

Foreword

Welcome to the first of two editions of our newsletter to be published in June which brings aspects of the current debate on the EU referendum to a wider public view. The referendum is now less than two weeks away and is probably the most important decision that many of us have ever made at the ballot box. It is not like a general election with the possibility to change our minds in five years' time. Instead, it will define our relationship with the European Union for decades to come. Hopefully the contributions contained in this newsletter are thought provoking and will help clarify points under discussion.

This edition starts with an excellent contribution from **Professor Anthony Glees**, the Director of the University of Buckingham's Centre for Security and Intelligence. In his contribution, Anthony Glees illustrates his comprehensive grasp of the intricacies of this policy field addressing one of the key questions posed by this referendum – does being in the EU make the UK safer? He makes his views abundantly clear.

Next comes the stimulating contribution of **Sir Nicholas Soames** who provides the full text of his recent speech in the House of Commons in which he sets out a much needed historical background to the current debate. In particular, he underlines just how much has been achieved through the collective effort of Europeans working together. Although Sir Nicholas makes clear his respect for those who hold views different to his own, he believes that the case to remain is overwhelming on all fronts.

Lastly, in thinking about the gauntlet thrown down by Boris Johnson that no one on the Remain side of the argument has any vision of what the future might hold, I have contributed a piece looking at an era of international turmoil ahead, with the rise of an increasingly assertive and powerful China, a resurgent Russia and the omnipresent threat of international terrorism. More cooperative action, not less, is needed to solve these questions and preserve our security and prosperity. NATO is of course vital in this respect, but so is the invaluable support with our EU Partners. We must fight to preserve our values with those who share them.

We hope that you do find these contributions informative in making your own decision on whether to support the UK remaining in the EU. The second of this month's newsletters will be published in the week before the referendum. In the meantime, if you want more information or wish to provide any feedback to us, please go to www.secen.uk or follow us on twitter @SECENuk.

James Elles, Chairman



Does being in the EU make Britain safer?

By Professor Anthony Glees

More than once I've been asked in recent weeks, as someone who is paid to follow security issues closely, whether being in the EU makes us in Britain safer. I believe strongly that it would be a disaster for us to brexit but my professional view is based not on beliefs but on the facts.

I judge our partnership with our European allies to be so vital to the security of the UK that if (as seems highly likely) we were to brexit, our security and intelligence agencies would immediately try to think of ways in which we could get back in to continue to cooperate with our partners in the EU.

Just as Brexiteers know that this country could not survive economically unless we had access to the European Single Market (despite Michael Gove's incredible assertion to the contrary), our national security will depend on working with other EU states. In both cases, it is utterly absurd to want to abandon a relationship that works

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What's in the papers?

Sir John Major tells the Mail on Sunday that [cutting ties to EU will leave £40 billion hole in UK economy](#)

Writing in the Sunday Times, Niall Ferguson says [Brexiteers isolated from Britain's duty to save Europe](#)

Laura Sandys argues in The Guardian that [concerns about immigration need to be addressed, but Brexit isn't the answer](#)

Philip Stephens writing in the Financial Times says why [Brexit would tear Britain apart](#)

Jonas Helseth argues in The Independent that Norway's agreement with the EU amounts to [membership without the vote](#)

George Parker and Frederica Cocco show [How battle lines over Brexit cross traditional party lines](#) in the Financial Times

Note: some of these links are to articles which require a subscription to view them

well and for which we are key players, in order to re-enter as a lesser member by giving up our right to help make the rules.

The first reason why remaining members of the EU is vital for our security is because brexiting would hit our economic strength, reducing our national income by as much as 3%. We would be poorer, individually and collectively, and because our ability to safeguard our security depends principally on our national wealth, if we are poorer we will not be able to afford the armed forces and intelligence and security agencies we currently enjoy.

But the EU is not responsible for our security in any institutional sense. The Lisbon Treaty makes it crystal clear that national security is exactly that: each EU nation has the responsibility for its own security. It is not an EU matter (although you'd be forgiven for thinking the reverse if you'd heard Boris or Farage). However, if EU nations wish to cooperate and work together on security issues they are free to do so.

