

[REDACTED]

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**From:** Simon McGee (Sensitive)  
**Sent:** 29 September 2017 15:18  
**To:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive); [REDACTED] Helen Bower-Easton (Sensitive); [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** IFT story in Civil Service World

TBA, Civil Service World has published a story today (<http://www.civilserviceworld.com/articles/news/heywood-investigate-claim-boris-johnson-breached-ministerial-code-over-fco-think-tank>) claiming that Jeremy Heywood is investigating complaints about the Institute for Free Trade's use of the FCO Map Room for their launch on Wednesday.

The headline is wrong: it incorrectly equates a Cabinet Office spokesperson saying Heywood will read Umunna's letter with Heywood conducting an investigation. We're getting Cabinet Office to contact Civil Service World to get it changed.

Simon

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Simon McGee  
Press Secretary to the Foreign Secretary and Head of News  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
King Charles Street, London SW1A 2AH  
Tel: [REDACTED]  
Mobile: [REDACTED]

[Redacted]

**Subject:** FW: Handover part 1

-----Original Message-----

**From:** [Redacted]

**Sent:** 28 September 2017 07:40

**To:** DL Media Office (Sensitive) [Redacted]

**Subject:** Handover part 1

David,

Thought there might be something on Newsnight from the IFT launch, but nothing. Some pick up in the Sun and the Mail.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** 29 September 2017 11:06  
**To:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); David Fröst (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** RE: For Sue Gray - views pl OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Both,

Sue Gray is clear that IFT should pay the room fee, at full commercial rate. Simon agrees. Can I ask you to liaise with them so that I can confirm to Sue that this is happening by cop today?

Thanks

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 18:09  
**To:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** FW: For Sue Gray - views pl OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE  
**Importance:** High

Martin,

[REDACTED]

Cc David

I offered to send Sue Gray some facts. This is what I propose to say. Grateful for any thoughts asap please - I need to send tonight. I also had a quick chat with Simon about the FS response to Mr Umunna. Grateful for a quick word on that please, when you've a moment.

- IFT says it is a private, not-for-profit, non-partisan research foundation
  
- Its goals are to make the case for free trade; reach out to business groups around the world, including developing countries, to look at ways to eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers to free trade; and to network across government to promote new trade agreements
  
- These seem to be clearly in line with HMG policy. More broadly, think tanks can have an important role to play in this space, as the UK develops an independent trade policy and looks to reinvigorate the global debate and champion open markets
  
- IFT organised and paid for the event, including issuing invitations and arranging the guest list. FCO officials provided basic logistical support. The room fee was waived as it was an event under Ministerial auspices and supporting HMG objectives (which is in line with our rules on the use of FCO facilities)
  
- Their guest list included a wide range of parliamentarians, EU and non-EU Ambassadors, other think tanks and business. I understand that roughly an equal number of Labour and Conservative Parliamentarians were invited.
  
- A number of Government Ministers attended. In addition to the Foreign Secretary and Liam Fox - who both spoke - I understand that Michael Gove, Therese Coffey and Penny Mordaunt were in the audience. The joint press release (attached) included quotes from FS, LF and Priti Patel.
  
- I understand that No 10 briefed the lobby on the event on Monday.
  
- As I mentioned, we offer our premises to a range of external organisations on a paying or non-paying basis (with and without Ministerial participation)

Thank you

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 14:58  
**To:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Cc:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive); Liam Parker (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** RE: Letter from Chuka Umunna MP OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Thanks. We should triangulate our response with that from Cab Office. I'll do so, bringing you, Martin and Simon in to agree messages.

[REDACTED]

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**From:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 14:54  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive); Liam Parker (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** RE: Letter from Chuka Umunna MP OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Hi [REDACTED]

See below. I know this event has attracted some attention given the febrile atmosphere. But I struggle to see what the actual grounds for criticism are. I am not aware that anyone has raised any propriety issue during the preparations until this point.

The origin of the event goes back to a discussion between Dan Hannan and the FS back in March / April when the FS agreed to host the launch. (I was not present at that meeting but checked the terms with the FS afterwards and that is the basis on which we proceeded.)

