



THE EUROFILE

Liberal Democrat essays
on Europe

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"We look forward to a world in which all people share the same basic rights, in which they live together in peace and in which their different cultures will be able to develop freely."

Preamble to the Liberal Democrat Constitution

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This is why I'm IN

Tim Farron
Leader of the Liberal Democrats



There is a fundamental question we should consider when discussing Europe; what sort of world do we want to live in? A world in which countries stands apart from each other, glaring across borders in splendid isolation like times gone by? Or a world in which neighbours cooperate to build a more prosperous and secure world?

As Liberal Democrats we fight for Britain to be one of those outward looking countries. A country that can thrive, innovate and lead in an open, global economy. A country which works with those who share our values to overcome our common adversaries.

I'm a natural optimist: Liberal Democrats are natural optimists. We want to look forward, not back.

I don't want Britain to become an offshore financial centre, hoping like Switzerland to help the global rich hide their wealth from tax authorities in other countries. I don't want us to become a society riven with nationalism, viewing foreigners as hostile and dangerous. I want us to recognise the future benefits of close relations with our neighbours and natural partners, how investing in each other's economies and sharing in prosperity can make Britain even greater than it is now.

Throughout this national debate we must remember that it is often our children, and the generations the follow who will be most affected by our decisions now. Your children and mine will be growing up in the society which we build. I want my children to grow up in a society that shares security, shares political values and shares social standards with our

European neighbours, rather than risking a return to the mutual hostility of a century ago.

This is not about loving everything that comes out of Brussels. Life isn't perfect, and politics is about compromise. Political negotiation among democratic governments across Europe is far better than the wars which our grandparents suffered. Politics is about recognising that there is a vision of co-operation, collaboration and mutual support which Britain can play a leading part in.

The simple fact is that the majority of the problems facing the modern world are better faced together.

The EU and its member governments have led global negotiations on containing climate change – magnifying Britain's influence through working with like-minded European partners. It's only by working with our fellow European democracies that we will tackle the hiding of money around the world by the global rich revealed in the Panama Papers. More importantly, it is only by working with our European partners that we will tackle the kind of corporate tax evasion that is too dull to make the news but which has the most significant impact on revenue. Companies that use our infrastructure and resources, yet fail to pay their fair share.

Working together we can build something great. If we learn from the lessons of our shared past we can apply them to build a shared, stronger, safer, successful future for our generation and generations to come.





Europe makes Britain great

Nick Clegg
Former Deputy Prime Minister

Unlike many of our neighbours, Britain did not join the EU as a way of embracing a new, modern identity. For the Germans, French, Italians and the Benelux countries, European co-operation represented the victory of peace over war. For Spain, Greece and Portugal, membership signified the victory of democracy over fascism. For many newer members, it was about throwing off the tyranny of Soviet communism.

Not us. Joining the European Community was a pounds and pence calculation of what was good for us, done with a shrug of the shoulders and an 'if you can't beat them, join them' acceptance that the age of empire was over.

This is why so much of our European debate is not, in fact, about Europe at all. It's about Britain. Our identity. Our sovereignty. It reflects what has been a lack of clarity about where exactly we stand in today's world, and who we stand with. And it's why the shrill arguments of the Brexiteers so often seem to equate our membership of the EU with Britain's loss of empire, as if it was the fault of Brussels that Britain lost its colonies.

The truth, of course, is very different: far from weakening Britain, our membership of the EU has enabled us to flourish. Britain today is a major world power. We are the world's fifth largest economy. Our capital is one of the world's most popular destinations and a centre for culture and global commerce. Our universities are among the very best on the planet. Our businesses lead the world in everything from computer games to wind power. We don't need to rule the waves in order to wield influence across the modern world. Europe helps Britain to be great.

Because so much of our debate has been dominated by cold pragmatism, the patriotic case for EU membership – that it enhances our status in the world and makes us more influential, more affluent, and more secure – has rarely been heard.

EU membership is profoundly in our national interest. We stand taller in the world when we stand tall in our own neighbourhood. That's why it is so galling to see the advocates of Brexit cloak themselves in the language of patriotism. There is nothing patriotic in seeing your country diminished. Withdrawal and isolation is a betrayal of our national interest.

Within Europe we can ensure Britain's continued leadership in world affairs; continued influence in Washington, Beijing and New Delhi as much as in Brussels, Paris or Berlin; and for our reputation as a proud, outward-looking, internationalist power. If we choose to walk away we will cede our influence and our importance.

Indeed, leaving may mean sacrificing the United Kingdom itself, with a leave vote triggering a second independence referendum in Scotland. Far from being the patriotic choice, Brexit would jeopardise the very existence of the United Kingdom. Staying in Europe, working alongside other nations increases our influence, gives us greater prosperity and protects the union.





We built the EU for our children

Shirley Williams

Former Secretary of State for Education and Science

Our country has a long and great tradition of leadership. Increasingly, we recognise that it has to be not only national leadership but our global leadership, where we are a part of a larger group of human beings seeking a better world and a better life, which makes the greatest difference to our lives. It would be a tragedy if this country gave up that kind of leadership because it is essential in the modern world, in which countries are totally interconnected with one another.

We have warred for generations over land, resources and ideas, spilling the blood of our children so that one small corner of the continent can put its flag in another small corner of the continent. In the last century we called this to an end. We agreed that we had finally had enough of the bloodshed and instead collaborated to build a stronger, more peaceful Europe.

It is not just violence we are protecting against. In building the European Union we have built the single biggest trading block in the world, the largest source of overseas investment in the world and an organisation which has the capacity to have a major impact in its negotiations in the World Trade Organisation and elsewhere.

In building the European Union we have built one of the strongest bastions of rights and democracy in the World. In bringing about an extension of democracy, an extension of recognition of the rule of law, and an extension of a willingness to settle conflicts peacefully throughout the whole of Europe - west and east.

For the generations following us we must fight to keep this project going. Our children, our grandchildren and our decedents yet to come will only benefit from the achievements of a European continent working together. In creating a safer, more prosperous world we will protect our families from the mistakes we have made in the past.

Our children will face new problems which older generations haven't had to. Climate change is already disrupting communities across the world, we are seeing the effects right here in Europe. It will only become more of a problem, and an increasingly global crisis, as the years pass. Our inaction now dooms our descendants. That is why it is so important that we work with our friends and allies across Europe to put in place the provisions we need to save our environment.

We cannot stay on the side-lines any longer; we must play a full part in the development of a European Union which could contribute far more than it has already to the peace, freedom and human rights of the whole planet. We owe it to our children to build a better world.