The very tangible fruits of this cooperation range from INTCEN (the EU's intelligence sharing agency in Brussels which is an absolutely vital resource, likely to become even more important in the future) to the European Arrest Warrant. From 2010-15 the Warrant allowed 795 people to be extradited briskly back to the UK to face charges here and 6,514 people were removed from the UK to other EU countries.

Those working flat-out in our intelligence and security community regard the day to day cooperation with their colleagues in the EU as extremely important. One Whitehall source told me just a few days ago that MI5, for example, was 'still learning but great progress has been made'. It is blindingly obvious to anyone who knows about the awful threats we face, not least from the 5-10,000 European Islamist jihadists (of whom about 800 are Brits) that sharing intelligence about them will become more critical not less. Recent catastrophes in Paris and Brussels are directly attributable to a lack of intelligence sharing.

Of course, if you were to heed the word of the former head of Britain's secret intelligence service, MI6, Sir Richard Dearlove, you'd be pushed to accept any of the above. Writing on 23 March of this year in The Daily Mail (whose reputation will take as long to recover for its brexit propaganda as it took to recover from support for the Fascist leader Mosley before 1939) Dearlove said brexit would 'make it easier [sic] to deport criminals', and that the European Arrest Warrant was useless. Brexit would allow us to 'dump the European Convention on Human Rights', thereby 'demolishing the case for staying in the EU'.

He was as wrong about all these things as he was when he said 18 months ago that the threat from the 'Islamic State' was 'exaggerated' or 15 years ago that there were stockpiles of WMD in Iraq and that MI6 needed to 'fix' its intelligence around American policy.

In fact, many Brexiteers like David Davis are utterly opposed to the Arrest Warrant and even oppose extradition to the USA. Without the European Convention, Britain's highly intrusive intelligence gathering would immediately lose public confidence and deservedly so. We do not want to have a Stasi Britain.

Equally, if you were to read the statement given to The Daily Mail (yes, them again) by twelve UK generals, you might conclude they were right to support brexit. One said being in the EU had 'undermined Britain's combat effectiveness' that the EU was 'out of control'. Another said 'sovereignty and defence are indivisible' and a third opined 'the claim that the existence of the EU has saved us from war for 70 years is a myth. It is NATO that has kept the peace'.

But once again, these generals could not have things more wrong. Were they to brush up on their history they would know that NATO has indeed kept the peace but more from threats external to Europe. Within Europe, the primary cause of two World Wars and the deaths of millions of innocent people was the atavistic conflict between two great powers, Germany and France. The EU (as we saw yet again last week at Verdun) makes future conflict in Europe totally unthinkable.

As for sovereignty, all that needs be said is that our participation in NATO requires us to give up far more sovereignty than we cede to the EU. Article 5 of the NATO Treaty obliges us to go to war to protect any other member of NATO whether or not we are directly threatened ourselves. There can be no greater sharing of sovereignty than this, and no greater guarantee of our security.

Of course, the EU has many faults and some deep flaws. Frau Merkel's humane but totally misguided policy towards migrants and asylum seekers last summer (since revoked) allowed the external border of the EU to become porous and ultimately

threatened everyone's security. But, and this is the crucial point, in the EU we stand a very good chance of making our partners fully aware of the need for good external security. Out of it, we are without influence and yet still directly threatened, the more so because we are not there, making the rules.

Professor Anthony Glees is Director of the University of Buckingham Centre for Security and Intelligence.



The UK in Europe – an historical perspective

By Sir Nicholas Soames MP

In a recent speech in the House of Commons, Sir Nicholas Soames MP, provided a much needed historical background to the current debate on the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Union. The full text of that speech is provided below.

"Let me first congratulate the right hon. Member for Leeds Central (Hilary Benn) and my right hon. Friend the Foreign Secretary on their speeches. I warmly congratulate the Prime Minister and his negotiating team on their courage and tenacity. I include especially my right hon. Friend the Minister for Europe, who had to bear much of the heat and burden of the day, This was a remarkable achievement, and I wish it well. As the right hon. Member for Leeds Central said, it is now for the British people to have their say, and have their say they will.

