JEREMY CORBYN'S PLAN FOR UNCONTROLLED AND UNLIMITED IMMIGRATION

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A FOREWORD FROM BRANDON LEWIS

17.4 million people voted to leave the European Union nearly three and a half years ago. I wasn't one of them. I campaigned to Remain.

But, immediately after the vote, I told my constituents – who voted to Leave in swathes – that I am first and foremost a democrat. I believe that it is vital for us all to respect the largest democratic decision that this country has ever made.

I wholeheartedly believe that those who voted to Leave – both in my constituency of Great Yarmouth and right across the country – voted for change. And, as an elected politician, it is my duty to recognise that the law-abiding and hardworking majority in this country believe people like me are out of touch with their concerns on immigration. We must fix that and ensure we take back control.

It is Jeremy Corbyn and Diane Abbott's responsibility to recognise that too. But a motion passed at their 2019 party conference suggests otherwise. The motion – now officially part of Labour's policy programme under their own rules – pledges to 'maintain and extend' free movement. Meaning uncontrolled and unlimited immigration forever.



Imagine it is 2029. Jeremy Corbyn is Prime Minister. Diane Abbott is Home Secretary. The result of the 2016 referendum has been overturned following years of dither and delay and yet another referendum. That would have repercussions for our country.

Last year, a net 245,000 people came to stay in our country. Our new analysis calculates that, under Jeremy Corbyn's plan for unlimited and uncontrolled immigration, that could increase to over 840,000 people – more than the population of Liverpool – coming to the UK every single year.

We cannot allow this to happen. We must ensure we have control, in a way that also works for our economic needs. That is why, with a functioning Conservative majority, we will introduce a fair Australian-style points-based immigration system, so that we decide who comes to this country on the basis of what they have to offer – not where they come from. A fair system.

Only by installing proper controls will we be able to attract the brightest and the best, while getting overall immigration down to sustainable levels. We want fewer low-skilled migrants and more highly skilled people coming here to start a business, go to university, or work in our public services. Especially when it comes to our precious NHS.

That's the choice at this election – a balanced immigration policy which controls numbers at the same time as welcoming those who have something to contribute to our economy and society. Or uncontrolled and unlimited immigration – with the subsequent pressure on public services such as the NHS.

Brandon Lewis, Minister of State at the Home Office

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At this year's Labour Party Conference, a motion was passed by Labour members calling for the Party to 'maintain and extend free movement rights' should they get into government. This was defined by those who proposed the motion as extending free movement to countries outside the EU. Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell has since confirmed that Labour's policy is to have 'as much freedom of movement as possible'. In the past, Jeremy Corbyn has confirmed that what comes out of Labour Party conferences will be adhered to under his leadership in order to 'empower' members. Corbyn has gone as far as to say that: 'if conference makes a decision I will not walk away from it and I will act accordingly'.

New analysis, calculated using official government figures, has revealed that, if Labour just **maintained existing free movement rights with the European Union**, an average of an additional **260,000 people (net)** would come to stay in the UK, every year, over the next ten years. That's half the City of Liverpool, every single year.

Alternatively, if Corbyn's plan - as set out by his top team and by those who drafted the free movement motion - is for uncontrolled and unlimited free movement with the rest of the world, it could mean an average of over <u>840,000</u> extra immigrants (net) coming to stay in the UK every year. That's the equivalent of another London in 10 years' time.⁵

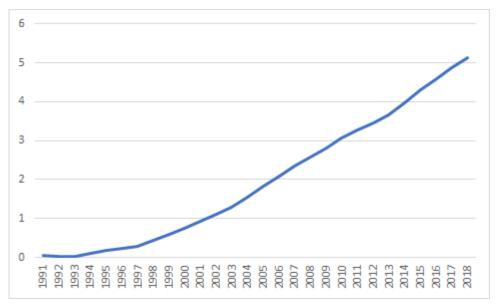
This would represent a **90 per cent increase in the number of migrants** currently living in the UK over the next ten years.⁶

Both scenarios would put huge pressure on our public services.