Pax Europaea

Paddy Ashdown

Former Leader of the Liberal Democrats

There was a day when you could divide policies between domestic and foreign; major national issues did not stray too far beyond national borders. This is no longer the case. There is no domestic issue that does not have a foreign quotient with it: not jobs; not the environment; not terrorism, crime, or security.

Those who argue that leaving Europe will give us more control our own affairs, don't understand that the opposite is true. By pooling our sovereignty with our European neighbours we have more control over global forces. By being alone global forces have more control over us.

Defence is often cited as the first duty of a Government. A stable, peaceful nation, without external threats to its civilians, is a strong nation. AS NATO shows, in the modern, globalised world this means pooling our sovereignty and working closely with those whose values we share around the world. That's why every one of our international friends, every ally, every world leader worth listening to, has come out in support of us staying in Europe – except for one - Vladimir Putin, whose aim these twenty years has been to break up the EU. Should we really be helping him?

Working in partnership, as a union of like-minded states, we have overcome many of our difference. Just 75 years ago we were dropping bombs on Germany; 30 years ago we were pointing nuclear missiles at Poland. Before that we struggled through centuries of bloody wars. Yet today we sit around the same table, talking together, negotiating a shared, stronger, future for us all.

It is for this reason that I am a passionate European. I find something attractive about this idea – that it has put an end to centuries of war, with the slaughter of millions of our young generations across history, by bringing our previously disparate nations together.

It is not just the nations within Europe that see the benefits of peace and security. The European Union is a massive soft power that, as we act together, helps to build peace on our doorstep and across the world. Furthermore, it helps to deal with the catastrophic fallout from conflict - the destruction that follows wars, as in Bosnia. One of the greatest strategic issues of our time — the mass movements of people escaping wars in Africa and the Middle East – will only be successfully overcome by cooperation, by working together to solve otherwise insurmountable problems. Over the years the European Union has shown itself to be have been far more effective at sustaining and building peace, underpinning democracy and creating the rule of law than all the aircraft carriers of the United States put together.

Of course the peace of Europe is not today threatened by war inside our borders. But it is threatened by war all around us. Consider this; we now live in a world where the US is looking quite as much west across the Pacific, as east across the Atlantic. On our eastern borders we have the most aggressive Russian President of our time, prepared to take European territory with tanks. To our southeast we have an Arab world in flames. To our south the Maghreb is in turmoil right down into sub-Saharan Africa. And all around us are economic powers now growing larger than any single European nation. And this is the time to remove ourselves from the solidarity of our friends and partners in the EU? That would be folly of the highest order and would result in the dangers of a most turbulent era being far greater for us and our children than they need be.





The EU is vital to face global challenges

Catherine Bearder
MEP for South East England

The rise of global trade, ease of travel and the internet have meant the world today is more interconnected than ever before. This has brought huge new opportunities. But it has also brought new threats and challenges. Whether it is multinational giants who avoid paying tax, cheap Chinese imports undercutting our steel industry or international criminal gangs trafficking human beings, the problems we now face all require more international cooperation, not less.

The EU is by no means perfect. But it has established a democratic and stable framework that allows Britain to work together with our neighbours to respond to these global challenges. In so many areas of our lives, from trade and travel to protecting the environment, the UK's place in Europe means we can achieve much more than we ever could alone. We often take these benefits for granted, but they would be sorely missed if we left. In a way the EU is a bit like the London tube. It's clunky, prone to delays and at times uncomfortable. But life without it would be inconceivably more difficult.

Take air pollution, responsible for over 50,000 early deaths a year in the UK. Pollution does not respect national borders, in fact around one-third of the dirty air we breathe is blown across from the continent. By putting in place strong EU limits, we can ensure each country and every sector plays its part in cutting down harmful emissions. EU legislation I am currently working on aims to halve the number of deaths caused by air pollution in Europe each year.

By staying in and keeping Britain's voice at the table, we can continue to shape vital agreements like this to the benefit of us all. As the third largest member Britain has played a leading role in the EU during the last 40 years, driving the creation of the single market that has brought huge benefits to households across the UK. If we were to leave we would be giving that all up. British businesses would still have to play by EU rules if they wanted to export there, without us having any say. Given the UK does about half its trade with Europe that would be a huge loss of influence.

Staying in the EU is also about using our combined influence as a force for good abroad. As the world's biggest economy and largest development donor, the EU has led the way on issues such as tackling climate change, reducing global poverty and promoting LGBTI rights. Obama rightly remarked that EU membership does not diminish the UK's influence, it amplifies it. By standing tall in Europe, we can play a bigger role in making the world fairer, more peaceful and more sustainable.

The Leave campaign try and deride arguments in favour of EU cooperation as "talking Britain down." But there is nothing patriotic about diminishing the UK's ability to change the world for the better. There would be no sovereignty gained by giving up our say over the big decisions and rules that will continue to impact on our lives. Leaving the EU would mean losing our best tools against global problems at a time when we need them more than ever. So let's stand tall in Europe and respond to the shared challenges we face, rather than leave them for future generations. Let's lead in Europe, not leave.





Past, present and future, the EU is a constructive force in the World

Bob MacLennan
Former Leader of the SDP

The main benefit which the Union has brought the continent of Europe has been peace in our time. For seventy years Western Europe has avoided war and, as the Eastern European countries have joined or indicated their aspirations to join, they have backed away from the use of force to settle disputes with their neighbours.

When I was a young child in Glasgow, the street in which I lived was bombed in March 1941 and twelve people were killed. My grandmother was blown by the blast from one end of the kitchen to the other. A platoon of soldiers took shelter in our basement which was shored up with railway sleepers and surrounded by bags of sand and buckets of water.

The following morning, my parents sent my sister and myself to stay with family friends in the Scottish countryside where they had rented a house for the duration of the Second World War. We were separated from our parents for fifteen months and I was terrified of the military planes which flew overhead. We also heard that the family of my father's anaesthetist had been bombed out of their houses twice during the time that they were absent from their home.

Those experiences were as nothing in comparison to what was experienced by other continental Europeans. The history of Europe which preceded the Second World War was unstable and the use of arms was frequently resorted to with the intention of demonstrating the superiority of one particular state over another. The European Union has brought all this to an end.

It started with the Coal and Steel Community which bound together France and Germany. I remember being shocked by the vote in the French Senate against the European Defence Community. I had anticipated that, by progression, the countries which had seen millions of their citizens killed would come together. The fact that the United Kingdom was standing apart may have had to do with the perception that Britain was still the centre of an Empire. Harold MacMillan with his 'winds of change' speech signalled that our global influence was coming to an end. We were late in coming to the Union but we certainly strengthened it when we did. If we leave the Union we shall weaken it, and that is a dangerous prospect for the future of our continent.