David

David Frost CMG | Foreign Affairs Special Adviser to the Foreign Secretary  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office | King Charles Street | London | SW1A 2AH |  
Tel: [REDACTED] | Mobile: [REDACTED] | Email: [REDACTED]

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**From:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 14:12  
**To:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Cc:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** RE: Letter from Chuka Umunna MP OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Thanks for flagging David. I'll need to discuss and clear the final response with Simon. I haven't seen anything on this before now. My understanding of the facts – which I'd be grateful if you could confirm - is that:

- IFT is a not-for-profit research foundation The website says “private, not-for-profit, non-partisan research foundation”
- Its goals are to make the case for free trade; reach out to business groups around the world, including developing countries, to look at ways to eliminate tariff and non-tariff barriers to free trade; and to network across government to promote new trade agreements There is a little more detail on the website but essentially correct. It is obviously up front that it sees advantage in Brexit but then we wouldn't be able to do FTAs without it so it is not surprising.
- These are in line with HMG policy and the event was an opportunity to emphasise HMG's position as a champion of free trade etc Yes. Some of the media articles talk about the institute as promoting “hard Brexit” or deregulation but I do not find any of this on the website and I think it is journalistic inference.
- More broadly, we welcome the role of think tanks in providing public policy research and they have an important role to play on trade, as the UK develops an independent trade policy and looks to reinvigorate the global debate and champion open markets Correct
- That IFT organised and paid for the event in its entirety: FCO official resources provided logistical support and nothing further Correct (apparently for security the FCO is being reimbursed, others met direct). A bit of EDD and Press Office official time on logistics. The room fee was waived as it was an event under Ministerial auspices and supporting Govt objectives (I understand this is the FCO's rule – that is what I was told at the time)
- That their guest list included a wide range of parliamentarians, EU Ambassadors, other think tanks and business Yes – there were many other Ambassadors and diplomats, officials, think tankers etc. The IFT invited roughly equal numbers of Labour and Conservative Parliamentarians. However because it was the Labour Party conference those who came were predominantly Conservatives. Khalid Mahmood MP (Labour) was there and the Institute tell me they have plenty of emails from Labour Parliamentarians saying “would like to come but it is the conference”. I attach the guest list of those who had confirmed attendance a couple of days beforehand.
- We could have offered our premises, under similar conditions, for another think tank with different or opposing views (albeit not necessarily with FS participation) Assume so and I thought we did this from time to time. For example I think we have hosted the CER annual reception in the past

Finally, a question:

- What did No 10 brief out to lobby on the event? Nothing (we have checked). Dan Hannan wrote an article somewhere in weekend press and this may have stimulated interest. There was a joint FCO / DIT press release on Tuesday with quotes from both Liam Fox and the FS.

Thank you

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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**From:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 11:47  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** FW: Letter from Chuka Umunna MP OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Hi [REDACTED]

We have received the email below from Chuka Umunna MP about last night's Institute for Free Trade launch.

I have drafted a reply - attached. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] but I'd be grateful if you could let me have any observations on the first paragraph. As far as I can see the fact that this wasn't a party political event means that we don't need to answer a series of questions based on the assumption that it was.

[REDACTED]

I also attach the note from EDD setting out the arrangements, costs, etc for the event.

Thanks

David

David Frost CMG | Foreign Affairs Special Adviser to the Foreign Secretary  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office | King Charles Street | London | SW1A 2AH |  
[REDACTED]

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**From:** Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive)  
**Sent:** 27 September 2017 18:04  
**To:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Cc:** Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** FW: Letter from Chuka Umunna MP OFFICIAL\_SENSITIVE

Could I leave this with you?

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**From:** JOHNSON, Boris [<mailto:boris.johnson.mp@parliament.uk>]  
**Sent:** 27 September 2017 17:58  
**To:** Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** Letter from Chuka Umunna MP

**From:** UMUNNA, Chuka  
**Sent:** 27 September 2017 15:13  
**To:** JOHNSON, Boris <[boris.johnson.mp@parliament.uk](mailto:boris.johnson.mp@parliament.uk)>  
**Subject:** Letter from Chuka Umunna MP

Dear Foreign Secretary,

It is reported that you, along with the Secretary of State for International Trade, will host and speak at the launch event of a new think-tank fighting for a hard Brexit – the 'Institute for Free Trade' (IFT). It is reported that the launch will take place in the Maps Room of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on Wednesday 27<sup>th</sup> September.

The IFT, according to *The Times*, will be "calling for Britain to abandon European product standards" and "wants to influence the final Brexit deal by approaching businesses and government ministers independently of the Department for International Trade." It will be led by Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan, and will feature Jon Moynihan in a senior role. Both played a significant role in Vote Leave during the EU referendum campaign last year.



As you should be aware, this raises significant issues under the Ministerial Code. The Code is clear that “Ministers are provided with facilities at Government expense to enable them to carry out their official duties.” It is extremely hard to see how launching partisan think-tanks counts as one of your official duties. The Code goes on to state that “Government property should not generally be used for constituency work or party political activities.” Given the involvement of Mr Hannan in particular, who is a serving Conservative Party politician with no role at all in Her Majesty’s Government, it is clear that this event should count as party political activity.