HISTORICAL TRENDS

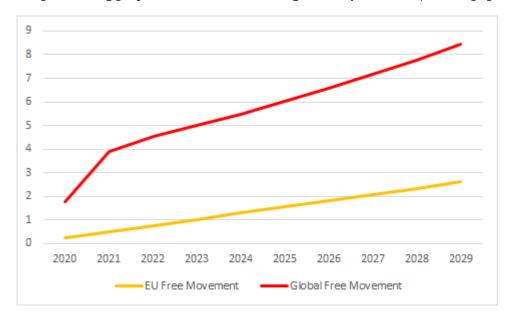
Net immigration has increased dramatically, since the 1990s.⁷ The most significant driver of this growth has been the EU's gradual expansion since the turn of the millennium - extending free movement to the EU8, the EU2 and Malta, Cyprus and Croatia in turn. Migration from European countries peaked in 2015. Migration by non-EU citizens jumped sharply in the late 1990s but has been gradually declining since then, apart from a slight increase in 2013. Offsetting these 'net' numbers is the steady emigration of British citizens. Over the last ten years, net migration numbers have broadly fluctuated between 200,000 and 300,000 per annum.

Graph showing historical cumulative UK net migration (million, from 1991)⁸



NET MIGRATION PROJECTIONS

Graph showing projected cumulative net migration by scenario (million population)



- The Government recently conducted an analysis of the impact of retaining free movement with the EEA states. Using this analysis, it is estimated that if Labour keeps free movement rights with the EEA states it would result in an estimated average of **260,000 (net)** migrants coming to the UK every year.
- Were Corbyn's Labour to fully enact their policy of 'maintain and extend free movement rights', and extend free movement rights to the whole world, it would lead to an estimated average of **840,000 (net)** more migrants coming to the UK every year over the next ten years. To reach this 'whole world' figure, we have given Labour the benefit of the doubt, and deliberately used historical trends that are likely to be an **underestimate** in accounting for the pull factor (80 per cent increase over five years for the vast majority of non-EEA countries). This is a very generous assumption: academic research suggests that a more accurate figure might be a rise in immigration flows from a given country of **570-580 per cent.**
- These projections also do not reflect the fact that maintaining or extending free movement in either of the two scenarios would mean **no control over who comes to the UK.**

METHODOLOGY FOR CREATING PROJECTIONS

These projections are based on Jeremy Corbyn's own immigration policy and official government statistics.

Defining Labour's policy

At Labour Conference earlier this year, a motion was passed which bound the party to adopt a policy of 'maintain[ing] and extend[ing] free movement rights'. Under the terms of Labour's constitution, a passed motion must be adopted as party policy (see below). The motion stated that Labour policy would be to:

- Campaign for free movement, equality and rights for migrants.
- Reject any immigration system based on incomes, migrants' utility to business, and number caps/target.
- Close all detention centres.
- Ensure unconditional right to family reunion.
- Maintain and extend free movement rights.
- End "no recourse to public funds" policies.
- Scrap all Hostile Environment measures, use of landlords and public service providers as border guards, and restrictions on migrants' NHS access.
- Actively challenge anti-immigrant narratives.
- Extend equal rights to vote to all UK residents. 11

While it is clear what 'maintaining' free movement means, the term 'extend' is somewhat nebulous. However it is clear from the statements of those who introduced the motion, and from the statements of leading members of the Shadow Cabinet, that it means extending free movement rights to non-EEA countries - in John McDonnell's words, Labour wants 'as much freedom of movement as possible'. We therefore set out two scenarios:

- 1. Maintaining free movement with the EEA member states for ten years
- 2. Extending free movement rights to every other country in the world.

Conference policy

This document is consistent with Labour's own rules and determines that motions passed at Labour Party conference are official Party policy. Labour's 2019 Rule Book clearly states that policies agreed by conference become part of the Party's policy programme: 'Party conference shall decide from time to time what specific proposals of legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the Party programme'.¹³

Reasonableness test

The two scenarios set out in this document have both been subject to a 'reasonableness test' - taking deliberately low estimates of the impact of expanding free movement to non-EEA countries, and using official government figures for the impact of maintaining free movement with EEA countries.