The Convention on the Future of Europe, on which I served, was an indication that the best way to take on board the necessary changes is to have national parliamentarians, MEPs, the governments and the institutions of Europe come together and reach a consensus on the changes needed. Referenda are not ideal ways of democratic adjustments. They can, as in the case of the French and the Dutch after the Convention was concluded, be an opportunity for citizens to vote against their governments and not on the substance of the changes proposed.

I profoundly hope that the referendum signals Britain's willingness to remain in the European Union, and I think also that we should take the initiative after the event, of making the Union stronger and more comfortable to all the nations' wishes by establishing a new Convention on the future of Europe. It will give us a voice in the world and will be a constructive way to build a stronger Europe, and a stronger future for us all.



The EU means jobs for the next generation

Susan Kramer

Liberal Democrat Treasury Spokesperson



On the doorstep and in debates it's clear that the EU Referendum divides the generations. Even "pro-staying" people of my age typically say "it's a head rather than a heart decision". But the under 35s complain that they simply don't understand the conundrum and they don't "get" the sovereignty issue in a world increasingly lived without real borders. As one person in their 20s put it "I don't understand why I can't be proud to be British and be in the EU". He expects not just to travel freely across Europe but also to work in different countries and to be part of businesses that are built around European values of social democracy, that span Europe and have the size and revenues to take on anyone in the US and Asia. In his view, "older people are still obsessed by the war but that is history".

In the business world the head/heart generational divide is if anything more stark. I spend time with young Fintech entrepreneurs. These are the pioneers of online, alternative financial services which are challenging and disrupting our conventional banks with great success. They are our future and one of Britain's few high growth industries where we lead in Europe and the world. Tech City UK surveyed its members finding that 7 in 10 respondents, both the investors and the company founders, want to remain in the EU. Speaking to many myself, they cannot understand why we are even considering exit. Many started their companies as pan-European from day one. Their colleagues, employees and friends are from all across Europe. They intend to be dominant in their industry across a market of 500 million people and indeed doubt that either Brits or foreigners will invest in their industry in the future if this is not the case. As they plan growth, the single market with a single set of regulations is

the goal that offers them success – quite in contrast to the trade deals discussed by the Brexit camp.

And these businesses of the future do have an alternative European home to London if the UK decides to leave. It's not the stale financial cities of Frankfurt and Paris but the vibrant, cosmopolitan, "tech" city of Berlin. For those who not have been there recently, it now has such a large international population for whom English is both the common language and the work language that many Berlin mid-wives are required to speak English. Financial regulators in Germany are looking to copy the regulatory approach of the UK to Fintech in order to facilitate a shift in the locus of such industries. UK firms may be keeping very quiet about their preparations for Brexit but many in continental Europe are well advanced.

The EU Referendum is above all about the future. Older people, especially retired people may well consider that their lives will be relatively unaffected. Young people will bear the brunt of our decisions. We need to listen to our young people and build the world they want and that means remaining part of the EU.





The European Peace Project

Julie Smith
Director of the European Centre at
the University of Cambridge

Peace: the single most important reason for the creation of what we now call the European Union, and the reason it remains so crucial. The European project arose from a clear vision: to make war in Europe 'materially impossible', to create enduring peace in a continent long ravaged by war. It is almost impossible to imagine now the devastation that plagued our continent for so long. And that is thanks to the visionary ideas of its founders. A spirit of reconciliation and mutual cooperation among the six founding members was crucial to ensuring Immanuel Kant's idea of perpetual peace seemed to be a reality.

Of course, many would argue that is NATO that has kept the peace in Europe. It has certainly been important in securing the borders of its European members. During the Cold War the European Community as it was initially known could rely on an American security blanket to protect them from Soviet threats. Yet, within its own borders it was the mutual trust that developed as a result of pooling sovereignty in the areas of coal and steel and then across a wider set of economic policies that ensured member states began to see each other as partners and allies, not potential invaders.

For generations now we have lived secure in the knowledge that our fathers, brothers and sons will not be summoned to fight for our country. Military engagement by the state and by individuals signing up is voluntary, not forced. We have the EU to thank for that.

And it is important to remember that this is a voluntary union, not a forced marriage. Yes, there is a degree of negotiation and compromise involved

as happens in any relationship. Ultimately, the UK can decide what role it plays in the EU; it isn't coerced into action. In the 43 years since the UK joined we have seen our influence wax and wane, mostly dependent on how engaged the government of the day has sought to be.

At times we have led, as in the initiative to 'complete the internal market' enshrined in the Single European Act (SEA). Taking down internal barriers to trade, including free movement of goods, capital, services and labour – envisaged in the founding treaties but taken so much further in the 1992 programme – was pushed by Margaret Thatcher, and it achieved a huge amount. When the UK engages we can make a significant difference to the EU, to our *mutual* benefit; when it takes itself to the side-lines its influence is inevitably reduced.

You don't have to love all the details of the EU to believe that it has played a crucial role in the peaceful development of first six and now 28 member states, but you do need to be part of that Union to influence and improve it. Being part of the world's greatest peace project remains a great prize.



The EU was a model for the Irish Peace Process

John Alderdice
First Speaker of the Northern Ireland Assembly



The 1998 Belfast Agreement brought a definitive end to centuries of violent conflict between Britain and Ireland. It was not just the result of creative and determined leadership or popular exhaustion. Joining the Common Market in January 1973 transformed the historic disturbed relationship between Britain and Ireland. Regular EU meetings opened up new thinking for civil servants and politicians, and the European model and context had a profound impact. Peace between France and Germany was an inspirational model for the Irish Peace Process. Four of the five main Northern Ireland parties are now committed to membership, and the Democratic Unionist Party's decision to vote 'Leave' was made 'on balance'. Left to Northern Ireland, departing the EU would not even be on the agenda.

In addition to those debated elsewhere, there are three distinctly Northern Ireland concerns.

Northern Ireland is unique within the UK in having a land frontier, but currently there is freedom to travel throughout Ireland without border controls. People along the border often live and work in both jurisdictions and all benefit from the EU removal of mobile phone roaming charges. This ease of movement could hardly survive Brexit because (unlike pre-1973) the border would be an EU frontier with immigration and customs controls an inevitable consequence. Northern Ireland citizens can be British or Irish or both and many value the freedom, flexibility, and shared identity of EU citizenship. Those with only British passports would lose these benefits. More substantially, the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) would press for a

repeat independence referendum with the potential to break-up the UK and threaten the stability of our hard-won peace settlement.

