The date of the Event also needs to be borne in mind - in a fast moving world, that is how it looked at that time – 18.11.15 - lots of changes have happened since then!

LEAVE OR STAY: WHAT DOES BRITISH BUSINESS WANT FROM THE EU?

The story of a good-natured and lively debate about the forthcoming EU Referendum – trying very hard to keep to the business issues!

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CHARLES RUSSAM, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF DEVONSHIRE HOUSE INTRODUCES THE DEBATE.

"Ladies and gentlemen, a very warm welcome to you all from me, Charles Russam - and from our two Partner Firms, Russam GMS and Charles Russell Speechleys - and also from the Economic Research Council, with whom we have a reciprocal arrangement."

Charles went on to describe the timetable for the evening... and then handed over to Giles Dilnot who introduced the Speakers and managed the Debate thereafter... but, before doing that, Charles Russam made the following points:

POINT 1

BNE is in the process of changing into **Britain Stronger in Europe** (www.strongerin.co.uk) and BfB is in the process of subsuming into **Vote Leave** (www.voteleavetakecontrol.org.) Worthy of note at this point is the fact that both parties are wholly reliant on private donations – even after the Electoral Commission rules become operational – which will place limits and conditions on how the campaigns are managed. Cynics may be tempted to conclude that the side with the most money scores most points. Nevertheless, both sides are very keen for donations! And people to help.

POINT 2

On a similarly commercial footing, was the ebullient Hugo Dixon – the Seconder in the "Stay" Team - keen to sell his book – **"The IN/OUT Question"** - copies of which he happened to bring along with him. (available from Hugo Dixon - hugo@hugo-dixon.com for £5.) Hugo says that they're fabulous value for only five pounds, and for that you'll get a personal commendation written in the fly sheet. Probably by way of endorsement, Boris Johnson writes, somewhat enigmatically: "Hugo Dixon is the Johnnie Cochran of the European Union - he has done a superb job in defending the indefensible!"

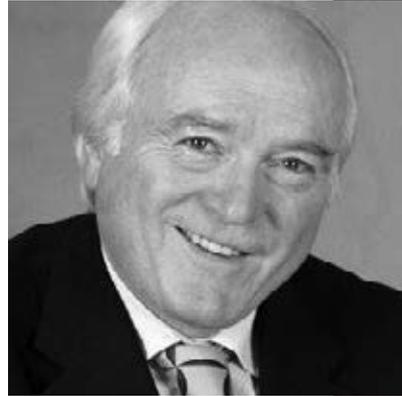
POINT 3

Available, for no charge, is a range of literature of the parties – and much more - all this is available from www.strongerin.co.uk and www.voteleavetakecontrol.org.

POINT 4

Devonshire House has a history of courtesy towards Speakers and to themselves and Members tend not to take themselves all that seriously but they do take seriously the things that are discussed at Events as they relate to their professional lives, to the businesses that they own, partly own or wish they owned, and also to the people who work in those businesses.

This is one of these occasions.



ABOUT BNE

WHAT WE DO

Business for New Europe is Britain's leading pro-European business coalition, campaigning for Britain's place in a more competitive Europe. Founded by Roland Rudd in 2006, we campaign for Britain to retain and enhance the economic benefits it derives from EU membership. We also call for improvements in the way the EU works. Leaving the EU would damage our economy, make it harder for British business to compete internationally, and harm investment, growth and jobs. It would significantly weaken Britain's ability to shape policies in its most important export market, the Single Market, and globally in areas such as trade, climate change and international relations.

OUR AIMS

BNE supports Britain's active membership of the EU and opposes withdrawal to the margins. We support a prosperous, free-market Europe, able to compete in a globalised world and deliver for its people.

We therefore:

- Highlight the economic benefits of EU membership, explaining why it is good for jobs and helps our companies compete
- Call on politicians and other leaders to explain the advantages of EU membership, so that people can have an informed view
- Campaign for improvements in the way the EU works, to benefit the UK and the whole of the EU
- Support the UK's continued membership of the European Union and campaign for vote to remain in the forthcoming referendum

MAKING THE CASE FOR WHY THE UK SHOULD STAY IN

We advocate a positive, pro-business case for why Britain is stronger in the EU:

The Economic Case

- As a member of the European Union, our companies can sell, without barriers, to a market of 500 million people
- The free movement of capital means that EU companies can invest here in Britain freely
- The EU provides funding for businesses to all regions of Britain, particularly those with the greatest need
- EU research funding helps universities and firms innovate to create the technologies of the future

International Trade

- As a member of the EU, Britain can get better free trade deals with other countries than we could alone
- The EU has free trade agreements with big economies
- The EU is also negotiating new agreements

Security & Strength

- Britain will face the international challenges more effectively by working with our European allies
- Britain is a powerful and influential country
- Terrorism does not recognise borders
- Within the EU, Britain can also tackle climate change more effectively

The Social Case

- Holidaying in Europe is easier than anywhere else in the world
- EU rules keep you safe and secure at work
- People benefit from EU actions to cut costs and protect consumers
- The free movement of people helps Britons study, work and retire to Europe

Engagement & Reform

- The Single Market is the EU's greatest achievement, but it could be better still
- The EU must sign global free trade agreements
- Brussels must regulate more effectively
- Engagement, not special pleading, will deliver reform

OUR FUNDING

BNE is a not-for-profit organisation funded by donations from the private sector. We are not affiliated to any political party, and we do not receive funding from the government or the EU.

OUR ADVISORY COUNCIL

Our Advisory Council is made up of senior business leaders who support BNE in a personal capacity. A full list of our advisory council is available at http://www.businessforneweurope.org/our_people

*“Leaving the EU
would damage our
economy...”*

ABOUT BfB

Business for Britain exists to give a voice to the large, but often silent, majority among Britain's business community who want to see fundamental changes made to the terms of our EU membership. We are independent and non-partisan, involving people from all parties and no party. Business for Britain will ensure that the British people understand that many UK business people want a better deal from Brussels and are not scared to fight to achieve that change.

OUR AIMS

Technological and economic forces are changing the world fast. EU institutions cannot cope. We have lost control of vital policies. This is damaging. We need a new relationship. What should it be?

- We negotiate a new UK-EU deal based on free trade and friendly cooperation.
- We end the supremacy of EU law.
- We regain control.
- We stop sending £350 million every week to Brussels and instead spend it on our priorities, like the NHS and science research.
- We regain our seats on international institutions like the World Trade Organisation so we are a more influential force for free trade and international cooperation.
- A vote to 'leave' and a better, friendlier relationship with the EU is much safer than giving Brussels more power and money every year.

WHO'S BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN?

Business for Britain is led by its Chief Executive, Matthew Elliott, and Co-Chairmen Alan Halsall (Chairman, Silver Cross Holdings) and John Mills (Chairman and Founder, JML) and a strong Board of successful leaders, including: Neville Baxter, Harriet Bridgeman CBE, Dr Peter Cruddas, Robert Hiscox, Daniel Hodson, John Hoerner, Brian Kingham, Adrian McAlpine and Jon Moynihan OBE.

WHO ELSE IS INVOLVED?

Our Advisory Council provides further in-depth knowledge and understanding of specific business sectors. People who have signed up (in a personal capacity) include: Lord Bell, BPP Communications (Chairman); Roger Bootle, Capital Economics (Founder and MD); David Buik, Panmure Gordon & Co (Market Commentator); Sir Rocco Forte, The Rocco Forte Collection (Executive Chairman); Oliver Hemsley, Numis Securities (CEO); Sir Michael Hintze, CQS Management Ltd (Chairman); Luke Johnson, Patisserie Valerie (Chairman) and Lord Kalms, Dixons Retail Plc (President).

A FULL LIST OF OUR ADVISORY COUNCIL IS AVAILABLE AT: www.businessforbritain.org/advisorycouncil

A thousand business leaders have signed up to Business for Britain. Signatories to our campaign include (in a personal capacity): John Caudwell, Phones4u (Founder); John Clement, Littlewoods (Chairman); John Freida, John Freida (Founder); Peter Goldstein, Superdrug (Co-founder); Nick Jenkins, Moonpig.com (Founder); Peter Simon, Monsoon (Founder); and Nicko Williamson, Bounce (CEO & Co-founder), Lord Wolfson, Next PLC (Chief Executive).

WHAT MAKES YOU DIFFERENT FROM THE OTHER GROUPS INVOLVED IN THE EU DEBATE?

Business for Britain is a campaign run by business for business to demonstrate that the country has nothing to fear from renegotiation and to give business a voice in the debate. Existing groups either do not have our business focus or argue that Britain needs to leave regardless of what happens. We are campaigning on behalf of business for the best deal for Britain.

WHAT SPECIFIC THINGS DO YOU WANT TO SEE CHANGE?

We want to see fundamental reform of the EU based on the principles of competitiveness, flexibility; powers flowing back to the Member States, democratic accountability, and fairness. A list of ten key reforms which we would like to see emerge from the ongoing renegotiation can be found in our pamphlet **The Change We Need**. Now that Treaty change has been ruled out as an outcome of the renegotiation process, Business for Britain has affiliated to the 'Vote Leave' campaign, to ensure that a professional, mainstream campaign is ready in the event of a snap referendum.