We also do not include student numbers in these forecasts, as Labour's official policy is to not include student numbers in official statistics.¹⁴

Central assumptions

As set out above, there are two projected scenarios:

- 1. **Continued free movement rights from the EU.** In this scenario there are still no border controls with European Union and European Economic Area (EEA) countries due to Labour's policy to 'maintain free movement rights'. Immigration continues as set out in government projections for net migration over the next ten years.
- 2. **Global free movement rights.** The Labour Party has enacted its policy of extending free movement rights to the entire world meaning open borders to every country in the world. Rest of World (RoW) migration to the UK increases, while European immigration continues as per scenario one. In accounting for the pull factor provided by an open border policy for RoW we have categorised countries as either 'short haul' or 'long haul'. For short haul countries we have used the average historical comparison, an increase of 287 per cent over 5 years, to reflect the relative ease and cost of migrating to the UK. For the Rest of World ('long haul') we have used the lowest historical comparison (Hungary, which had an 80 per cent increase over 5 years after joining the European Union). This is a generous assumption it is worth noting that the Slovakian migrant population living in the UK increased by **1,400 per cent** in the five years after EU accession.

In both scenarios, we set out how the net flows are calculated, using official government statistics.

SCENARIO ONE: Continued free movement rights with the EEA

The projected number is the sum of:

- i) Net EEA migration;
- ii) Asylum grants;
- iii) Rest of World net visa grants (excluding students).

Table showing projected net migration by category each year (thousands)

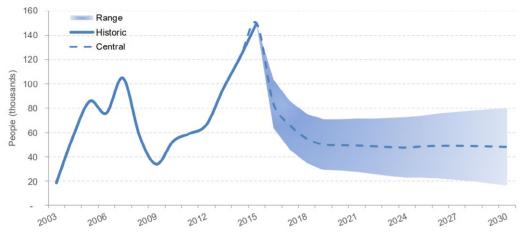
	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Net EEA migration	79	80	81	81	82	83	85	87	89	90	
Asylum grants	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	
RoW net visa grants (excl. students)	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	168	
Total	257	258	258	259	260	261	263	264	266	268	2

i) Net EEA migration

Net migration from EEA countries to the UK increased rapidly between 2010 and 2016 but has been on a downward trajectory since then. This reduction was driven by both lower inflow and higher outflow. 'The lower value of the pound means that workers coming here for higher wages are getting less than they were in the past, and economic conditions in many of the key EU countries of origin have improved a lot over the past few years. Uncertainty about the implications of Brexit may have played a role. ¹⁶ In this scenario, we have assumed that EEA migrant flows remain broadly stable within existing levels.

- The best forward look for net EEA work-related migration projection comes from the 2018 Government White Paper on Immigration produced by the Home Office (see below graph).¹⁷
- This projection was calculated by Home Office economists and statisticians using 'inflow and outflow modelling to create a baseline for net long-term EEA work-related migration to the UK' to 'compare policy choices against one another and against a 'do nothing' option.
- This report has used the upper bound of projection to account for the pull factor of reversing the result of the 2016 referendum and Labour's pro-migration policies and sentiment. This upper bound keeps work related net migration at broadly 80,000 per annum.
- The work-related migration projection has been adjusted to include dependants at the Home Office's dependant ratio of 0.13 (i.e. for every eight workers one dependant is brought). This ratio is assumed to be stable. 18

Figure 7: Historic and projected net long-term EEA work-related migration



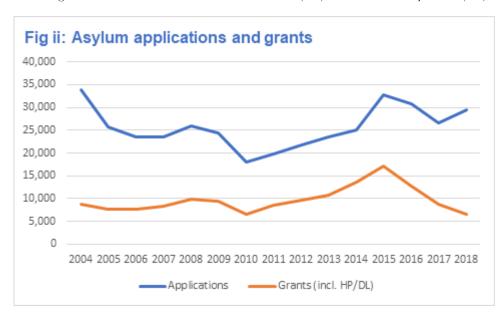
Source: p.11, Technical paper to accompany the 'The UK's future skills-based immigration system' economic appraisal: Annex B, Dec 2018, link

• We are using the upper limit, as (i) we assume that there will be an upward trend in immigration as Corbyn's Labour makes clear that it is planning to maintain free movement and reverse the 2016 referendum, and (ii) it is worth noting that net migration to the UK has historically been underestimated by as much as 16 per cent. This government projection was made before the 2016 referendum and so we believe is likely to be an accurate approximation of a scenario where Labour have decided to ignore the result of the referendum.

ii) Asylum grants

Asylum grants are not a significant component of total immigration numbers due to their relative size vs. work-related migration. This number has been held flat at 2016-18 average.