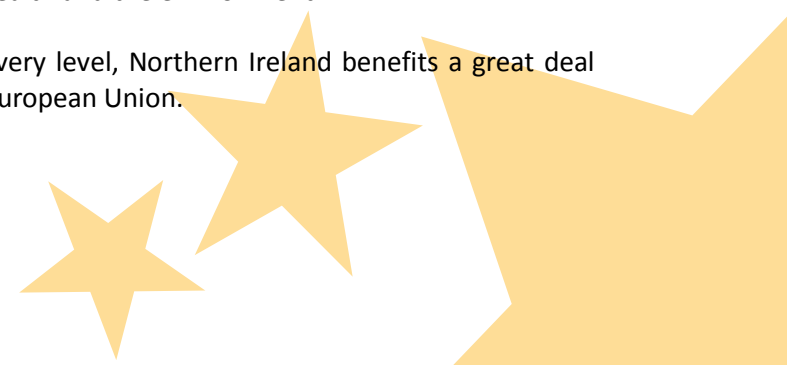
With 60% of NI exports going to the EU, our economy is relatively more vulnerable to the structural changes of Brexit because of our significant trade links with the Republic. With a higher requirement for foreign direct investment it was hoped that a reduction of NI Corporation Tax to 12.5% would give us a competitive advantage, but the European Social Research Institute says this could be undermined or even reversed by Brexit - hardly surprising that 81% of members of the NI Chamber of Commerce want to remain in the EU.

Northern Ireland is a net beneficiary of EU funding, especially the Common Agricultural Policy. In 2013/14 EU payments to Northern Ireland totalled £349 million - £266.3m in single farm payments, supporting 24,900 farms and ensuring farming on almost 1 million hectares. Could this be maintained post-Brexit?

With EU "Special Status" Northern Ireland will get €270m from current (2014-20) Peace IV funding for shared education, children and young people, shared spaces and building positive relations.

The EU has also assisted with finance for housing, construction, motorway maintenance and £150m for the Ulster University. The INTERREG cross-border funding programme contributes €240m to the Northern Ireland/Ireland border region and Western Scotland to develop dynamic economies, support infrastructure and promote innovative solutions to cross-border problems. Funding also supports research and innovation, sustainable transport, health and the environment.

There is no doubt, at every level, Northern Ireland benefits a great deal from being part of the European Union.





Scotland has a European heritage

Jim Wallace

Leader of the Liberal Democrats in the House of Lords

In his book, *'The Future of Politics'*, Charles Kennedy said,

"My Scottish background makes it comparatively easy for me to see myself as a European. Scotland not only has a long tradition of close relations with the Continent (sometimes, in the case of the Auld Alliance with France, to England's chagrin!), but Scots are comfortable with the concept of layered nationality."

Like many fellow Scots, I can readily identify with that sentiment. I have no difficulty in identifying myself as European, British, and Scottish as well as having a very close islands' affinity with my adopted Orkney. As a Scots lawyer, I am conscious that the Scottish legal tradition embraces both the civil law codes of continental Europe as well as the common law influences from our neighbours in these islands. Prior to the Napoleonic Wars, it was quite customary for young Scots lawyers to study in places like Utrecht and Leyden as well as at our Scots universities.

Most weeks, I attend St Magnus Cathedral, originally part of a Norse diocese, built by craftsmen who had worked on Durham Cathedral and now a Church of Scotland place of worship. It is truly a European building. This May, it was the setting for the service to commemorate the centenary of the battle of Jutland. In two world wars, Scapa Flow was home for a large part of the British Navy. But today, the theme is one of reconciliation. The fact that few, if any, think war among the nations of the European Union is remotely conceivable is testament to the success of the vision of the EU's original pioneers.

Today, when many of the threats to our security are global in nature - terrorism, Russian aggression, cross-border crime – the benefits of our EU membership such as sharing intelligence about terrorists or arresting criminals through European Arrest Warrant make Britain and Scotland safer.

Moreover, being part of the world's largest market supports jobs and businesses in Scotland. It is estimated that 330,000 Scottish jobs are linked with trade with the EU. Scotland's exports to other EU countries, with no tariffs or barriers, are worth £11.6 billion. Major employers like BAE Systems and Diageo have declared that Europe helps Scottish business to thrive and invest. Europe offers opportunities for people across the country. EU action on climate change will boost the low-carbon industries in which Scotland excels. The Erasmus programme allows students from Aberdeen to study in Athens.

EU funding has also supported numerous infrastructure projects, not least in the Highlands & Islands, as well supporting our farmers and protecting our countryside through the EU Rural Development Fund.

I could go on about the different projects and innovations supported by the EU, as well as point out other benefits such as lower prices shared by consumers right across the UK. But over and above these tangible advantages, the European Union embraces and promotes a set of fundamental values: Human rights, the rule of law, democracy. These values are not only at the core of Liberal philosophy, but spring from a European Enlightenment, in which Scotland played such a notable part.



Europe works wonders for Wales

Mark Williams
Leader of the Welsh Liberal Democrats



In a world that is getting ever smaller, it is all the more important to keep allies and friends close. Wales must continue to be outward-facing, to acknowledge the part it has to play in Europe and to do everything possible to ensure that the relationship we have with the wider continent works for Wales. This is why it is crucial that Wales and the rest of the United Kingdom are part of the European Union. Whilst no one would argue that the institution is perfect - like most things in this world, it has its flaws - I do very firmly believe that Wales gets a good deal out of the European Union, and it's a deal that we should ensure carries on.

While this is a decision for the UK as a whole, the people of Wales – with our unique cultural history, our myriad of small rural communities, and the heavy industries in the south – will have to weigh up the impact that this will have directly on our future in Wales as much as the wider question of its impact on the UK as a whole.

Wales receives more in funding from the European Union than its share of the United Kingdom's contributions. The contribution is around £486 million, while Wales received back at least an annual £530 million. This money benefits a range of programmes and sectors. For example, the Structural Funds from the European Union are used by the Welsh Government to help the long-term unemployed and those at most risk of poverty. In the period between 2014 and 2020 Wales is expected to receive £1.9 billion for this use.

The research and development funding that Wales receives for universities and small and medium sized enterprises is vital for knowledge

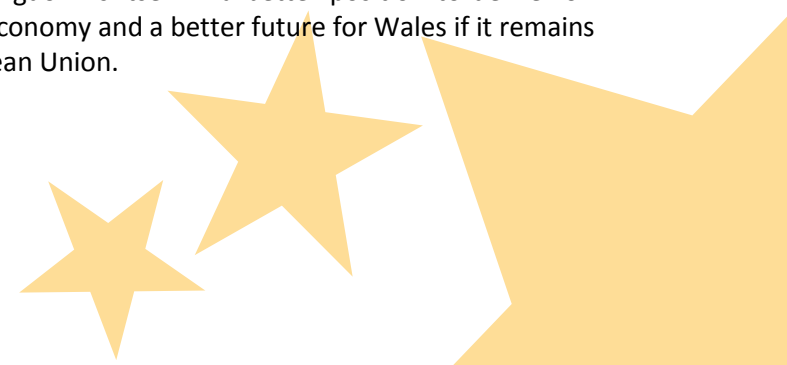
development and growing Wales' reputation as a place to learn. By 2020, Wales can expect to get £184 million from the European Union for these purposes.