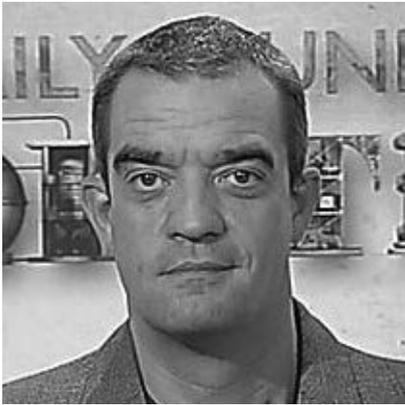
ARE YOU SUPPORTERS OF ANY ONE POLITICAL PARTY?

We are a cross-party campaign for business representing all parties and no party. The business community is not interested in the politics of who is advocating the changes they want to see, but does support a fundamental change in Britain's EU relationship, returning to a relationship based on trade rather than political union.

WHAT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE 'VOTE LEAVE' CAMPAIGN?

Business for Britain is an affiliate of the 'Vote Leave' campaign, which will campaign for a 'Leave' vote in the forthcoming EU referendum. The BfB Board made this decision following the European Council meeting in June 2015, when Treaty change was ruled out, and BfB supporters were informed over the summer. Not all BfB supporters have decided which way they will vote in the referendum and some are taking the perfectly legitimate position of waiting to see what the Government manages to negotiate with the EU before deciding which way they will vote.

GILES DILNOT INTRODUCES THE DEBATE



This is going to be one of the most important debates that takes place in politics in this country for a very very long time and it's not just something that we will be covering but everybody's going to be involved with it."

Giles went on:

"At the moment, the tendency is that not many people are fully aware of the arguments.

I believe that's part of the

idea of this evening's event - to identify and marshall as many of the facts that we can; to explore some of the arguments and understand both sides. Due to the complexity of all the wide-ranging arguments – many of which are constantly changing and developing, it is inevitable that Remain/Stay or Leave decisions may be made without a good understanding of all the relevant facts – always changing and inter-relating. But – more importantly for us here this evening - is that we need to keep reminding ourselves that we're not talking about whether we leave the EU or remain in the EU; we're talking about the business case for that on either side, and if we can focus on that, that would be useful." (Note from the Editor: In retrospect, this was bound to be difficult. But, so what!)

Giles then described the order of play for the debate.

"The idea is that our panellists will speak to you for five minutes each at the beginning. I'm then going to take questions. I can't believe I'm saying this... I might invoke the spirit of Bercow; if you weren't on the panel, that meant you weren't making a speech; you are here to ask a question. If we can bear that in mind, that will mean more people can get involved and I'd like as many people as possible to take part. Standing up and making a speech with no question at the end probably will get a snarl from me. So if we can focus on questions. Given that we need to be fair about it, if you have a particular question that really does relate to one side or the other, I will look for questions that match another side possibly, or put that question, if somebody wants to come in."



INTRODUCING THE SPEAKERS

Giles Dilnot went on to introduce the Panellists – Hugo Dixon, Jon Moynihan, Tim Skeet, and Matthew Elliott.



TIM SKEET

Tim is a board member of the International Capital Market Association (ICMA). He chairs several committees for the Association, including the Committee of Regional Representatives, the Oversight Committee, the Investor working group on bail-in and sits

on the education committee. He is a frequent contributor to the specialist media and speaker at industry events internationally. Tim Skeet has worked in the City for almost three and a half decades in a variety of senior roles at investment banks. His focus has been very much on looking after clients and specialising in a range of financial institution financing techniques. He has had wide responsibility for business across Europe and in North America. He has been very involved in developments in the markets for mortgage finance, having also served on the Steering Committee of the European Covered Bond Council (ECBC). Besides this and other industry engagement, Tim has been Chairman of an aviation museum, and has been very involved in the world of historic aviation. Tim lives in London and is married with three children. He speaks French and German, with interests in politics, current affairs and writing.



HUGO DIXON

Hugo Dixon is founder of Reuters Breakingviews, the leading international source of online financial commentary. He is now Editor-at-Large, Reuters News. Before founding Breakingviews, Hugo spent 13 years at the Financial Times, the last five as Head of Lex. He is

the author of *The Penguin Guide to Finance* and *Finance Just in Time*. He was named Business Journalist of the Year 2000 in the British Press Awards. In 2008, he won the Decade of Excellence Award at the Business. He is also the author of “**The In/Out Question: Why Britain Should Stay in the EU and Fight to make it better:**” (available from hugo@hugo-dixon.com). He is a regular broadcaster, appearing on programmes including the BBC's Today Programme, the BBC World Service and CNBC.



JON MOYNIHAN OBE

Jon Moynihan is the former CEO and Executive Chairman of PA Consulting. He is currently co-Principal at Ipx Capital, Chairman of Plaquetec Ltd and Semblant Ltd, and on the Board of Aegate Ltd — all four of which he was founder Chairman. He

joined PA in 1992, when the company was about to go into bankruptcy proceedings. As consulting.uk put it in 2015: “Following arguably one of the most noteworthy turnarounds in consulting’s history, PA, under the leadership of Jon Moynihan, (who also introduced the firm’s fully employee-owned business model) regained its flair, laying the foundation for the firm’s successful heritage over the next decades.” PA Consulting, named this year by The Independent as “The most important company you never heard of”, was sold, at a valuation of over \$1 billion, one year after Jon’s retirement as Chairman. Prior to PA, Jon worked at Track Records (the management company for The Who and other Rock acts); for War on Want and Save the Children in India and Bangladesh; for Roche; and for McKinsey, Strategic Planning Associates and First Manhattan Consulting Group. He is a Foundation Fellow of Balliol College; a Distinguished Friend of Oxford University; a Fellow of Gray’s Inn; a member of the Court of Imperial College, London; a member of the Dean’s Board at the Sloan School, MIT; and President of the Royal Albert Hall.” He is a graduate of Oxford, North London Polytechnic and MIT



MATTHEW ELLIOTT

Matthew Elliott is Chief Executive of Vote Leave, the campaign for a 'leave' vote in the EU referendum that will happen before the end of 2017. He is also the founder of Business for Britain, the largest business group in the UK campaigning for fundamental change in

Britain's relationship with the European Union. The campaign recently published the seminal work “Change, or Go: How Britain would gain influence and prosper outside an unreformed EU”. Matthew is one of the foremost political campaigners working in Westminster, having led the hugely successful ‘No’ campaign against the Alternative Vote in the 2011 referendum, and founded groups as diverse as the TaxPayers’ Alliance and civil liberties campaign Big Brother Watch.”

THE DEBATE STARTED WITH HUGO DIXON

Hugo Dixon thinks we'd all be better off if we remain in the EU. These are his views:



"It's a pleasure to be here. Of course, in the wake of the Paris attacks, there's a lot that one could say about the non-economic case for Britain being in the EU; how we have these cross-border problems, whether it's terrorism, refugees, global warming or whatever and how Britain does better by attacking those with our allies than going solo. But that is not the topic for this evening.

The business case is primarily the case of free trade. The EU's single market is built on four pillars; the four freedoms; the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital. As Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England said last month, a large internal market boosts dynamism.

What you get are economies of scale, you get countries specialising in what they do best and you get competition, much more competition, which in turn spurs innovation and productivity.

*And this actually applies to all four freedoms; not just goods or services or even capital. It also applies most critically, to the most controversial of these freedoms, **the free movement of people**. Whatever you think about the free movement of people from a cultural perspective, and I think on balance it's positive, it is good for us economically. Talent is directed to the best jobs wherever they are; businesses can recruit the best people for the job, and I know we have a lot of recruitment professionals in the audience today, and people can spark off one another and be more creative in creating better products.*

*Of course **there is talk about benefit tourism** but this is largely a myth. EU migrants are younger and better educated than the native population. Employment rates are higher too. So you normally have when an EU migrant comes to the UK is that they've normally been educated at some other country's expense, not an our expense, they work and pay taxes; they're not normally on benefits, and they're not so old that they need us to pay a lot for them to use the National Health Service. So from a purely fiscal perspective, quite apart from the business benefits, we get a good deal, even on that free movement of people.*

*Being in the EU, we also benefit from the EU's clout in trade talks; the EU is **the largest economy in the world**. It is even bigger than the American economy. They have concluded fifty trade deals; a really big one is now being negotiated between the EU and the US. **What a crying shame it would be for us to leave just as that looks like it (TTIP) has a chance of being clinched.***

*We also attract oodles of inward investment and part of that is because of our EU membership because companies want to use us as a launch pad to serve **not just the sixty five million people of the UK, but the five hundred plus million people of the EU**. Of course the EU's not perfect; no institution made by man is perfect. From an economic perspective, **there are two main problems**; one, the single market is not complete, although it's a hell of a lot better than nothing; and secondly, the EU sometimes over-regulates. **But there is a big push to add further pillars to the single market**; capital markets union, digital single market, energy union and services; all of these are areas where we do well. **How foolish would it be for us to leave just as these are coming to fruition?** And as for regulation, well, there is certainly some over-regulation but even there, there are signs of it being reined back. **So rather than quitting, let's get stuck in, let's fight to make the EU even better for our business than it is today."***

"...let's fight to make the EU even better for our business than it is today."