Your conduct also raises serious questions regarding the roles of officials and special advisers within your department. Both the Civil Service Code and the Special Advisers Code are clear that official resources must not be used for party political purposes or activities.

I believe this raises the following questions that you must answer:

- Do you accept that hosting a political event in your department goes against the Ministerial Code which states that “[Government] facilities should not generally be used for Party or constituency activities”?
- Did you consult the Cabinet Secretary or other senior officials before agreeing to host this event, specifically on whether hosting adhered to the rules of the Ministerial Code?
- If so, will you publish the advice you were given?
- Was any part of the cost of this event borne by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office or any other part of Government?
- Were any of your Civil Service officials involved in any way in organising and hosting this event?
- If so, do you accept that this would be in breach of the Civil Service Code, which states that Civil Servants must not “use official resources for party political purposes”?
- Were your special advisers involved in any way in organising and hosting this event?
- If so, do you accept that this could breach the Special Advisers Code of Conduct, which states that “special advisers should act in a way which upholds the political impartiality of other civil servants” and “they should not use official resources for party political activity”?

I know that you have become accustomed to the freedom you have been accorded in the past as a newspaper columnist. But you are now the Foreign Secretary. You are not a polemicist free to act as you like, but a senior member of the Government. That important role brings with it certain obligations and responsibilities, such as a need to adhere strictly to the Ministerial Code and other guidance concerning the role of civil servants and special advisers in your department.

It does not seem right that Government property (and possibly resources) should be used to promote a hard-right think tank dedicated to campaigning for a rollback of EU regulations, especially given that that is at odds with publicly stated Government policy. You give the impression of having fallen short of the high standards that are rightly expected of Cabinet ministers. It is therefore vital that you answer these questions quickly and accurately so Parliament and the public can judge your behaviour.

Yours Sincerely,

Chuka Umunna MP

**Chuka Umunna MP** | Member of Parliament for Streatham

[www.Chuka.org.uk](http://www.Chuka.org.uk) | [www.Facebook.com/ChukaUmunna](https://www.facebook.com/ChukaUmunna) | [www.Twitter.com/ChukaUmunna](https://www.twitter.com/ChukaUmunna)

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[REDACTED]

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**From:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive)  
**Sent:** 28 September 2017 09:30  
**To:** [REDACTED] David Blair (Sensitive); [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** [REDACTED] (Restricted); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive),  
(Sensitive); Martin Reynolds (PPS) (Sensitive); [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Thank you: Institute for Free Trade launch

Dear all,

A big thank you to the FCO team and to [REDACTED] for all your help and support for making last night's event such a success. It was great to see the Map Room so full and so many people enjoying themselves. I know how much work goes into something like this, especially when quite so many people show up on the night, so it was excellent it worked so well.

Obviously the event attracted a bit more public interest than we originally thought, and the comment around it is worth reading. Still, wherever politics go in the next few years, it is always going to be good to have a London think tank dedicated to the benefits of free trade, which Britain as a country has stood for since 1846. The launch event has I hope reminded everyone of why we all benefit!

Thanks again

David

David Frost CMG | Foreign Affairs Special Adviser to the Foreign Secretary  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office | King Charles Street | London | SW1A 2AH |

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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**Subject:**

FW: FCO Media Office Weather Forecast: Wednesday 27 September

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED]

Sent: 27 September 2017 17:31

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: FCO Media Office Weather Forecast: Wednesday 27 September

FCO Media Office Weather Forecast: Wednesday 27 September

1. Foreign Secretary speaks at Launch of IFT

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1. Foreign Secretary speaks at Launch of IFT

Issue

The Foreign Secretary and Liam Fox are speaking at the launch of the Institute for Free Trade (IFT) this evening.

Lines to Take

The Foreign Secretary said:

“Free trade is not only the key to economic success, but also serves as a force for peace and progress in every sense, giving millions more people the chance to lift themselves out of poverty.

“We must ensure that Global Britain breaks free of the constraints of the EU and becomes the world’s leading proselytiser and agitator for free trade.

“I am delighted to attend the launch of the Institute for Free Trade and to support its noble mission. It is no exaggeration to say that the livelihoods of millions of people depend on its success.”