The European Agricultural Fund helps rural areas in Wales to diversify their economies, which protects our environment and strengthens the competitiveness of the farming and forestry industries in Wales, which is good for their growth, Wales will get £148 million of this money before 2020.

Exports from Wales to the European Union are worth £5.8 billion a year. A vote to leave wouldn't put the whole of this figure at risk, but no serious figure or organisation is arguing that it wouldn't be severely dented. 191,000 jobs in Wales are directly linked to successful trade with the European Union. Not all of these would survive in the event of the United Kingdom voting to leave.

The truth is that Wales' economy is not as robust as other parts of the United Kingdom. We are not as wealthy as others and we have many challenges facing us. Wales benefits massively from Europe, it tops the list of EU funding by region. It is likely that Wales would be among the worst hit area economically outside of Europe.

Wales is a beautiful place with a heart and a soul which is unique to it, and to the people who live there. No other part of the United Kingdom can match it. We are one part of a larger country and the fortunes of Wales are inextricably linked to those of the United Kingdom. Just as Wales is stronger and more effective with a brighter future as part of a United Kingdom, the United Kingdom is itself in a better position to deliver on trade, jobs, a stronger economy and a better future for Wales if it remains a member of the European Union.



There is strength in numbers

Navnit Dholakia
Former President of the Liberal Democrats



There are half a billion people in the European Union whose lives will be affected by the choice of the 45 million people able to vote in the UK.

There is a weight on our shoulders and despite this the referendum process has descended into a struggle for political leadership. In the Conservative Party thus obscuring the real issues on which voters have to decide the outcome. This is too important an issue to be tied to the political squabbling of two members of the Bullingdon Club. This doesn't represent me, it doesn't represent the debate across the nation and it doesn't do the most important decision of our time any justice.

Oscar Wilde once said that "the truth is rarely pure and never simple." There have been all sorts of numbers seemingly pulled out of hats when it comes to Europe and it has created confusion across the board. All too often we see the talking down of our neighbours and allies. People who should be leading and inspiring are instead exploiting xenophobia and fear. It seems we are happier to do this than embrace the wider view that the EU benefits our trade, jobs, investment and prices. These are the real benefits of the EU and the reasons this decision will have profound effect on our coming generations for years.

I am a keen supporter of staying in the EU. I have never wavered from my belief of a stronger Europe and our role within the Union. It is time we stopped being "Little Englanders" and look at the changing world where globalisation is an everyday reality. We cannot ignore a market of over 350 million people on our doorstep. No one owes us a living. We are all

interdependent on each other. Let us be real and grasp the opportunity we have to build a stronger economy. Europe offers us that opportunity.

It is the duty of every government to provide security for all its citizens, many would argue it is the first role of Government. Global terrorism, cross-border crime and matters of human trafficking and drugs are real issues that can destabilise our communities. Yet they are also all issues which we can better solve by working together.

Our membership of EU provides strength in numbers. Let us not throw this away. In Europe we have more power and influence to ensure that our children's future is better safeguarded by our membership, by working together, by fighting for a common cause. There is strength in numbers and half a billion Europeans building a better future is a number I can get behind.



Europe protects our rights

Anthony Lester
Leading Human Rights Lawyer



Human rights are our birth right – part of our common humanity. They are not the gift of politicians and bureaucrats. They need to be protected against the abuse of power. The victims of abuse need effective remedies. We rely on our government and parliament and courts here and in Europe to protect our human rights and to respect the European rule of law.

Fifty years ago, human rights were weakly protected in the UK. Unlike the rest of Europe and most of the common law world, we had (and have) no written constitution protecting us; no binding ethical code to guide decision takers. A House of Commons under government control sometimes behaved like an elected dictatorship – tyranny by the majority – as when parliament approved a racist law depriving British Asian refugees from East Africa of their right to settle here.

In those days, our judges were executive-minded, interpreting Acts of Parliament narrowly. Discrimination was prevalent and was not unlawful. There was no positive right to free speech or respect for privacy. Excessive official secrecy was deep-rooted in Whitehall. We had no right of public access to government information. Gay love was a crime. The right to liberty could be taken away easily by legislation. In Northern Ireland majority rule was allowed to discriminate against the Catholic community, resulting in terrible sectarian violence and division.

Our involvement in Europe changed our political and legal system for the better. In 1966, our government allowed complaints to be made against the UK to the European Commission and Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg of breaches of the European Convention on Human Rights. In

1973, the UK joined the European Community (now Union). That meant sharing sovereignty with the two European institutions – the Council of Europe and the European Union.

Again and again, Europe has come to the rescue. The Human Rights Act protects the Convention rights and enables us to seek remedies in British courts when they are violated. It is an ethical compass guiding the State and its agents. The devolution Acts protect Convention rights (as well as EU law) against abuse by the devolved institutions. A joint parliamentary committee on human rights monitors government measures and reports to parliament where it finds them to be incompatible.

EU membership has made our equality laws stronger. The European Court of Justice in Luxembourg has required British equal pay and sex discrimination laws to be changed to give better protection. It has developed other fundamental rights, such as access to justice, free expression and respect for privacy. Luxembourg has worked in harmony with Strasbourg. British advocates and judges have ensured that our common law tradition is influential in developing the principles of European human rights law. There is close dialogue between British and European judges.

Little Englanders lament that British sovereignty is undermined by Europe. We are alone in Europe in having a legislature that enjoys in theory the absolute power of the medieval kings. Being part of Europe means that national sovereignty cannot be used to shield the perpetrators of human rights abuses from being brought to account. That is a great achievement that we citizens must defend and cherish.





21st Century crime requires 21st Century cooperation

Brian Paddick

Former Deputy Assistant Commissioner in the
Metropolitan Police Service

There has been much debate as to whether the UK would be safer inside or outside the EU. While high-level intelligence on such issues as terrorism tends to be shared with trusted partner countries on a bilateral basis, the effective exchange of information and cooperation in tackling other serious crime increasingly relies on the UK being part of the EU.