JON MOYNIHAN SPOKE NEXT

Jon Moynihan thinks we can best realise our serious business potential by NOT being part of the EU. These are his views:



*"I'd just like to point out that **you were just promised a whole bunch of pie in the sky there**; a whole bunch of stuff that's sort of coming..... I mean, the EU's been going fifty years or whatever. It hasn't come yet. Do you really think it's going to come?"*

*The point about **getting economy of scale from large markets**...The EU is now less*

*than twenty percent of world trade so that everything Hugo said about the advantages of having economy of scale disappear once we leave the European Union are wrong. **We'll be going to a market that's eighty percent of the world trade.** So that was the only thing I agreed with. There are economies of scale but it's much bigger if you go for world trade.*

*Rather than just disagreeing with my friend, Hugo, all the time, I'd like to start with a couple of things that I think we can probably all agree. **First of all, what's this Debate all about?***

***It's about the future**, it's about getting a world where our children, grandchildren, can earn as much as we do, can live in jobs that are as good as what we have or better, can have a level of wealth and happiness and prosperity that we have. My contention is that we need to be outside the EU for this to happen.*

And the second thing** I think you'd all agree with is that one of the major things - in fact the most important thing - that's going to determine whether that's true or not is our trade with the world, **whether with the EU or elsewhere, the fact that we need to export as much or more than we import.

***And the third thing we'd all agree on is that when we went into the European Union, called the Common Market at the time, it was all about that one issue. Trade.** The UK had a terrible trade deficit. We all thought, we'd better go into the Common Market because only fifteen percent of our trade at the time was with the Common Market, eighty five percent was with the rest of the world. We were one of the great trading nations of the time.*

So we went in to the Common Market, hoping that our trading deficit would be put right because what we entered was a custom's union.

The European Union was quite large at the time; maybe I think thirty or forty percent of world trade and so this was very exciting. Now, it is half that – about 20%.

(Note from Editor: Jon went on to explain that this change has worsened the impact of tariffs – in that within the EU there are no tariffs but for trade outside the EU, broadly there are. As an example of a large-ticket good – which applied as much to small-ticket goods - he compared the purchase price of a BMW with a Lexus, the differential being import tax.)

*"That's why it's wonderful for Germany and the rest of the EU to have us in the EU because we're their captive market - buying goods from them and not being able to get cheap goods from Japan and elsewhere. The people of the UK pay more for their goods because we're required by the EU to charge tariffs to the countries outside the EU and it's more difficult for us to export to the rest of the world because they then put tariffs on us. Now, the European Union is now less than twenty percent of the global market. The things that we sell are global products. **How has being in the EU worked out?** Well, we've still got a trade deficit of 35 billion. Where's that deficit coming from? Well, sixty two billion is from the EU and we have a surplus with the rest of the world of twenty seven billion. We have a deficit with every single country in Europe except for Greece, Ireland, Malta, Cyprus and Luxembourg. Every other EU country, we have a deficit with.*

To summarise, to protect our future, to make the UK the great trading power it used to be - the fifth largest economy in the world - it's essential that we take this wonderful opportunity to leave the EU, to establish a vigorous trading relationship with the EU and to do the same with the rest of the world, free of the tariffs and the idle hand of Brussels. Only then do we start to have a chance of building a future that will bring prosperity and happiness to our lovely country."

"...it's essential that we take this wonderful opportunity to leave the EU..."

TIM SKEET SPOKE IN SUPPORT OF HUGO DIXON

Tim Skeet also thinks we'd all be better off - business-wise - if we remain in the EU. These are his views:



Talking about cars, I drive a very beaten up fifteen-year-old Renault, so I won't be checking any prices. It still works; it's a bit rusty but the engine's actually pretty good for a European engine.

Obviously, I don't agree with what you say, Jon, but I respect your views as a businessman. As businessmen, many of us care very deeply about the

fact that this nation needs to be successful as a trading nation. What we cannot get away from - as businessmen - is that between forty five and fifty percent of our trade, our exports, still go to Europe. It's very significant - particularly with services where we have a huge trade surplus with the rest of the EU community.

*Now, what we need as businessmen is certainty. One thing is certain in my mind is **we don't know what the world looks like if we come out of the EU.** It's all very well saying eighty percent of trade is not from the European Union but the world of today is vastly complicated and governed by many multi-lateral, bi-lateral agreements, most of which happen to have been cooked up in closed rooms between powerful trading organisations. Mercifully, we still belong to one.*

We need to know what we're going to jump into** if we're going to leave. Unfortunately, it's a leap in the dark and we have not yet heard from those who want to take this up; what our world would really look like. Yes, it seems to be nicer out there; we'll get on just fine on our own; all those people we've been cosyng up to for years; those treacherous Frenchmen, those lethal Germans; goodness knows what else - will be terribly nice to us all of a sudden when we leave and they'll be jolly good about passporting us and they'll bring down trade barriers and giving us special privileges. **Oh no they won't.

So what are the alternatives? Let's talk about what really happens if we leave because there are some precedents. Let me quickly cast an eye over what is available to this country if we step outside, and it's going to take years of uncertainty and negotiation. We'll just take a look.....

*There are four decent cases to look at. **The Norwegian option.** The nodding Norwegians pay almost as much as if they were in the EU. They have to accept everything and they have no say. Not a good option.*

*There's the **Swiss cheese option** - full of holes and it smells! Not one that I fancy for the United Kingdom either. There's the **Icelandic freezer.** It's pretty*

cold out there on an island. They have no say over immigration, they have to pay their dues and again, they have to accept what is sent to them in a freezer bag from Brussels.

***And the final option** - I can't resist this one, for those who have a tendency to withdrawal symptoms, which is what I believe my friends on the other side of this debate are currently suffering from - **there's the cold Turkey.** And Turkey has a trade agreement whereby they're basically signing all their trade policy away to Brussels.*

*Now, there was a time in this magnificent room, with these magnificent portraits, (Note from the Editor: Talking about the East India Club!) when Britain used to solve trade problems very simply. We sent a gun boat - the East India Company did that in the nineteenth century; it was our way of dealing with the Chinese. Send a gun boat, make them buy our opium. Well, unfortunately, that doesn't work in the modern age; **we need to be part of a big and powerful trading block.***

So I think my very simple message is we do need to know where we're going, what is really going to happen when we leave because we could do ourselves a lot of damage.

***A divorce could leave us with a significant hangover, not to mention a massive legal bill** and all of you lawyers out there will be rolling your hands; you'll be loving this when it comes.*

*But as far as I'm concerned, learn the lesson of King Canute. **You can't fight the tide of history** - and remember - **he invaded this country very successfully, as an illegal immigrant,** exactly a thousand years ago this year. And many of us have jolly good Viking stock in us as well. That's my five minute's worth.*

“A divorce could leave us with a significant hangover, not to mention a massive legal bill”

MATTHEW ELLIOTT WAS THE FINAL SPEAKER

Matthew Elliott has been very visibly arguing the case, at national level, for leaving the EU for longer than most.



“Well, one point of rebuttal to start off with. The countries you list - Iceland, Norway, Switzerland – are amongst the richest countries in the world. So surely from a business point of view, that’s not too bad a situation.

*When Giles introduced me, he said that the website for **Vote Leave** was voteleavetakecontrol.org - and that was very deliberate. The*

*name of the website wasn’t vote leave, it’s better for business or vote leave, it’s good for the economy; it was vote leave, take control. **Unless you have control, you can’t change things.***

*It’s impossible to disentangle the political dimension of this debate from the business dimension that we’re discussing tonight and I’m going to talk a little bit about that in my five minutes. **Vote Leave is a cross-party organisation.** Let me quote Tony Benn - one of my great heroes - he had five democratic tests that he applied to any country or any political system. These are:*

- *What power have you got?*
- *Where did you get it from,?*
- *Who’s it addressed to and do you exercise it?*
- *To whom are you accountable?*
- *How can they get rid of you?*

And I would say that the EU fails those democratic tests.

*Now, the first aspect of this debate of course is that EU law is supreme over UK law and you might be thinking, what on earth has that got to do with the business debate? **But there are so many decisions where UK politicians are overruled by the EU that it’s impossible to list them all.***

*Perhaps I’ll just list two. Firstly, a business one; **bankers’ bonuses.** You know, the government of the UK felt it was wrong that the EU was bringing in new laws on banker’s bonuses. The democratically elected House of Commons, backed the UK government and yet they were overruled by the European Commission and the ECJ. **So EU law is trumping British law.***

*And, secondly, a more popular one, less business-orientated - **prison votes.** The UK population and the MPs have a clear view of it and were overruled by the ECJ. So the fact that EU law is supreme to UK law, to me, is at the heart of this debate and has an over-riding impact when it comes to business and governance.*

*One of the things most talked about is our influence within the EU. Now, what’s interesting, in recent years, is we’ve been outvoted more and more times. For example, since David Cameron became prime minister, **there’ve been forty occasions when Britain has been outvoted on the European Council***

and laws have come into the UK which we didn’t want to happen. Now, that’s forty occasions where the democratic right of the British public has been overruled by the EU. And that would happen more and more, if we remained in the EU.