- It is assumed that the asylum grant rate will be held flat at the three-year average of 2016-18. The three-year average is used as applications can take a period of time to reach an outcome, particularly with appeals. Using only the most recent year's data would provide a skewed rate.
- The grant rate includes Humanitarian Protection (HP) and Discretionary Leave (DL).



iii) Rest of World net visa grants (excluding students)

- Net immigration from RoW countries to the UK has remained relatively stable in recent years.
- This immigration is controlled by the visa regime and therefore tends to be more highly skilled, but with a higher share of dependants than EEA migration.²⁰
- In this scenario we have assumed that RoW migrant flows remain stable within the existing immigration regime.
- RoW visa grants data from the Home Office has been used with 'student' and 'other' visa applications excluded from the analysis because both groups have been assumed to not be part of general immigration flows under Corbyn's Labour.²¹
- Therefore, RoW visa grants includes the categories 'Work', 'Dependant' and 'Family'.
- This analysis has assumed RoW visa grants are held flat at 2019 level. This has been calculated using Q1 and Q2 data adjusted to full year. Again, we have given Labour the benefit of the doubt, and not factored in the upward trend.
- In order to calculate net migration, we have assumed inflow / outflow ratio remains constant at 2019 level (essentially continuing the historical trend for the relationship between inflow and outflow).²²

CASE STUDY: FRANCE

The UK has granted free movement rights to France for many years. As a result, French nationals, when they cross into UK territory have to present their passport or ID card, but after that enjoy considerable freedoms. The free movement of persons are set out in the EU's treaties:

- 'Citizens of the Union shall enjoy... the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States'.
- 'Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States'. 24
- 'Every citizen of the Union has the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States'.

This means that the UK cannot apply any quantitative limits to migration from France (or any other EU country) or require that such migrants be skilled. This puts considerable restrictions on blocks to criminals. As members of the EU, the ECJ is in charge of whether criminals can enter and reside in the UK. The ECJ has consistently held that while the right to free movement must be interpreted broadly: 'departures from the rules concerning the free movement of persons constitute exceptions which must be strictly construed' and that 'exceptions to and derogations from the principle of freedom of movement for workers must be interpreted strictly'. The ECJ has held that it is unlawful to have a policy, or even a presumption of removing offenders convicted of a specified offence from the UK, if they are EU citizens. The ECJ has been defined as the exception of the ECJ has been defined as pecified offence from the UK, if they are EU citizens.

The free movement of workers will also remain, meaning that French jobseekers will retain the right to enter the UK to seek work, and they will be entitled to remain in the UK for longer than six months. In 1991, the ECJ ruled that the Treaties forbid the removal of jobseekers from another EU member state, regardless of the duration of their stay, if 'the person concerned provides evidence that he is continuing to seek employment and that he has genuine chances of being engaged'.²⁸

As this is a continuation of existing free movement rights, we have used the government's estimates of the projected net flow of EEA migration over the next ten years to estimate what number of EEA nationals will come into the UK.

SCENARIO TWO: Global free movement rights

The projected number is the sum of:

- i) Net EEA migration;
- ii) Net 'short haul' countries' migration;
- iii) Net RoW ('long haul') migration.

Table showing projected net migration by category each year (thousands)

	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027	2028	2029	
Net EEA migration	79	80	81	81	82	83	85	87	89	90	
Net "short haul" countries' migration	224	269	75	51	54	79	95	114	137	164	
Net RoW migration	1469	1763	490	337	349	362	375	388	403	417	
Total	1772	2111	645	469	485	524	555	589	628	671	8448

NB that asylum numbers aren't included because they fall under the RoW figures in this scenario.

i) Net EEA migration

Net immigration from EEA countries is assumed to stay the same as in scenario one for current EEA free movement rules.

ii) Net 'short haul' countries' migration (see table for full list)

• There are a wide range of potential drivers of immigration (see table below) which are inherently uncertain to project and underlying data is inconsistent across countries (e.g., GDP). Flows are also subject to short term shocks that by their nature are unpredictable, such as financial crises or military conflicts.