While there is free movement of people within the EU, the UK border still provides an effective barrier where everyone's passport is checked against 'watch lists' of those wanted or suspected of serious crime. Recently the EU has renewed efforts to improve the sharing of passengers' records for flights. Although we are not part of the Schengen area of borderless travel, the UK has access to the Schengen Information Service, which alerts UK officials to suspects crossing borders.

There is an EU-wide enforcement agency, Europol, which helps to fight crime and terrorism by providing expertise, building criminal databases and supporting investigations from trafficking of people and drugs to cyber-crime. Europol's director says "I have seen huge progress in the EU in building up a far stronger capability to fight terrorism and serious crime." This capability is a key reason to stay in the EU.

The European Arrest Warrant speeds up and simplifies extradition procedures between EU countries. Over the last Parliament, 5,000 criminals were sent to other European countries to face justice and 675 criminal were brought back to the UK to face trial for crime committed in the UK. Since 2009, 149 murder suspects, 113 rape suspects and 120

paedophile suspects have been extradited or deported using the European Arrest Warrant.

If we stay in the EU, the ability to identify suspected criminals from fingerprints and DNA is about to get a whole lot better. Currently only a certain number of fingerprints found at the scenes of crimes in the UK (for which there is no match on the UK database) can be sent to each member state on a daily basis. This requires the National Crime Agency to prioritise and ration the number of requests. In 2014-2015 using Interpol, UK police forces were able to send only 69 DNA profiles abroad. The process can take weeks or even months before a result is obtained. The UK has just signed-up to the Prüm Convention. During a pilot of the Convention, 9,931 profiles were sent in less than six months, a figure likely to increase when the full scheme becomes live. In a batch of 2,500 profiles, 118 criminals were identified in the Netherlands, Spain, France and Germany including 5 rape suspects, 2 suspected of sexual assault and 23 suspected burglars. Once live, a result on DNA profiles can be obtained in 15 minutes, vehicle registration data within 10 seconds and fingerprints within 24 hours. The government's analysis of Prüm concluded that to achieve such cooperation through bilateral agreements was impracticable. This massive step forward in the prevention and detection of crime can only happen if we remain part of the EU.

We live in a world where crime is often borderless, we cannot ignore that fact. It is clear that in Europe, working together across borders, we can strengthen our hand in the fight against crime. We are safer and better protected standing together rather than alone.



The EU gives tangible benefits to all of our lives

Dick Newby
Liberal Democrat Chief Whip in the House of Lords



For many people, the EU seems remote and irrelevant. They don't see how it affects their daily life.

If they travel to the EU, however, the advantages are tangible at every point of their journey and stay. Travellers by air will pay about £40 less per flight as a result of EU-wide rules. Once they arrive, they will now pay vastly reduced roaming charges on their phone calls, text messages and data downloads. The cost of calls alone has just fallen fourfold. The beaches will be cleaner because of EU rules. And if they become ill, they will automatically get free healthcare. If they want to work there, they have an automatic right to do so, and grants and other forms of support are available to thousands of UK students per year who study elsewhere in the EU.

In our daily lives, it is estimated that we save about £350 per head each year as a result of lower prices associated with being part of a single market. And the economy has grown more quickly as a result of membership leaving every household in the UK about £3000 a year better off. This is because, within a single market, our trade has grown quicker, we have attracted much more foreign investment and that has brought jobs and higher productivity.

Over 3 million jobs are linked to our trade with the EU. So there is a strong likelihood that, even if we don't hold one of those jobs ourselves, we know someone who does. At work, a series of rights have been introduced as a result of EU decisions. Women have been particularly protected, with guaranteed maternity pay, equal pay and antidiscrimination laws. And the

NHS has been strengthened by being able easily to recruit doctors, nurses, dentists and support staff from across the EU.

We are safer as individuals, because EU co-operation on crime makes it easier to catch criminals and, if they come from elsewhere in the EU, deport them. Some 1000 criminals are deported per year as a result of the European Arrest Warrant. And DNA matches can be made within 15 minutes under the EU system compared to 143 days under cumbersome Interpol rules.

Our environment is cleaner as a result of EU rules and particularly in the case of air quality, where our track record is poor, the EU is keeping pressure on to ensure we reach more acceptable targets.

The flip-side of these benefits is that they only come from being a full EU member. If we leave we can wave them goodbye. We can be pretty certain that if we leave the value of the pound will fall, interest rates will rise, trade will fall and so unemployment will rise. Growth will be slower, so as a country we'll earn less. Which will make it more difficult to keep the NHS, education and benefits at their current levels without putting up taxes. The Government reckons that, in fifteen years' time, if we leave the EU, British families will be £4300 worse off and the Government's finances £36 billion worse off. It's a grim prospect. So let's stay together, let's keep all the benefits, let's work together to build a stronger more prosperous future for everyone.



...it's not rocket science

Dick Taverne

First Director of the Institute of Financial Studies



One field in which the United Kingdom can fairly claim pre-eminence is science. Academics are seldom unanimous, but one issue on which university Vice Chancellors all agree is that for our universities and for science, Brexit would be a disaster.

There are many reasons for this unusual consensus. Membership of the EU enhances cooperation with European partners in research, ranging from medical and health-care to new materials, products and services. Today major breakthroughs in science are no longer the brilliant insights of a lonely genius, like Newton's discovery about gravity, Darwin's theory of evolution and the Origin of Species, or Einstein's Theory of Relativity. Rapid progress in science depends on international collaboration and exchange of results. In this the EU plays a vital part.

We benefit greatly from the EU funding of scientific research. The UK receives more than its proportionate share because of our competitive edge in science. But Brexit would mean the end of these funds. According to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, without them Cambridge would find it impossible to maintain its position as one of the world's top universities.

We also benefit greatly from our ability to attract the best researchers and students from the EU. As an example, the Vice-Chancellor of Aberdeen has stressed the importance of the freedom for academics to come to Aberdeen without worrying about visas or resident permits. They enhance Aberdeen's work on a major four year project to develop the next

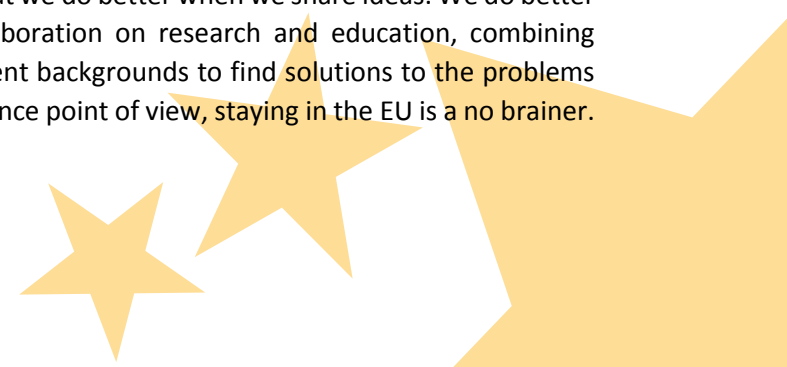
generation of MRI scanners, and they contribute greatly to the quality of teaching. Indeed, the free movement of labour has a very positive impact on the university's international reputation.