*We’re in a situation now where the Euro zone will massively trump the non-Euro zone countries, where interests of non-Euro zone countries will be overruled by the EU. Now, this will be a key aspect of renegotiation; one which I daresay that without treaty change, it will just continue and **we’ll see time and time again, decisions affecting Britain’s business, Britain’s financial services, the city being overruled by the interests of the other member states involved in the Euro zone.***

We’ll also see it when it comes to propping up the Euro zone and, Britain’s been forced to be part of the bail out of the Euro zone, despite the fact the prime minister said that we wouldn’t be.

*I can see I’ve got two more minutes... **I want to talk briefly about the migration issue** because I think this actually affects the work of the business community. Now, lots of people talk about migration purely in terms of low-skilled workers. So we all say it’s great we have freedom of movement in the EU, we have an unlimited supply of lower-skilled workers to suit British businesses. **What happens to the high-skilled workers?** What about the workers from outside the EU - from America perhaps or Australia or China or India - the people who we need for our economy who haven’t been able to get visas to work in the EU?*

*I’m sure there are people involved in recruitment who’ve had occasions when you’ve had the perfect candidate, they’ve been based outside the EU and **it’s been very difficult to get the visa for them to work in the UK and to keep the UK economy going.** So it’s a huge problem. It’s the reason why we need to get back border control.*

*In my final forty seconds, I’d like to comment on the relationship post-leaving. **We don’t have a drawbridge; we don’t do no trading with the EU, we don’t cut ourselves off; Britain should be a good neighbour to the European Union,** have a trade deal for reasons that Jon explained, but also we’d work with them on all sorts of different areas.*

***We would have bi-lateral deals regarding extradition and the environment but also we could take our place at the top table when it comes to international bodies** like the International Trade Organisation, where currently we’re represented by the EU and as the fifth largest economy in the world, we don’t have our own interests represented.*

***So one final thought to finish off with** - were there to be a referendum – today - on whether or not it would be worth Britain **joining** the European Union, I think the British public would vote no. **They wouldn’t want to join the European Union.** And I also daresay that were there to be a vote among Britain’s business community today on whether or not to join the European Union again, they’d vote no. Thank you.”*

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

(Note from Editor – The following Q&As were recorded verbatim and much has been streamlined advisedly! We did not catch the name of some of the Questioners, so decided to omit all names. We hope that no-one is upset by this!)

QUESTION/COMMENT 1:

"I'd just like to ask two combined questions, which is firstly, I do not understand how by leaving the EU, we could actually improve our trade balance with the EU. That seems to be against the likelihood that we'd have higher tariffs. And secondly, in terms of democratic control, as was mentioned by one of the other speakers, we are looking at the TTIP being signed in the near future. It seems to be unlikely that Britain would get as good terms on that, negotiating in its own right, rather than through the EU. From that point of view, under the TTIP democratic control is going to be a problem whether we're in the EU or not."

(Note from Editor: TTIP is The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, described by some as about time too and what's been holding you back and by some as a secretive and controversial agreement being negotiated by the EU and United States and with some referring to "vested interests", currently)

QUESTION/COMMENT 2:

"I'm for leaving. The stay side makes a lot of the advantages of the so-called market but on balance, they are not an advantage. What we get for that is the ability to trade with the other members of the EU; free of duty, but what it costs us is the enormous amount of regulation, which the European Union imposes on its members. And even if all our GDP - all of it - were exported to the EU, which of course is nowhere near the truth, and we had to pay tariff duty on it because we had left and had no free trade agreement with the that duty would amount to about twenty billion. So we're paying seventy billion for something which is worth far less than twenty."

(Note from Editor – not sure where this 70 bn comes from.)

RESPONSES FROM THE PANEL

Jon Moynihan: *"Thank you. Your first question is how leaving the EU improves our trade balance with the EU? I don't think I said it would. What I said was that we'll improve our trade balance because we'll be able to trade with over eighty percent of the world economy that's the rest of the world and that's actually what we turn out to be good at."*

So we improve our trade balance there. Now, actually, if there's any impact on our leaving the EU, it would be to improve our overall trade balance. You're saying - and in fact, the other side have been saying - oh, it's terrible they'll impose tariffs on us and we'll get into a tariff war."

"I do not understand how by leaving the EU, we could actually improve our trade balance with the EU"

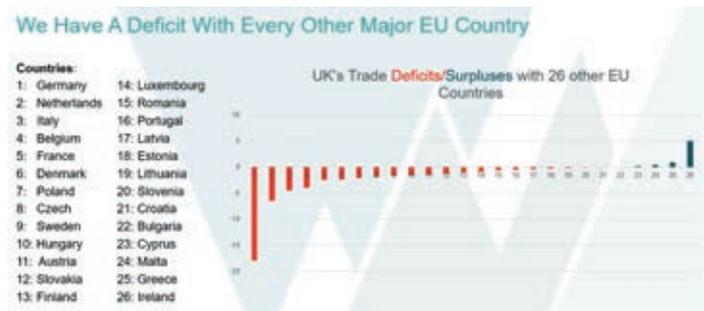
"that we'd have higher tariffs"

"unlikely that Britain would get as good terms on that, negotiating in its own right, rather than through the EU"

"we'll improve our trade balance because we'll be able to trade with over eighty percent of the world economy"

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR (CONT.)

However, this chart...



You see all the red lines down there? Those are the ones I was talking about. The surpluses that all these European countries have with us - every single one except the five smaller ones that I mentioned. They're surpluses to them; they're deficits to us.

So they're not going to impose tariffs on us because if they do, we'll impose tariffs on them. Germany exports twenty four billion dollars' worth of cars to the UK every year. We export four billion dollars' worth of cars to Germany each year. Do you really think that the German car manufacturers are going to allow a tariff to happen? No. It's just not on. They will have a free trade agreement with us because it is in their interests to do so once we leave.

As for your second question, you say under TTIP we wouldn't get as good terms as if we were inside TTIP. First of all, this is one of the scare stories that the other side go with. They say oh, America don't want us to leave the EU. Well, a classmate of Obama - part of his group of pals - is the current US trade representative and he says he doesn't want to do that. Obama says he doesn't want to do that. But both of them are going to be history by the end of next year.

The three major US candidates on the Republican side - the non-comic ones - who are Cruz, Bush and Rubio - have all said that we will have a single trade agreement with them if we leave the EU. It's just absolute nonsense to say that we won't have one.

What's more, ask how much influence do we have on TTIP? One twenty-eighth. And that's a rather weak - one twenty-eighth because they ignore everything we ask for anyway in Brussels.

The TTIP will be designed to be for the benefit of Germany, France and others. It won't talk much about the things that we're good at, it'll talk about the things that they're good at. If we do our own free trade deal with the US, we'll focus on the things that only we are interested in and the only way we're going to be able to do that is to be outside the EU.

Otherwise we've not been allowed to negotiate a trade deal with another country since 1973; that's been the job of Brussels since that time.

"The surpluses that all these European countries have... They're surpluses to them; they're deficits to us"

"So they're not going to impose tariffs on us because if they do, we'll impose tariffs on them"

"Do you really think that the German car manufacturers are going to allow a tariff to happen? No. It's just not on. They will have a free trade agreement with us because it is in their interests to do so once we leave"

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"..have all said that we will have a single trade agreement with them if we leave the EU"

"What's more, ask how much influence do we have on TTIP? One twenty-eighth"

Hugo Dixon: “Yes, I would like to come back on that. I think the questioner was right to question what’s going to happen to our trade.

Our trade with the EU will go down; it will be harder for us to penetrate the EU market than we can at the moment. We don’t know how bad it’ll be but it’s quite interesting that the other side hasn’t answered Tim’s challenge to tell us actually what sort of relationship they think they would have.

Matthew spent all of forty seconds talking about what actually our relationship should be. He spent most of his time talking about democracy, which was very interesting but it’s not the topic for today’s debate. We can debate that another time. As for our trade with the US, it’s not clear to me at all that we would get a trade deal with the US. It’s possible but it’s quite likely that it would be delayed and it would be inferior and during the period when we don’t have a deal with the US, the rest of the EU might have a deal with the US and that would be very advantageous to the French and German and Italian companies, who would get an advantage, get an edge ahead of us, during that time.

And then they talk about the rest of the world. Well, the rest of the world; there are fifty trade deals that the EU has with the rest of the world and it’s far from clear whether we’d still have access to those trade deals when we come out of the EU. If we had to re-build them, that again would take us some time. We’d probably be so desperate to re-build them that we would actually come out with deals that were less advantageous to us than the ones that we have at the moment. So I think on the EU, the US and the rest of the world, we will be harmed compared to our prospects within the EU.”