Drivers of UK immigration flows						
Factor	Theory					
Economic	Countries with greater economic disparity to the UK will see higher UK inflows as individuals move to find work/improve living standards.					
Linguistic	Countries with greater disparity in language will see relatively less bilateral migration.					
Geographical	Countries further apart will see relatively less bilateral migration. Those that share borders or have former colonial ties will see relatively higher bilateral migration.					
Network	Countries that have a large proportion of migrants already in the UK may see relatively higher migration as potential migrants will be more likely to know where to go, how to apply, and a greater chance of integration.					
Policy	Immigration controls will influence who is eligible to move between countries and will restrict bilateral migration.					

- We have taken this government methodology into account when building our model. To account for this instability, for this projection we have separated countries outside the EEA into two categories: short haul and long haul. The purpose of this is to use a different 'uplift' factor to reflect the relative ease and cost for nationals of those countries migrating to the UK upon the initiation of free movement.
- For both short and long haul country groups we have used data from EU8 and EU2 free movement as a historical comparison. EU8 countries joined the EU in 2004 and were given full access to the UK's labour market from that date. By contrast, when Bulgaria and Romania joined the EU in 2007, the UK applied restrictions for the full seven-year period. Croatia became the 28th EU member country on 1 July 2013. Restrictions imposed on Croatian workers expired on 30 June 2018. Immigration

from EU8 and EU2 countries rapidly increased following their accession. Country level migration data for Croatia is not yet available for 2018.

- Population resident in the UK by country of birth data has been used to calculate the impact of free movement rights for these countries. **The advantage of using this method is that the population already resident in the UK provides a good approximation for the net push and pull factors for an individual country.** For both EU8 and EU2 countries, data has been used from the year prior to change in immigration policy and the same dataset 5 years' post (2003 vs. 2008, and 2013 vs. 2018 respectively).²⁹ This provides a weighted average uplift of 287 per cent (range of 80 per cent to 1,400 per cent).
- To calculate the impact of initiating free movement with short haul countries we have applied this average uplift of 287 per cent to the current population resident in the UK to provide a total five year impact (please see table below for further detail).
- This profile aligns with historical case studies with an initial surge followed by a decline and stabilisation.³⁰
- The five year impact of free movement rights is assumed to begin from 2020 Labour's potential first year in government (i.e. assumed no period of transitional controls).
- After 2025 net migration is assumed to continue to grow at individual countries' historical rates (2015-18) from 2025 to 2030.

Table explaining methodology used for short haul countries (population resident in UK, thousands)

	2018		2019		2024		2029
Albania	32		33		96		120
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4		3		10		4
Kosovo	26		26		76		81
Macedonia	2		2		6		6
Montenegro	2		3		7		23
Serbia	7		7		20		20
Turkey	99		110		316		538
Egypt	45		48		137		181
Morocco	23		20		58		30
Algeria	25		26		75		93
Cyprus (Non- EU)	9		7		21		7
Belarus	5	Continued at 2015-18	5	2024 pop. calculated by 287	15	Continued at	22
Moldova	24	CAGR to	31	per cent uplift on	89	historical CAGR to 2029	328
Ukraine	33	2019	36	2019 рорп.	104		165

iii) Net RoW ('long haul') migration

- For RoW countries we have used a similar methodology for that of 'short haul' countries above. We have used data on population resident in the UK by country of birth for RoW, calculating a five year impact of free movement rights. **The advantage of using this method is that the population already resident in the UK provides a good approximation for the net push and pull factors for an individual country.**
- In order to be fair to Corbyn's Labour, we have, for this five year impact, used the lowest of all the EU8 and EU2 historical case studies.³² This is Hungary, which saw an 80 per cent increase in UK residents between 2003 and 2008. This is compared to an average of 287 per cent (including EU2), and a maximum value of 1,400 per cent (Slovakia).
- This 80 per cent uplift over five years has been applied to the current population resident in the UK for RoW countries to provide a total five year impact.³³

- It has been assumed that this takes effect from 2020. Beyond this five year period, growth is assumed to continue at the historical rate.
- This profile aligns with historical case studies with an initial surge followed by a decline and stabilisation.³⁴