Then there are benefits for UK students themselves from the freedom to live and study in Europe. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Kent cites the Erasmus programme: since the year 2000 more than 6,000 Kent students have attended some of the most prestigious continental universities. This experience greatly improves their job prospects in an increasingly international jobs market.

Some argue that we should end the free movement of labour, a basic requirement of EU membership. But the free movement of labour is as important for science as free trade is for market economies. Without it investment in science would suffer, as important to our long-term prosperity and security as investment in infrastructure, farming or manufacturing.

Another major consequence of leaving the EU would be a loss of the many billions of pounds that EU student fees contribute to the Treasury. There are other serious economic costs. Many European science graduates who stay in Britain supply skills that industry lacks and provide useful contacts for our exporters, while most of those who return home have valued their education here and will be persuasive advocates for closer contacts between EU companies and Britain.

History has taught us that we do better when we share ideas. We do better when we work in collaboration on research and education, combining brainpower from different backgrounds to find solutions to the problems before us. From the science point of view, staying in the EU is a no brainer.





Leaving Europe would be a culture shock

Jane Bonham Carter
Liberal Democrat Culture Spokesperson

The creative industries are one of the great British success stories, and the fastest-growing sector of our economy. We would be much weaker creatively and culturally if we were not a part of the EU.

The British music industry contributes £3.8 billion to the UK economy - over half of this comes from exports, and it is Europe that is its second-largest market. And the UK is the second largest exporter of television in the world. Membership of the EU means music and television producers, and retailers, can export and import freely across the continent, without tariffs or customs bureaucracy. It means they have unrestricted access to the world's largest free trade area.

The Creative Europe Programme has a budget of £1.1bn for projects across the cultural and creative industries, and our country does very well out of that. UK applicants for EU cultural and creative funding have a success rate almost double that of the EU average.

York's Pilot Theatre is a great example of how our arts scene benefits from EU membership. It is leading the £1.6m Platform shift+ project to help young theatre-makers in nine countries develop productions and skills for young audiences in the digital age.

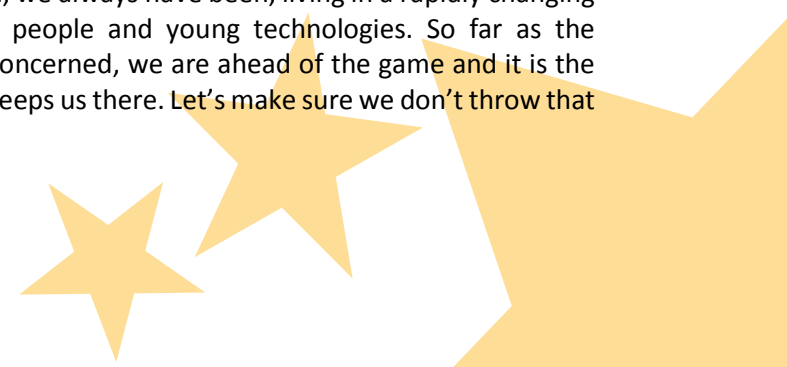
Across the country there are more examples of the EU enhancing UK culture. Tate Liverpool is participating in the Collaborative Arts Partnership Programme, which has secured over £1m in EU funding to support the training and development of artists working in local communities.

Aberystwyth and Bangor Universities and the Hay Festival are participating in the 'Literature Across Frontiers' project, which has received over £360,000 to support events and collaboration with literature centres, museums and festivals in eleven European countries. And no fewer than seven British films that received Oscar nominations recently, were EU-funded, including 'Brooklyn', 'Carol', 'Amy', '45 Years' and 'Shaun the Sheep'. And this year the Collaborative Arts Partnership Programme is introducing a new bank guarantee, the Cultural and Creative Sectors Guarantee Fund. It is worth €121million and will underwrite bank loans to creative businesses, helping to unlock private finance to support the continued growth of the creative industries, and crucially, to educate the financial sector about the benefits of backing creativity.

The European single market allows the free movement of people to work and travel across the continent without the need for visas. This both facilitates, and fuels the exchange of culture, creativity and expertise; it generates better commercial and artistic opportunities and builds audiences across communities and countries. And, perhaps most importantly, it brings us together.

The EU provides a continuing, stable, mutually beneficial partnership. The creative sector is a perfect example of an industry which benefits from the cross-border small business activity that the EU helps to support. Culturally, everyone benefits – practitioners and consumers – communities and individuals. And then there is the unquantifiable added value, of furthering understanding of where we differ, but also so importantly of where we overlap.

We are a creative nation, we always have been, living in a rapidly changing world driven by young people and young technologies. So far as the creative industries are concerned, we are ahead of the game and it is the European Union which keeps us there. **Let's make sure we don't throw that all away.**





Let's not pass up millions of holidays

John Lee
Former Minister for Tourism

The economic arguments for staying in Europe are overwhelming, but don't just take my word for it – just ask business leaders themselves; all the trades bodies and organisations who have polled their members across a whole range of sectors are firmly in the remain camp, from the Engineering Employers Federation through the NFU to ABTA and UKInbound, and the vast majority of FTSE chiefs want to stay in Europe. So are all our leading airline figures like Richard Branson of Virgin and Michael O'Leary of Ryanair. In addition, many banks have indicated that they are sited in London and the UK because we are in the single market. When deciding where to locate new manufacturing plants, overseas investors are more inclined to choose us because we are a part of the EU.

Now of course if we leave Europe our economy wouldn't collapse and – yes Europe would want to continue to trade with us – but what is clear is that having been snubbed they would not make it easy for us – not least because they would be determined to discourage other current EEC member states from following the UK i.e. thinking they can opt-out and then quickly and easily negotiate a new individual trade deal – and what about the turmoil and uncertainty that Brexit would bring out? Anyone who has the faintest understanding of financial markets or the decision-making processes for new business investment knows that confidence is crucial. Brexit would surely result in a slump in our financial markets and a slump in new investment – affecting everything from employment levels to the value of all our pensions. A vote to remain in, by contrast, would produce a surge in financial markets and renewed optimism and investment.