Media Officer

[REDACTED]

Official inc, mobile number

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FCO Media Office duty contacts

Duty Press Officer - [REDACTED]

Top Cover – Simon McGee, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] | Media Office | Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London SW1A 2AH

[REDACTED]

## Communications plan

**Issue:** The launch of the Institute for Free Trade (IFT)

**Date:** Wednesday 27 September

**Contact:** [REDACTED]

### **Summary of story:**

The Secretary of State will be delivering a speech at the launch of the Institute for Free Trade (IFT). The event is being held by its President, Daniel Hannan MEP and will be hosted in the FCO. The Secretary of State speech will follow a speech from Boris Johnson.

The IFT is launching with its key objective being “to make the intellectual and moral case for free trade”. It has an influential advisory panel including former Australian PM Tony Abbott and Stephen Harper, the former Canadian PM.

The Secretary of State speech will outline the economic and moral benefits of free trade, focusing on what the Department for International Trade is doing to support global free trade and how this ultimately improves the lives of ordinary people.

### **Media handling**

- **National press release into the morning 00:01 Wednesday 27 September** (see below) giving support to the IFT and setting out the achievements of the Department post-Brexit for UK papers into Wednesday. FCO SoS will also have an included quote.
- Pre-brief sections of **Sec of State’s speech** to friendlies (Brexit Central, Telegraph, Mail, Express, Sun and [REDACTED] into the day (if speech available).
- The IFT have issued invites. Notable media attendees include Tom Newton Dunn [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
- **SoS gives speech** on the day with no media Q&A, but a **separate interview with** [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
- **Social Media** – we will tweet our support for the formation of IFT (suggested tweet below), and will tweet a GIF on the benefits of free trade
- Daniel Hannan will be doing Newsnight and the Today programme on the day of the event – we will share our DIT briefing with him.

[Redacted]

**From:** [Redacted]  
**Sent:** 27 September 2017 12:58  
**To:** David Frost (SpAd) (Sensitive); Liam Parker (Sensitive); Ben Gascoigne (Sensitive)  
**Subject:** IFT line - if asked

Chaps - so far no calls on this, but in case we're asked, line now agreed with desk & shared with DIT is:

"IFT contributes to FCO objectives by working on the opportunities for a Britain with an independent trade policy and capable of building bilateral trade relationships after Brexit"

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

**Subject:**

FCO Media Office: Bedtime Stories – Tuesday 26 September 2017

**From:**

**Sent:** 26 September 2017 22:41

**To:**

**Subject:** FCO Media Office: Bedtime Stories – Tuesday 26 September 2017

**Running on Press Association wire:**

**1. POST-BREXIT BRITAIN SHOULD BE LEADING AGITATOR FOR FREE TRADE - BORIS JOHNSON**

**EMBARGOED:**

**POST-BREXIT BRITAIN SHOULD BE LEADING AGITATOR FOR FREE TRADE - BORIS JOHNSON**

PA

POLITICS Trade

26-Sep-2017 20:00:26

By Andrew Woodcock, Press Association Political Editor

*Embargoed to 0001 Wednesday September 27*

*Page 1*

Britain should become "the world's leading proselytiser and agitator for free trade" when it leaves the European Union, Boris Johnson has said.

The Foreign Secretary was speaking ahead of the launch in London of a new think tank designed to make the case for free trade.

He is being joined at Friday's launch of the Institute for Free Trade at the Foreign Office by fellow Cabinet Brexiteer Liam Fox, who said there were "huge opportunities" for Britain in taking the message to emerging economies of the power of free trade to lift people out of poverty.

Mr Johnson said: "Free trade is not only the key to economic success, but also serves as a force for peace and progress in every sense, giving millions more people the chance to lift themselves out of poverty.

"We must ensure that Global Britain breaks free of the constraints of the EU and becomes the world's leading proselytiser and agitator for free trade.

"I am delighted to attend the launch of the Institute for Free Trade and to support its noble mission. It is no exaggeration to say that the livelihoods of millions of people depend on its success."

And International Trade Secretary Dr Fox added: "Our work as an international economic department has never been more critical in making the moral case for free trade to help provide economic stability and lift millions out of poverty, whilst increasing productivity and offering consumers better choices.

"There are huge opportunities for the UK to be a global leader in helping growing economies realise the benefits of open and fair trade, and the launch of the Institute for Free Trade will further help us highlight the importance trade has on the prosperity of the world economy."

IFT president, Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan, said Brexit provided an opportunity to "revitalise the global trading system".

"It's not every day that a G7 country gets to draw up new tariff schedules," he said.

"If we open our markets, we can preserve the freest trade with our 27 EU allies while liberalising further with the other 162 World Trade Organisation members.

"To succeed, we must convince people that free trade, far from being exploitative, is the ultimate instrument of poverty alleviation, conflict resolution and social justice."