Tim Skeet: “Well, I was actually going to add one final question. Remember, fifty percent of our exports go to the US and all of those deficits that Jon mentions, the EU exports to us are six percent of EU exports so in terms of scale; we need them more than they need us. I think that’s an important point. I think we had another one about our ability to trade with the rest of the world; I think... Was that your question? “

Expletive from off-stage: Regulations!

“All we get from the single market is the ability to sell to the rest of the EU free of duty and then what it costs us in the form of regulations far exceeds the value of that duty. “

Tim Skeet: “Well again, there are lots of calculations that have been published which dispute that, that the net benefit for each individual family in the UK directly as being members of the EU, is huge. It way exceeds the benefit of NOT being in the EU.”

Comment from the Floor

“Well, (name inaudible) is a highly respected economist and what he says is the most detailed of the lot and he says it costs us £1 65 billion net.”

Tim Skeet: “Now, the CBI has completely different numbers.”

“Our trade with the EU will go down”

“He spent most of his time talking about democracy, which was very interesting but it’s not the topic for today’s debate.”

“it’s far from clear whether we’d still have access to those trade deals when we come out of the EU”

“So I think on the EU, the US and the rest of the world, we will be harmed compared to our prospects within the EU”

“the EU exports to us are six percent of EU exports so in terms of scale; we need them more than they need us”

“what it costs us in the form of regulations far exceeds the value of that duty”

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR (CONT.)

Interjection from the Floor

"The CBI has been discredited (Note from Editor: slightly stronger word actually used) recently."

Tim Skeet: *"Ah, I disagree. (Note from Editor: the inaudible name of the highly respected economist referred to above) has been demolished on a number of occasions as well. I think we could fire statistics at each other till the cows come home. The true question is we have benefited massively by the EU."*

In fact, I can quote the Governor of the Bank of England who says that Britain has been a leading beneficiary of the EU's liberal rules on trade and free movement and the benefits have been enormous for us. In fact, if you look around the world today and you look around the country today, you'll see just how well we've actually done out of the EU.

Yes, there have been some EU rules we don't like. Yes, there have been some rules that will continue to come in that we don't like but we, in the city for instance and elsewhere have done pretty well out of it.

The question remains what becomes of us once we step outside. That question has not been answered. And may I just point out that Norway is a good example. Yes, they're wealthy, they've got a ton of oil but they have no democratic say over all of the rules they are having to accept."

Matthew Elliott: *"Well, I'm very happy to talk about the relationship we could have post-exit. It wasn't my topic but I'll happily talk about it. I actually think with Britain being the fifth largest economy in the world, could actually have a bespoke relationship with the EU and I'm very confident that because of the trade deficit that Jon talked about, that that would be based on free trade. I'm very confident that there's no incentive for them to bring in huge tariffs against us.*

And all the points you've made about how Norway has no influence. Well, we have no influence over US regulation but we can still export to the US. We don't have seats at the top table or in the White House or in Congress or anywhere else. We're still able to export to the US - you don't need a seat at the top table. And the whole idea you'd have to pay to have access to the single market or you'd have to accept freedom of movement to have access to the single market... (Note from Editor: sentence not finished!)

What about the new trade deal between the EU and Canada? You know, a very deep and comprehensive free trade deal between the EU and Canada. Canada doesn't pay any money to the EU for that. Canada doesn't accept free migration from the EU for their trade deal. And I actually think that the EU member states are fair people, I don't see them as being vindictive people and vindictive governments. I think they'd sit down and actually say let's be sensible here, let's work out a sensible free trade agreement with the UK".

"The CBI has been discredited recently."

"The true question is we have benefited massively by the EU"

"...the benefits have been enormous for us"

"The question remains what becomes of us once we step outside. And may I just point out that Norway is a good example"

"...we could actually have a bespoke relationship with the EU and I'm very confident that because of the trade deficit that Jon talked about, that that would be based on free trade"

"We're still able to export to the US - you don't need a seat at the top table"

"What about the new trade deal between the EU and Canada?"

(Interjection about going back to a previous point – it was that regulation costs more and hurts more than we benefit from trading.)

Matthew Elliott: *"I think there's a huge regulatory burden forming in this part of the EU and it's interesting that the prime minister, as part of a recent speech, made a very big example of how we should bring back powers over social and employment law as part of the renegotiation. I think it's very telling that that has been completely dropped from discussions that he's having. So some of the potential gains of having parliament control now won't happen. This is a key reason why a lot of key businesses are thinking well, actually we should vote to leave."*

QUESTION/COMMENT 3:

"The question's really addressed to the 'leave' members. When we joined the common market, we were leaders in a number of industries; telecommunications equipment, nuclear energy, aerospace - to name three. Now, I'd really like to know if we're going to go it alone, despite the barriers of trade, tariffs and all the rest of it, what are we now good at and where and how can we develop those areas?"

QUESTION/COMMENT 4:

"I was looking at some independent research today from (Note from Editor: inaudible) and it was making the case that London is the pre-eminent commercial centre in Europe. It then gave statistics of the top two hundred and fifty - the biggest two hundred and fifty global European companies in the world - and it demonstrated that forty percent of the top two fifty companies are headquartered in London. The next highest city in terms of headquarters is Paris. So my question is - Do you think that those statistics are important (or correct)? The second part is - Do you think that this IN-OUT debate in any way will influence the pre-eminence of London in the context of those statistics? "

Response from Tim Skeet: *"I think they are extremely important indeed. The city has many many international banks and we have many many international co-workers in London - I look around the office I sit in and a huge proportion of the people that work alongside me come from Europe. All sorts of languages spoken. I think many companies have come to the UK because they like so much of what we do. There are other places they can go. We've already seen in the past few days, people announcing plans to move to Dublin. There are people who can go to other centres. The Chinese have just invested very heavily in (Note from Editor: inaudible). London isn't the only story in town. I think if we put ourselves outside the EU, don't expect our friends on the continent or in Dublin to be friendly to us. They will attract many of these headquarters, they will make sure that they get their fair share of the pie, which we have been building and developing and cooking for many of hundreds of years. I think it's vital we stay in."*

"I think it's very telling that that has been completely dropped from discussions that he's having"

"we were leaders in a number of industries; telecommunications equipment, nuclear energy, aerospace - to name three"

"what are we now good at and where and how can we develop those areas?"

"...it was making the case that London is the pre-eminent commercial centre in Europe"

"Do you think that those statistics are important (or correct)? Do you think that this IN-OUT debate in any way will influence the pre-eminence of London in the context of those statistics?"

"I think they are extremely important indeed. I think many companies have come to the UK because they like so much of what we do"

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR (CONT.)

Jon Moynihan: “The position of London - yes - there’s an awful lot of silly noise and confusion and scare stories being put around about the city including about passporting and similar matters - but people are now beginning - serious people - involved in the city are now beginning to say that’s rubbish.

For example the Chairman of UBS - one of the largest banks - not UK - he doesn’t have any dog in the fight for helping the UK - he said it would be absolutely no problem if the UK left the EU. Even Mr Carney, the Governor of the Bank of England, who is usually used as an arguer on the other side, said there would be no problem if we left the EU.

Now, why is that? The real reason is - and it actually goes to a previous question - one of the things that we’ve been very good at is financial services and whether or not we stay in the EU, everybody’s going to want to come here, even the European banks. They have their offices here and as the gentleman at the back was pointing out, they have their headquarters for a large part of their work, here, whether it’s the French banks or Deutsche Bank, BNP Paribas.

They have huge operations here. And they want that because of the global reach of the UK financial services. The war for international services has always been between London and New York. It’s nothing to do with Europe and it’s gone back and forth over the decades. It used to be New York in the fifties and sixties. After Margaret Thatcher’s big bang, London became the financial centre of the world. Unfortunately now, it’s slipping back to New York, since so much regulation and difficulty that has been placed by the EU on banks in the UK. And you’ll find that it’s the American Investment Banks who are lobbying hardest for the UK to stay in the EU. Why? Because their market share over the past ten years has shot past that of the European banks so they’re now the pre-eminent financial services and investment banks in the world. And they can run that from New York, free of EU regulation. And they’re really happy for all the UK banks to be held back by EU regulation.

(Note from Editor: Jon Moynihan was asked to respond to the questions not just about financial services but many other sectors – such as aerospace, manufacturing or technology and some similar areas.)

Jon Moynihan: Yes, I haven’t got onto answering that. I want to go back to that Norwegian point and about anyone who thinks that Norway wants to get back into the EU. Eighty percent of Norwegians say they don’t want to be back in the EU. They have their own fisheries policy, they have their own agricultural policy and they have tons of other freedoms.

But back to the question. What are we good at?