Let us look in more detail at our vital tourism and hospitality sectors where I am involved. I chair the Association of Leading Visitor Attractions with over 60 members all receiving more than 1 million visitors a year – the “jewels” in our flourishing visitor economy; attractions like Westminster Abbey, The British Museum, Warner Brothers The World of Harry Potter, Chester Zoo etc.

Two-thirds of all our overseas visitors come from the EU benefiting from the ease of visa-free travel and an open skies airline policy. Take hospitality – wherever we eat and drink, particularly in London and our major cities, we all know what a high proportion of the staff looking after us are migrant workers. They are a vital international element to an already very international industry.

Industries up and down the country are supported by our membership of the EU. From banks in London, to hotels in the West Country, to distilleries in Scotland, our economy is better off in Europe. In all corners of our nation we benefit from the millions of tourists that come here annually and we should ensure we stay a world beating holiday destination.



The environment pays no heed to our borders

Robin Teverson
Former MEP for Cornwall and West Plymouth



Ever since Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign articulated those simple words 'it's the economy stupid' election supremoes have rarely dared to differ. It's been all about growth, taxes, jobs and GDP. But this EU referendum is different. General elections are about a short five-year term. Our decision about Brexit is once and for all. It's not just 'in or out', it's 'in, or forever out'. So that puts British voters on a different timescale and into a wider agenda.

That wider horizon is the environment we live in – local, regional, and global. And here, for us and for our families, our continued membership of the EU is fundamental. It's one of the areas of life where the clichés run true. Pollution – as well as nature - really does know no boundaries, and the team is indeed stronger than the individual.

Europe is the natural home for managing big environmental questions. The efforts of individual nations to manage their clean air, water quality, toxic emissions, or waste can be undermined by others in the neighbourhood. We may have the choice to leave the EU, but there is no option for our British Isles to migrate from European shores and our shared environment. And on a global scale the weight of 28 European nations, with one voice, gets listened to when it comes to global environmental agreements. In fact not just listened to, it's the opportunity to lead and for the UK to achieve its agenda on a global scale. And we do.

Only the EU as a whole is a credible partner to the USA, China and India when it comes to climate change negotiations. It was the unity and

determination of the EU that achieved the landmark Kyoto protocol. It was the lead given by the EU, originally through Lib Dem Secretary of State Ed Davey, which led to the successful climate negotiation in Paris last December.

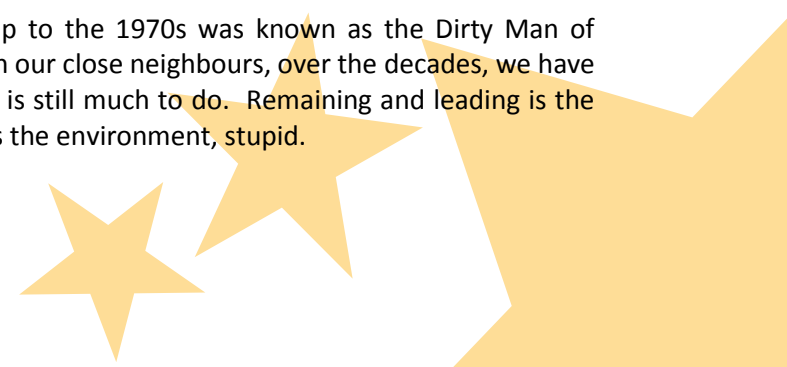
When it comes to air quality it is the EU's stringent controls on sulphur and nitrogen oxide emissions from Europe's power stations that have made the difference. For that challenge national rule making would have been flawed thinking, our air quality always risks being a victim of our neighbours' emissions.

In biodiversity and nature conservation this is equally true. Whether it's marine or terrestrial life, the key to surviving and thriving is not confined to national nature reserves. The science shows that the game changer is a network of conservation sites, not least for marine species and migratory birds. The EU Natura 2000 networks, and the Habitats and Birds directive have delivered for all of us.

In industry the REACH EU single market legislation on chemicals and their transport ensures that there is a common standard of protection against human and environmental damage throughout our continent.

Brexiteers regularly quote high and fictitious statistics when it comes to the amount of British legislation that originates from beyond the white cliffs of Dover. But when it comes to the environment they're right. Why? Because environmental protection, protection that guarantees our future quality of life, is powerfully more effective when agreed at a continental level.

Post-war Britain right up to the 1970s was known as the Dirty Man of Europe. By working with our close neighbours, over the decades, we have changed all that. There is still much to do. Remaining and leading is the rationale. Seriously – it's the environment, stupid.





Working together for a stronger economy

Sharon Bowles

Former MEP for South East England and Chair of the European Committee on Economic and Monetary Affairs

The EU benefits the UK economy massively. I would like to touch on three key areas in which our country benefits: free trade in goods and services, the role of regulation and the Euro.

Free trade means not putting import taxes or non-tariff barriers such as qualifications, local offices or any other spoke-in-the-wheel requirement that treats imported goods or services differently from those provided locally. The EU is unique in allowing free trade in services and this is of enormous value to the UK. In the EU trading anywhere is the same as trading at home, giving rise to economies of scale that a much larger market allows by spreading development costs. That means lower prices for the consumer and being more competitive in global markets.

This is where EU regulation comes in: instead of hundreds of pages of product by product specifications broader rules about the way companies operate are made. The rules also extend into social areas to prevent undercutting through poor working conditions. Some blame EU regulation for lowering competitiveness. In fact the UK is one of the most deregulated economies in the Western world, yet we are more regulated than the Netherlands and nobody will deny that Germany manages to run a competitive export-led economy.

EU rules are in fact drafted after a great deal of consultation, then amendments agreed democratically between member state Ministers and

the European Parliament. The UK is among the most effective at tailoring legislation throughout the process. An advantage of the EU regulatory process being so consultative and deliberative is that it gives regulatory stability, enabling companies to plan ahead confidently. Having EU-wide regulations and no tariffs has led to many companies investing in the UK as their gateway into the EU, indeed the UK benefits from the lion's share of the total foreign direct investment into the EU.

UK businesses also benefit from the Euro. It is easier, and cheaper, for companies to manage business in Euros instead of several currencies. Holiday makers have enjoyed that too.

The Eurozone's evolutionary struggles may be around for a while, but we will be next door to them and affected by the economic consequences whether in or out of the EU: the US worries about Eurozone instability too. Nevertheless the larger Eurozone countries borrow at lower interest rates than the UK because in markets size matters.

It doesn't take a genius, or the Governor of the Bank of England to spell it out, although he did along with Obama, the IMF, World Bank, OECD, and many others. Size matters all around and being in the EU gives us size: size enough for global influence, size enough to say no to unsavoury trades, regimes or to bullying by the world's superpowers, and ultimately size enough to stand as one of the largest economies in the global marketplace.