Table explaining methodology used (population resident in UK, thousands)

	2018		2019		2024		2029
RoW popn. in UK (excl. 'short haul' countries)	5594	Continued at 2015-18 CAGR to 2019	5697	2024 popn. calculated by 80 per cent uplift on 2019 popn.	10255	Continued at historical CAGR to 2029	12266

CASE STUDY: UNITED STATES

US citizens coming to live, work or study in the UK need a visa. The current visa system is a points-based category system. Applicants must score a minimum number of points on an assessment test to be eligible for a visa. The test takes into consideration such factors as age, fluency in the English language, and other factors dependent on the specific Tier under which you apply.

There are five categories of visa that a US citizen (or other non-EEA national) can currently apply for. These are:

- Tier 1: High value workers
- Tier 2: Skilled workers
- Tier 3: Unskilled workers (currently suspended)
- Tier 4: Adult student
- Tier 5: Temporary workers

As migration from outside the EEA falls outside EU law, the government is able to set its own rules for migration from the US. Once we have left the EU we will incorporate US nationals into the new Australian points-based immigration system so that US citizens, and other non-EEA nationals, are not treated unfairly.

We are able to run extensive security checks on these US nationals, including the requirement for biometrics.³⁵ In Labour's policy of free movement we would lose this security guarantee and US criminals would be free to extend their networks across the Atlantic.

In this scenario free movement rights have been extended to the United States, as well as other non EEA countries. To calculate the migration flow we have taken the current number of US-born individuals living in the UK in 2019 and applied a five year uplift of 80 per cent (based on the lowest uplift seen from EU8 and EU2 countries) to 2024. We expect that there would be an initial surge of migration over the first two years as it suddenly becomes possible to easily and cheaply move to live and work in the UK. Over the next three years we expect that this net migration flow would tail off. From 2025 onwards we have continued the historical trend for US-born nationals resident in the UK.

CORBYN'S IMMIGRATION POLICY: IN HIS TEAM'S OWN WORDS

Labour's official position on immigration is to have uncontrolled and unlimited immigration

- Labour's official immigration policy is to 'maintain and extend free movement rights'. Labour Conference passed a motion to close all detention centres, provide unconditional rights to family reunion (giving migrants more rights than UK citizens), scrap any immigration targets or caps, and maintain and extend free movement rights. The motion stated that Labour policy would be to:
 - 'Campaign for free movement, equality and rights for migrants'.
 - 'Reject any immigration system based on incomes, migrants' utility to business, and number caps/targets'.
 - Close all detention centres.
 - Ensure unconditional right to family reunion.
 - Maintain and extend free movement rights.
 - End "no recourse to public funds" policies.
 - Scrap all Hostile Environment measures, use of landlords and public service providers as border guards, and restrictions on migrants' NHS access.
 - Actively challenge anti-immigrant narratives.
 - Extend equal rights to vote to all UK residents.³⁶
- Under Labour Party rules, motions passed at conference are added to the 'Party programme'. Even if a motion isn't added to the party's manifesto, according to Clause VI.1, 'The work of the Party shall be under the direction and control of Party conference'. Jeremy Corbyn has said that he is bound by Conference motions: 'What comes out of conference I will adhere to... [I] was elected to empower the members of the Party. So if conference makes a decision I will not walk away from it and I will act accordingly'.³⁷
- After the motion was passed, Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott said: 'Be assured our plans for government include these provisions and a lot more'. 38
- After the motion was passed, John McDonnell confirmed that Labour want 'as much freedom of movement as possible' and that's 'exactly what the conference debate was about'.
 - STUDIO: You're saying you're a democratic party. The party decided at the Labour Party conference you would extend free movement of people. That will be a pretty tricky message in leave-voting areas where immigration was very important. Are you sticking by that principle?
 - *JOHN MCDONNELL*: What we've said, we'll have an immigration policy which makes sure we have as much freedom of movement as possible, that's exactly what the conference debate was all about.
 - STUDIO: It was about extending.
 - *JOHN MCDONNELL:* We enjoy freedom of movement, ourselves, right the way across Europe, it's been a real benefit for many of our people across the country.
 - STUDIO: You said in 2016 if Britain leaves the EU the free movement of people will come to an end.
 - *JOHN MCDONNELL:* Formally it does. So that's why you have to negotiate a new immigration policy which benefits both ourselves and the European Union.
 - *STUDIO*: So under Labour there would be more immigration?
 - *JOHN MCDONNELL:* No what we're saying is we'll have the level of immigration that is needed to benefit our country. We can't be in a situation, as we are at the moment, where we've got crops rotting in the ground because we can't attract the labour and have a sensible immigration policy which reflects what our country needs.³⁹
- The group behind the motion are very clear that it was designed to extend free movement to countries outside the EU. According to 'Labour for Free Movement', who drafted and then engaged in the 'compositing' process, this motion is designed to extend free movement rights to countries outside the EU: 'it does say: "maintain and extend free movement" i.e. beyond the EU' One of the main supporters of the group, Clive Lewis, said that he wanted to pass a motion to help 'open the borders'.⁴⁰
- The Labour Party programme would also give immigrants more rights than UK citizens to bring their families into the country. The Labour conference motion included 'unconditional right to family reunion', a policy which Labour have supported previously: 'We will allow their families to come here if they are entitled to be here. And we will not impose minimum income restrictions on them'. This would give immigrants more rights than UK citizens, whose relatives have to meet an income requirement of £18,600 to come here.