Interestingly, there’s a lot on the service side. I’ve only gone into financial services. A lot of it is in science and research, for example pharmaceutical research. We’re the best in the world at that, even better than the US. A lot of it is education; we have more universities in the global top one hundred universities than the rest of Europe combined and that is why President Modi was so upset when he was here because we’re refusing Indian students and academics to come here because, as Matthew said, we’ve got so many coming in from the EU that we haven’t got room to have immigrants or students from outside Europe.

“...one of the things that we’ve been very good at is financial services and whether or not we stay in the EU, everybody’s going to want to come here, even the European banks”

“They have huge operations here. And they want that because of the global reach of the UK financial services. The war for international services has always been between London and New York”

“And you’ll find that it’s the American Investment Banks who are lobbying hardest for the UK to stay in the EU”

“What are we good at?...financial services... science and research, ...pharmaceutical research... education; we have more universities in the global top one hundred universities than the rest of Europe combined”

So it's also other areas including - insurance, legal and other such where we are very good at it and these are global products. These are things that we want to sell around the world, not just in the EU.

Don't forget that the world has a similar system of law as we do - common law - whereas Europe has a dissimilar approach - civil law - a completely different kind of law. This means it is easier to access the world outside the EU than from within."

Hugo Dixon: We are good at quite a lot of things. It would be better if we were better at even more of them. We're good at quite a lot of high-end engineering and one reason we're good at high-end engineering is we've also got a good science base. One of the things that helps our science base is that we are the biggest recipient of R&D from EU funds.

If we leave the EU, it'll be interesting to see what happens to that money. We won't get it. Will the British government replace it? I don't know. Tech - we're very good at internet, dot.com, social media, etc.

I founded a dot.com business. Anyway, the digital single market - if that takes off - will be a huge boom for our businesses. If we leave, we'll miss out on that opportunity.

Cars. Well, we used to be disastrous in automotive in the 1970s with British Leyland. We were a byword for bankruptcy but the car industry has revived. It's largely revived as a result of inward investment; Japanese, American, German, other manufacturers coming here. If we leave the EU and we don't cut a special deal, we'd need to rely on this famous seat at the WTO that Matthew is so pleased about.

The WTO has NOT done a single significant multi-lateral trade deal since it was formed twenty years ago. Bear that in mind. But if we just rely on the WTO, there's ten percent tariffs; ten percent taxes which Jon mentioned. That would eventually apply to our goods being exported to the EU - about half of our exports in automotive go to the EU. It wouldn't be good for that industry.

Design. We're pretty good at design. We've got some great clothes designers. Clothing - If we rely on the WTO, there's an eleven percent tariff. That would push up the cost of our garment exports to the EU.

Food. We never used to be very good at food but there's better food being produced in the UK. If we rely on the WTO, a fifteen percent tariff.

So now, returning to finance, which is the biggest of our industries. It represents ten percent of our economy and one eighth of our tax take.

When you add in other associated services like legal, accountancy, consulting, it's a huge industry. It's what makes London hum.

Jon mentioned passports - I'm not sure everyone's aware of what the passport is, in this context. As part of the EU, we get a passport, which allows financial services' firms based in the UK to operate across the EU - and vice-versa - according to a single rule book. This is not a tariff situation.

"We are good at quite a lot of things... high-end engineering... we've also got a good science space... we are the biggest recipient of R&D from EU funds"

"Tech - we're very good at internet, dot.com, social media"

"Cars. Well, we used to be disastrous in automotive in the 1970s with British Leyland"

"Japanese, American, German, other manufacturers coming here"

"The WTO has NOT done a single significant multi-lateral trade deal since it was formed twenty years ago"

"Design. We're pretty good at design. Food... returning to finance, which is the biggest of our industries"

"...legal, accountancy, consulting, it's what makes London hum"

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR (CONT.)

Many of you seem to think that trade is all about tariffs. Well, it was forty-fifty-sixty years ago. But nowadays, the big deal in trade is actually non-tariff barriers. What are non-tariff barriers? Non-tariff barriers are the flip-side of your regulation. If we leave the EU, we will not get access for our financial services industry into the EU market. We will have to negotiate access to that market. Our firms will have to shift parts of their activities across the channel.

When Matthew spoke about the deep Canada-EU trade deal, it is the deepest deal that's been done but it does not give Canadian financial firms the ability to serve the EU market from Canada. They still have to locate themselves in the EU and most of the time, they locate themselves in the UK. It would not be good for us to leave."

Matthew Elliott: "Well, let's start off with the point about cars. I was at Bristol Port over the weekend, having a tour round there, and I was speaking to their chairman, who was saying how improved Bristol Port now is - that every one car the UK exports out through Bristol Port, three cars come in through the EU. So the idea that they wouldn't want to have some sort of deal on cars is just preposterous.

Let's look at research funding. Now, Hugo sort of makes out that if we were to leave the EU, we'd lose all this research funding in science, technology and related areas. People often talk about the Horizon funding, which has been in the EU R&D budget. Now, would we lose it?

Well, tell that to the Israeli universities who get Horizon funding, or the Canadian universities that get Horizon funding. The whole idea that you have to be part of the EU to get this funding is just completely incorrect.

Let's talk about design as well. Who's probably the best designer, the best inventor in the UK and the best engineer in the UK? Probably Sir James Dyson. Now, what does Sir James Dyson think about this debate? He thinks that basically the EU is holding back his company massively, he has seen how German manufacturers have brought in new regulations in order to be able to prevent the sale of Dyson vacuum cleaners etc in Germany. He has seen how German manufacturers have tried to bring in regulations to stop him trading. So actually the EU works against the interests of many great designers and engineers and entrepreneur manufacturers like James Dyson.

Finally, on the city and the Euro zone. We heard a lot in the Euro debate, back in the early 2000s about how we're not to join the Euro, how the city will decline, how everybody would decamp to Frankfurt. You know, it didn't happen. I'm actually very proud of the UK and proud of the city; the city is a lot more than just Britain being a member of the EU. Like Jon said, all the German and French manufacturers still have passporting rights into London so we would get passporting rights into the EU. "

"Many of you seem to think that trade is all about tariffs"

"What are non-tariff barriers?"

"We will have to negotiate access to that market"

"Canada. They still have to locate themselves in the EU and most of the time, they locate themselves in the UK. It would not be good for us to leave"

"...that every one car the UK exports out through Bristol Port, three cars come in through the EU"

"...research funding. People often talk about the Horizon funding. Now, would we lose it?"

"Let's talk about design as well. Now, what does Sir James Dyson think about this debate? So actually the EU works against the interests of many great designers and engineers and entrepreneur manufacturers like James Dyson"

Tim Skeet: “Yes, just on that specific point. On banking regulations. In fact, the bulk of banking regulations actually come from here in the UK. Not the one-off bonus taxes; that’s slightly different, but the fact we gold plate everything so far as banking regulations are concerned, the toughest regulations are formulated by the old lady of Threadneedle Street. We don’t have to go to the Europeans to get our banking regulations. And Carney’s comments, by the way, make it clearer that context is all. He, of course, is responsible for financial stability and it’s certainly true with sterling. Day one of our exit, we would not suddenly fall apart - what we’re talking about is the cumulative impact of all of the change, which would be pretty tough on the UK economy but that obviously is not his remit. “

QUESTION/COMMENT 5:

“I can’t really get my head round the trade side and the tariffs. There seems so many possibilities there. My question is around the reaction of the European people to the exit; what will that do for the demand for our goods and services? And there is a precedent here; Japan to China when they fell out over this violence, Japanese sales fell dramatically.”

QUESTION/COMMENT 6:

“David Cameron is proving to be pretty useless at negotiating on our behalf. My question is if the British public vote for the exit and then we get a decent negotiation with the European Parliament on terms that we want to have another look at the Referendum decision - what do the panel think of that?”

Jon Moynihan: “I have no problem with that. If we were able to re-negotiate a good deal and it did not involve some kind of exit with the EU, I think that would be absolutely fine.

Like Hugo, and his book, the BfB produced a book – but ours is over a thousand pages - **Change or Go** – and it’s free! It talks about the changes we need in order not to go. But we decided, after we produced and published it - and in the light of the Cameron negotiation which excluded treaty change at this time - to opt for outright leaving – and we’ll happily go.

But there’s another point. When we vote to leave, there’ll be a negotiation period - maybe two years - it’s in the rules of exit. We will negotiate the future terms that we’re going to have with the EU - and it’d be back to a sort of common market. They’re not going to be difficult with us and we’re not going to be difficult with them. It’s going to be harmony and light!

And the French and the Italians and the Spanish aren’t going to say they are not going to buy English goods. No. It’s going to be much the same as before. We don’t hate Europe; we just hate the EU and its awful rules and its restrictive barriers. And we’ll have two years in which to work that out by law. That’s what we are going to do and it’s not going to be a day one disaster.”

“In fact, the bulk of banking regulations actually come from here in the UK”

“...the toughest regulations are formulated by the old lady of Threadneedle Street”

“Day one of our exit, we would not suddenly fall apart - what we’re talking about is the cumulative impact of all of the change, which would be pretty tough on the UK economy but that obviously is not his remit”

“My question is around the reaction of the European people to the exit”

“My question is if the British public vote for the exit and then we get a decent negotiation with the European Parliament on terms that we want to have another look at the Referendum decision - what do the panel think of that?”

