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[@nickreeves9876](#)



1/ Brexit politics is built on fear. Frightened people tend to seek security in the tribe. Once that tribe might have been the Labour movement, but now in a fragmented post-industrial society it is the nation. Tribal identification is emotional, not rational.



2/ A tribe that feels under threat wants to control its borders, and who enters into its territory. It demands loyalty and solidarity, and its prime virtue is self-sacrifice - economic arguments won't persuade tribalists. Its members want to feel it is strong and powerful.

3/ Tribalism at a time of crisis is intolerant of dissent. The tribe must pull together against its enemies. Dissent and questioning cause division and disrupt the collective effort. Criticism is seen as treason. The Brexit right have ruthlessly exploited tribal psychology.



The unelected House of Lords is today forcing MPs to vote on the Brexit Bill...despite 17,410,742 Britons winning the right to leave.

We have one simple warning to our elected representatives...

IGNORE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AT YOUR PERIL

TODAY the Daily Express asks every MP sitting at Westminster one simple question: **Whom do you serve?**

Our elected representatives in the House of Commons this afternoon begin a series of crunch votes on Theresa May's Brexit plans.

The Prime Minister's EU (Withdrawal) Bill was supposed to be a straightforward piece of legislation cancelling Britain's

membership of the European bloc and smoothing the legal path to an independent future.

Instead, the Bill has been emasculated beyond recognition by the ermine-clad inhabitants of the House of Lords.

Unelected Remain-backing peers, many enjoying lavish Brussels pensions, have transformed the Bill into a device for diluting and potentially delaying Brexit. Some clauses added by the Lords have even been



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drafted in the hope that the departure process can still be averted. One even has the cheek to demand a "meaningful vote" by Parliament before the country finally leaves the EU.

While peers might not have received the message, MPs know

full well that a "meaningful vote" has already taken place.

It happened when 17.4 million people chose for the country to break ties with Brussels in the biggest exercise in democracy in our history.

Since then, millions more who did not vote for Brexit in the 2016 referendum have come to the conclusion our national interest will be best served by delivering on that verdict and getting the job done. MPs

need to remember that meaningful vote when they decide which division lobby to walk into the Commons over the next 48 hours.

Their constituents will be watching the votes closely and any betrayal of Brexit will not be forgotten the next time the general election ballot boxes open.

Today the time has come for our elected representatives to decide – are you or are you not the servants of the people?

4/ To understand Brexit politics it is necessary to understand that the working and middle classes are dead as coherent political forces and that frightened and insecure people are now clinging to the only available powerful tribe, the nation-tribe.

5/ The Brexit right understands and ruthlessly exploits basic social emotions. In contrast the centre and centre-left mostly can see no further than the blinkered logic of rational individualism, from which perspective everything else is irrational and incomprehensible.

6/ Tribal psychology is only irrational from the standpoint of rational individualism. It was highly adaptive for our ancestors, and without it we almost certainly wouldn't exist. Unfortunately in the modern world it's very easily exploited by ruthless political factions.

7/ Most of those who adhere to the nation-tribe do so because they want it to make them feel safe and secure. So they want to be told that the tribe is powerful and successful, hence the cynical and manipulative outpouring of rhetoric about Britain being 'world-beating'.