- This is part of a wider package of Labour measures to encourage unlimited and uncontrolled immigration.
 - **Diane Abbott has said Labour would remove cooling-off periods.** 'We would remove the cooling off periods that senselessly ban skilled people from working in the UK'. This is despite the fact that the 12-month cooling-off period prevents individuals perpetually coming here for 12-month periods.⁴²
 - Diane Abbott has said under Labour there would be no minimum income requirement for non-EEA workers seeking to bring their family members here. 'Labour commits to honouring all its legal and moral obligations to non-EU migrants, many of whom are from the Commonwealth... And we will allow their families to come here if they are entitled to be here. And we will not impose minimum income restrictions on them. A right to a family life is a right. It is not a right if the lower-paid or poor cannot access it'. This is more generous than the current system for UK citizens − people seeking to stay with their family in the UK must meet the minimum income requirement of £18,600 a year.⁴³
 - Leaked Labour documents show that Jeremy Corbyn's team have been reviewing ways of extending visa
 schemes to allow thousands of unskilled immigrants access to the UK. An immigration discussion paper
 drawn up by Lachlan Stuart (Jeremy Corbyn's domestic policy adviser) would open Tier 3 of the immigration system to
 new applicants for the first time.⁴⁴

Corbyn and his top team have been clear that they don't believe in border controls

- Jeremy Corbyn has admitted he has no interest in ending free movement.
 - 'I am not against the free movement of people... I think I've made it pretty clear the need for workers to go both ways':⁴⁵
 - 'I would want to see a movement of labour'.⁴⁶
 - 'I don't particularly want us to go down the road of having to have a hard border between Britain and Europe for people who wish to travel, for holidays, for work, for anything else...we need to maintain that free movement'. 47
- A Corbyn spokesperson has confirmed that Jeremy Corbyn isn't aiming to reduce immigration. 'Jeremy is not concerned about numbers. Jeremy wants to ensure that people who come to work here have the same rights as British people ... It is not an objective to reduce the numbers, to reduce immigration'. 48
- Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell has repeatedly advocated for 'open borders'. In 2013, he said: 'If we're a civilised society we should have open borders. We should be allowed to travel right the way across the globe wherever we want. It should be a basic human right'. In 2016 he wrote: 'Inevitably in this century we will have open borders. We're seeing it in Europe already. The movement of peoples across the globe will mean that borders are almost going to become irrelevant by the end of this century, so we should be preparing for that'.⁴⁹
- Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott previously said that she through controls on immigration were 'shameful'. 'This shameful mug is an embarrassment. But real problem is that immigration controls are one of our five pledges at all'.⁵⁰

Jeremy Corbyn and his team have voted in favour of unlimited and uncontrolled immigration