“If we were able to re-negotiate a good deal and it did not involve some kind of exit with the EU, I think that would be absolutely fine”

COMMENTS & QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR (CONT.)

Tim Skeet: *"I'll pick that one up. We have two years; we have two years to negotiate but there's no guarantee that at the end of the two years, there will be a deal. At the end of the two years, if there's no deal, we're out unless the negotiation period is extended."*

For it to be extended there has to be unanimous agreement by all the other twenty-seven countries. That's quite a risk that one of them might decide that they want to put a spoke in the wheel.

So to answer the question – if we should vote for the exit, we should leave and then re-join if we get a revised and better offer is even more pie in the sky. For us to come back in again, we would need unanimous approval by all twenty seven countries. We might be able to get back in but the idea that we'll get back in on better terms is not right. It would be worse. We'd have to be prostrating ourselves and saying please, please, please, we made a terrible mistake, let us back in. They'd say yeah, maybe but you won't get your rebate, you won't get your opt-outs, you won't get blah, blah, blah so I think that would be a disastrous thing to do."

Post event comment from Tim Skeet:

"The UK still gets a substantial rebate indeed though those who argue to pull the UK out of the EU usually ignore it and quote the gross payment before rebates and flow-backs. Interestingly, if the UK adopted Norway's model as it might have to post Brexit, the UK might end up paying more than its current net contribution as a result of the loss of rebate and other flows."

Matthew Elliott: *"Very quick point; about the whole idea that voting to leave would invoke Article 50. This two year period when we have no control, is completely wrong. If we vote to leave, we're still a member of the EU at the point; we have voting rights and counsel and Parliament and what have you, so we're actually in a very strong position."*

I don't believe that European consumers would stop buying British goods, if we leave. Actually, I think a lot of the European voters might want to follow the UK. I think a majority of people living in Sweden and Denmark and in other countries, who are legally frustrated by the EU, and if Britain took the lead, they may follow."

Tim Skeet: *"Well, I think the EU's been massively beneficial for us. If we look at trade statistics, it's been beneficial. If we jump into the dark, we don't know what we're jumping into. Don't expect our European partners to be friendly; why should they be? It's not in their interests. It really isn't in their interests. We cannot, as businessmen, simply jump into the dark and not know where we're going to land. It doesn't make sense. We have far too much at stake. "*

"At the end of the two years, if there's no deal, we're out unless the negotiation period is extended"

"...if we should vote for the exit, we should leave and then re-join if we get a revised and better offer is even more pie in the sky"

"We might be able to get back in but the idea that we'll get back in on better terms is not right"

"...about the whole idea that voting to leave would invoke Article 50. This two year period when we have no control, is completely wrong"

"Actually, I think a lot of the European voters might want to follow the UK"

"We cannot, as businessmen, simply jump into the dark and not know where we're going to land"

THE TWO MINUTES SUMMING UP BY THE SPEAKERS



FOR LEAVING THE EU

Jon Moynihan: "I'll be as quick as I can. Thanks all for sitting through this; it's obviously very bewildering. You hear things batted back and forth. I'm sort of sad that so many scare stories

and bogus statistics are put forward about how catastrophically difficult it would be for us to leave the EU; it's really fairly simple. Saying things like the US would not do a trade deal with us and other countries wouldn't do a trade deal with us is not true. **Everybody does trade deals now. It's only actually the EU that's bad at doing trade deals.**

I'm grateful to the other side for not doing that three million jobs at risk scare, which was described by a person, whose authority is highly respected, as pure fantasy. **But I do reject the assertion that fifty percent of our trade is with the EU - it is actually forty percent because it's forty-five and then five goes straight out to the rest of the world.** I don't accept being told that the EU has a bigger market than the US."

(At this point Jon shows some (IMF) stats summarised as follows...)

"The US, China and the Commonwealth are all larger markets than the EU. Each is above fifteen trillion dollars. Each one is separately bigger than that of the EU – those are IMF statistics. And the EU is not growing; it's one of the very few areas in the world that's not growing economically; the others are Venezuela, Argentina, the Guinean Republic in Africa, and Russia of course. The EU is a twentieth century solution; it was a local trade zone, centralised by the economy; they even had trade unions still built into their constitution. What we want is a twenty-first century solution to our challenges in a globalised economy; a growing world in which we can fully participate.

If you want scare stories, think about what it's going to be like to stay in the EU. It takes five Presidents to make a decision; none of them elected of course; no one else takes five Presidents to do this. **They are all talking about an ever closer union and saying that we will be part of it.** But if you want the scare story, look at the Spinelli Group which is a very influential organisation in the EU whose people who you may remember - Jacques Delors, Mario Monti, Joschka Fisher and others - who wrote a

three hundred page report on implementing a "Fundamental Law of the European Union." It was a comprehensive revision of the Treaty of Lisbon with the EU as the de-facto parliament of Europe, including us, if we're still in the EU. It is based on a civil law approach and other approaches, which we, in this country, are totally against because it's a completely different way of how to govern ourselves.

If you want more scare stories and there are plenty of scare stories for staying in the EU – I can let you have them. **The alternative is the great hope that we are offered by getting back out into the world and being the worthy successor to that great trading nation we once were."**

"The alternative is the great hope that we are offered by getting back out into the world and being the worthy successor to that great trading nation we once were"

THE TWO MINUTES SUMMING UP BY THE SPEAKERS



FOR STAYING IN THE EU

Tim Skeet: “Look, I’m not going to go through the statistics again; I think for the next year or two, **we’re going to have loads of statistics from very eminent people, proving everything you didn’t want to prove.**”

At the end of the day, I’m not an economist, thank goodness. I’m sure some of you are. **What we’re talking about though is risk** and I don’t think we want to use the word catastrophe.

No one is saying that if we remain in EU, it’s going suddenly to be great in the same way that no one is saying that if we leave our world will suddenly fall apart. It doesn’t work like that.

But there is going to be **enormous uncertainty** and the world that I’m describing and the world that Hugo is describing is clearer. Frankly, the alternative is uncertain. They’re two very different worlds. We’re in a world where big trading blocks - and by the way, we’re bigger than the US here in the European Union - have to negotiate with other big trading blocks. **That is how we get better deals.**

What hasn’t been mentioned is that Norway and Switzerland independently have just negotiated deals with China; very one-sided deals, not terribly favourable. Of course Norway has loads of oil and they’re a small country. Switzerland’s also a relatively small country; they are very wealthy and have always done very well. They can afford to have those kinds of trade deals. **We’re a much bigger nation and we’re going to do much better as a big trading nation as part of the EU.**

It’s not going to be two years, it’s going to take seven or eight years for the legal experts to extricate ourselves. If you vote to leave, we’ll leave. Some people say a vote for out is going to improve our negotiating position; no. We vote to leave, we leave and I think anyone who pretends we get a second bite at the apple, I think that’s highly unlikely.

The Europeans are a little bit fed up with us and that is the truth of the matter and they’re not going to make us feel particularly welcome once we’ve gone out. They’re not going to go out of their way to help us.

Let me finish on a higher level. Let’s talk about the vision. Let’s not talk catastrophes or nightmares. Let’s not go back to up-yours-DeLors. That bunch of miscreants is gone. The new vision for Europe is rather different. It’s a lot more pragmatic as we deal with the problems we have today. Growth may be slow in the Euro zone but fundamentally Europeans are not that weak. **We will get our game back again; Britain is in the EU and we’re actually performing quite effectively inside the EU, because we know how to trade.**

There’s no one in the EU who’s going to stop us from trading with the rest of the world. On the contrary, we’re pretty good at doing it. Inside the EU, we’re stronger and able to do it because one of the things that does not get mentioned is how good this nation has been at manipulating the people in Brussels. They all look at me as if to say “Gracious, what planet have you just landed from?” Well, one of the interesting things is our parliamentary system – it has actually given us a great cadre of experts who know how to deal with the kind of impenetrable technicalities in Brussels!

But let me just wrap up by saying again, it’s not good enough to say that with all of the advantages that we have as a trading nation, with the services we have in London and with the role of London we have enough to go independent. **Do we really want to run the risk of throwing that out and imperilling that success by taking such a momentous jump, leap, into the dark, not quite knowing where we’re going to land?**

And that is the decision we face as businessmen; we need to be able to price things, we need to be able to know where we’re going, we need to be able to gauge what happens when and if we leave. Frankly – in leaving - we haven’t got a clue what will happen. Thank you very much.”

“Frankly – in leaving - we haven’t got a clue what will happen”

ABOUT CHARLES RUSSELL SPEECHLYS - ONE OF OUR PARTNER FIRMS

Charles Russell Speechlys is a leading law firm headquartered in London with regional offices in Cheltenham and Guildford and international offices in Geneva, Zurich, Paris, Luxembourg, Manama and Doha, providing efficient solutions through specialist teams. The firm was formed in 2014 by the merger of Charles Russell and Speechly Bircham, our aim is to be the leading English law firm combining specialist business law and private wealth advice internationally.