- **Labour voted against ending free movement specifically.** At the fifth sitting of the Public Bill Committee Immigration and Social Security Coordination (EU Withdrawal) Bill Labour voted against the Clause which will end free movement.⁵¹
- Labour voted against the Immigration Bill which will end free movement, breaking the promise they made in their manifesto. 178 Labour MPs voted against the Immigration Bill, which ends free movement, despite their manifesto saying 'freedom of movement will end when we leave the European Union'. 52

Jeremy Corbyn opposes measures to reduce the impact of migration

- Labour would give immigrants benefits if they came here and found themselves unemployed. 'Again, if workers legally here should find themselves unemployed through no fault of their own, one of the quickest ways to drive down pay and conditions for all is to deny them the subsistence levels of unemployment and other benefits'.⁵³
- **He opposes restrictions on benefits for migrants.** 'Restricting benefits is really the wrong agenda to go down. If people are here and working and paying taxes then surely they have a right to benefits just like anybody else does'. ⁵⁴
- Corbyn argues that migrants don't add pressure to our vital public services. 'It isn't migrants that drive down wages, it's exploitative employers and the politicians who deregulate the labour market and rip up trade union rights. It isn't migrants who put a strain on our NHS, it only keeps going because of the migrant nurses and doctors who come here filling the gaps left by politicians who have failed to invest in training. It isn't migrants that have caused a housing crisis'.⁵⁵

Labour's record shows that they can't be trusted on immigration

- After Labour refused to put transitional controls in place in 2004, more than 90 per cent of new jobs went to foreign nationals. Between the last quarter of 2003 and 2008, 91 per cent of the increase in employment levels was accounted for by foreign nationals.⁵⁶
- Net immigration under Labour was more than twice the population of Birmingham. Between 1997 and 2010, net immigration to Britain was more than 2.2 million and up to 4 million people settled here.⁵⁷
- **Net immigration went up five-fold under Labour.** Net immigration into Britain was 47,500 in 1997. In June 2010, immigration was 244,000.⁵⁸
- Labour failed to put in place transition controls for Eastern Europe. From 2004 to 2010, 1.1 million people from Eastern European countries joining the EU registered to work in the UK.⁵⁹
- Labour former Home Secretary Jack Straw described not imposing transitional controls in 2004 as a 'spectacular mistake' which left Labour with 'red faces' for a policy they 'messed up'. He said: 'One spectacular mistake in which I participated (not alone) was in lifting the transitional restrictions on the Eastern European states like Poland and Hungary which joined the EU in mid-2004'. This decision meant 'lots of red faces, mine included'. He also admitted this was a policy 'we messed up'.⁶⁰
- Labour admitted they sent out 'search parties' to encourage mass immigration. Labour's Lord Mandelson said 'we were sending out search parties for people and encouraging them ... to take up work in this country'.⁶¹
- Britain's ambassador in Poland in 2004 said the Polish Interior Minister was 'incredulous' when told Britain was lifting all controls. He also said: 'The Polish minister instinctively knew what Tony Blair's Labour government consistently denied: the immediate abolition of all border restrictions would lead to a surge of his people to these shores'.⁶²
- Labour lifted border checks at times of pressure. In Summer 2008, Warnings Index checks were suspended on European Economic Area (EEA) nationals on Eurostar services. At Calais, Warnings Index checks were suspended on EEA nationals and UK car passengers again, adults as well as children were not run against the Index. Since 2008, at various ports and airports, this happened on more than 100 occasions.⁶³
- Labour admitted their immigration system was 'not fit for purpose'. In 2006 the then Labour Home Secretary
 John Reid admitted that the immigration system was 'not fit for purpose'.⁶⁴
- Labour ignored warnings about the abuse of student visas. In 2009, a House of Commons committee warned that there could be 'tens of thousands' of bogus students in the UK who entered on student visas but Labour did nothing.⁶⁵
- Migration to the UK put so much strain on maternity services in places that they had to be closed. The BBC reported that: 'The NHS is spending £350 million a year to provide maternity services for foreign-born mothers, £200 million more than a decade ago, the BBC has found. Immigration has raised the birth rate so fast that some units have closed, so that midwives could be moved to areas of urgent need. A unit in Ascot, Berkshire, shut for two months in 2007 because staff had to be transferred to Slough'.⁶⁶

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