Our lawyers work closely with each other to provide a multi-disciplinary approach, which enables us to offer our clients a comprehensive and cost-effective service. We offer this service to clients in a variety of sectors, specialising in energy & natural resources, financial services, property, sports and technology, media & telecommunications and charities. This sector knowledge means that our team have a deep understanding of sector trends in the local geographies and an ability to anticipate issues that might arise.

The Charles Russell Employment and Pensions team have leading expertise in advising on all areas of contentious and non-contentious employment law for a wide variety of clients. We also offer outstanding pensions and immigration services within the Group. The team is highly rated by both Chambers and Legal 500 and has a justifiable reputation for premium employment work and technical excellence combined with the commerciality of its lawyers.

WE ADVISE ON THE FULL SPECTRUM OF EMPLOYMENT RELATED ISSUES INCLUDING:

- Employment documentation, from contracts to policies
- Disciplinary and grievance issues
- Corporate governance and regulatory issues
- Business transfers and outsourcing
- Dispute resolution: tribunal and high court litigation and mediations
- Risk Management and business protection
- International employment law issues



BEN SMITH
Senior Associate

Ben advises on a wide range of employment matters, both contentious and non-contentious. Ben has particular expertise in providing practical commercial advice to corporate clients on the

whole range of HR issues, including disciplinary and grievance processes, redundancy and re-structuring programmes, TUPE, discrimination and dismissals. Ben has substantial experience in dealing with Employment Tribunal litigation, assessing risks and engaging in commercial settlement negotiations on behalf of clients. He also drafts employment policies, consultancy and service agreements and advises on settlement agreements (on behalf of the individual or the employer).

"Ben Smith is appreciated by sources for 'always working to get the best outcome for his clients.'" Chambers UK, 2014



NICK HURLEY
Partner

Nick's practice is in respect of both contentious and non-contentious employment law issues. He has broad experience both in the Employment Tribunals and in the Civil Courts and has conducted cases involving discrimination, whistle

blowing and TUPE to name but a few. Nick's non-contentious experience covers a wide spectrum of work ranging from advising on complex employment documentation, giving strategic advice on reorganisation programmes and business transfers.

"Nick Hurley stands out for the breadth of his practice, including substantial expertise in advising both respondents and claimants. 'He cared about the output, instead of just going through the motions'" Chambers UK, 2014

As a long-standing member of Devonshire House, Charles Russell Speechlys is delighted to be partnering with Devonshire House Network and looks forward to developing strong relationships with the Network and its members. We anticipate playing an active part in supporting the Network as it evolves and grows in the years to come.



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ABOUT **RUSSAM GMS** - ONE OF OUR PARTNER FIRMS

Established in 1981, Russam GMS is the UK's longest established Interim Management provider and a leading Executive Search business.

ABOUT US

We exist to provide innovative talent solutions for our clients, identifying experienced people to deliver results and help transform their organisations. Our values underpin everything that we do; we are reliable, innovative, open and trustworthy and we have a culture based on our collaborative style, pioneering spirit and sense of family which we extend to our clients, candidates and colleagues.

At Russam GMS we pride ourselves on being one of the most networked talent firms in the UK. We hold the ISO 9001:2000 Quality System Standard and we have rigorous operating procedures – “The Russam Way” – that guarantees quality of service and excellence at all stages of our processes. Because of this, we have forged long-lasting client relationships that range from leading commercial organisations across the private sector to central government departments and local government, NHS and not-for-profit organisations.

Russam GMS is a multi-faceted group with six key divisions:

INTERIM MANAGEMENT

Thanks to our long history, Russam GMS has the strongest relationships with board and senior level interim executives of any UK Interim Management provider – as well as having deep and extensive connections with other types of independent executives such as consultants and advisors. As the UK's first provider, we are recognised with having invented the UK Interim Management market and are credited with being the longest trading interim firm in the world. We are the founder member of our voluntary governing body; the Interim Management Association (IMA).

Our reach in terms of talent helps us to cover a wide range of professional disciplines and specialisms up to and including board director.

EXECUTIVE SEARCH

Our search and resourcing division is the preferred and trusted supplier to a number of well-known organisations, for their most important human capital needs. We advise our clients on recruiting hiring and retaining outstanding and impactful leaders at Board level, including the entire C-suite and NEDs, through to senior level executives across all sectors, disciplines and geographical markets, delivering key executive talent to new, transitioning and established organisations.

We have introduced our new Assimilation Coaching Programme (ACP) to assist newly appointed permanent executives from their first 100 days up to 12 months and by providing performance coaching support. ACP is now included for all executive search assignments and effectively underwrites agreed performance guarantees.

WIL GROUP

Russam GMS is a founding member of the Worldwide Interim Leadership (WIL) Group; an international network of 16 market leading Interim Management firms with offices in 36 countries across all six inhabited continents. WIL Group offers a single destination for global clients who require interim and transformation executives from every sector and of every discipline, anywhere in the world. WIL Group is the largest global group of its kind.

NEDGROUP

Established in 2005, NEDgroup has created a community of Non-Executive Directors (NEDs), aspiring NEDs and people who hire NEDs. Working with the 2,000 mid and small cap companies outside the FTSE 250, including AIM and many fast growth private companies, regular meetings and debates explore the current issues in the NED market and provide an opportunity to exchange information and ideas. Our flagship annual thought-leadership publication BOARDtalk provides key insights for business leaders.

TRUSTEES UNLIMITED

Established in 2009, Trustees Unlimited is a leading UK provider of Trustee and Non-Executive recruitment services in the not for profit sector. Whether a Trustee for a charity, NED for a social enterprise or co-opted member to sit on an audit committee, Trustees Unlimited has unprecedented access to a large group of high calibre professionals who are actively looking for such roles.

STEP ON BOARD

Step on Board is a board-level volunteering programme which offers an unparalleled opportunity for future and existing C-Level executives to gain board experience by each joining the leadership team of a charity, helping them develop key skills such as negotiation, strategic development, leadership and teamwork. Working with several law and financial services institutions, Step on Board is leading the way in senior volunteering.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE

Russam GMS have been a proud and active partner to Devonshire House for over 20 years.



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CLOSING THOUGHTS



A VOTE OF THANKS FROM NICK HURLEY

Nick Hurley is a Partner in one of our Partner Firms, Charles Russell Speechlys, a major international law firm, headquartered in London. He said this, by way of thanking the four Speakers and the Chairman of the Debate:

“Ladies and Gentlemen, this debate is only just starting.

Thank you very much for being engaged with it. And thank you very much indeed, gentlemen of the Panel, for putting your heads above the parapet, giving us your views and answering questions from interested parties. Thank you for your frankness, for your passion and for the time you’ve spent preparing for this Event and being with us this evening. Hugo, Jon, Tim, Matthew and Giles, thank you very much indeed.

As a lawyer, it’s been fascinating to hear both sides of the debate and the sincerely held – may I use the word passionate - views - and delivered with such conviction. Hugo Dixon, Jon Moynihan, Tim Skeet, Matthew Elliott – and, of course, Giles Dilnot who has so skillfully and fairly managed the whole debate – to all of you, Gentlemen, thank you so very much on behalf of Devonshire House and all of us who have had the pleasure of listening to you during this fascinating and important evening”.

A FINAL COMMENT FROM CHARLES RUSSAM MANAGING DIRECTOR OF DEVONSHIRE HOUSE

“The real challenge, now, is for serious observers to sift through the facts, the arguments, the emotion and the fiction over the months to come and decide what is best for British Business – and for the UK.

Probably, the only thing we can fully believe at this point is that this decision is the most important that we, in the UK, will have to make in our lifetimes.

At the beginning of the Debate we took a show-of-hands poll – asking the following question. We also did the same at the end of the evening:

IF THERE WAS A VOTE TODAY WOULD YOU VOTE OUT OR IN OR DON'T KNOW?

	Before the debate	After the debate
Out - Leave	28%	35%
In - Remain	39%	39%
Don't Know	33%	26%
	100%	100%

If you talk to BfB and BNE, they will tell you that they see the electorate as, broadly, split one third each for the three choices. They will also tell you that the one third for Out and the one third for Remain have, broadly, always been like that and are not likely to change much – or at all. The winner will be the party that wins most of the Don't Knows.

The outcome will partly depend on the existence of a level playing field, who is able to throw most money at the task (and whether this will be noticed) and who manages to convincingly and very visibly sift through the facts, the fiction masquerading as opinion and the emotion – and present the most convincing proposition.

As for our show-of-hands polls, I'm not sure what anyone can read into it! It's all to play for. It is quite clear that there are powerful and convincing arguments on both sides.

I'd like to sign off this slightly different, almost quirky publication, by repeating the quote by Donald Rumsfeld that I think works well in this context:”

“There are known knowns. These are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns. That is to say, there are things that we know we don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns. There are things we don't know we don't know”.