This is the 70th anniversary year of Churchill's speech on the cause of a united Europe at Zurich on 19 September 1946. It has always struck me as ironic that that speech has been claimed by both sides of the European argument as being some sort of holy grail. I am daily on the receiving end of some vile emails and whatnot from people telling me that I am a traitor to my grandfather's memory.

Of course, Churchill's was a speech of great prescience and great vision. It was also a speech of the most profound analysis Unlike most other hon. Members, I would like to reflect at a little more distance on Britain's European Affairs experience of the European Union and, in particular, my party's long-standing commitment to the European cause.

It is worth the House reflecting for a moment, Madam Deputy Speaker, on the tragedy of what Europe must have looked like in 1945. It is only the winking of an eye in terms of time and history. It was only 71 years ago that the Germans surrendered to the allies and signed the instrument of surrender. It was only 70 years ago that the Russians drew down the iron curtain on a broken and suffering eastern Europe. Behind that line, in the wicked grip of a ruthless regime, lay all the great capitals and states of eastern Europe-Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Bucharest and Sofia.

Most of the rest of continental Europe lay shattered and broken, after six years of war, for the second time in 25 years. There remained a vast mass of bewildered human beings, who gazed forlornly at the wreckage of their homes, their nations, their lives, their families, their possessions and everything that they loved. But from that awful scene of desolation, sadness, ruin and despair a little over 70 years ago, something truly remarkable has been achieved, which has brought freedom, security and prosperity way beyond the dreams that anyone alive at the time could ever have contemplated.

Not only have the sovereign states of Europe risen, phoenix-like, from the ashes of two world wars, but they have created of their own free will a European Union of 28 members comprising the biggest and most powerful single market in the world – one of 500 million people – in which we travel with our fellow Europeans in prosperity and peace in an era of constantly expanding co-operation, prosperity, security, safety and freedom.

When the cold war ended and the Berlin wall came down on that glorious, cold 9 November 1989, the Warsaw pact collapsed into dust without a shot being fired. Most of the eastern European countries joined the European Union, and most of them also joined NATO. Indeed, only six countries that are members of the

Videos

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European Union are not members of NATO.

Why did they join? Because the Europe and the NATO that they joined were and are prosperous, secure and free, and they wanted as soon as they could to find shelter in the institutions that had benefited from a period of peace, stability, freedom and security unprecedented in 1,000 years of European history. They hoped that it would protect them from a still predatory Russia. There is no argument but that the EU was absolutely central to those developments, and it is a very great credit to our country that we should have played such a leading role in seeing all this through.

The European Union has achieved a very great deal, but it cannot and it must not allow itself any self-congratulation in these very difficult times. Although we can see that the ice has melted on the landscape of the second half of the last century, and that power in all its forms has shifted and is shifting rapidly and unpredictably, we know how inadequately most of the institutions of the European Union have coped. This must be remedied.

As we look across Europe at all the achievements it has to its name, the pervasive mood is one of insecurity, lack of confidence and lack of optimism. Those characteristics are not found only in Europe. The troubles of Governments everywhere speak to the anxieties of their electorates and, sadly, to the mistrust in their politicians, their institutions and their leaders. The public across Europe know only too well that the world of easy answers, instant solutions and declaratory statements is a construct of fools, politicians and the media. As power shifts so rapidly and unpredictably, one might almost believe that we are today at the start of a new history.

Nowhere are these difficulties, insecurities and lack of understanding more obvious than in this country of ours. I am always wary of trying to work out what Churchill might have thought today, because I think it is an impertinence to do so. The one thing I absolutely know is that as the world has grown bigger for Britain, the opportunities greater, the chances more glittering for our commerce and our people, so the people who practise politics and government in this country, and especially those who write about it, have a sadly cramped and limited view of Europe and the rest of the world.

In this campaign, one of our most important tasks—all of us, whatever side we are on—is to remind our fellow citizens that we share a region, a climate, much of our history and demography, our economic space and our culture with the countries of the European Union, something that Churchill pointed out very clearly in his Zurich speech. Our business corporations, our leisure time, our intellectual and cultural life are all intertwined with Europe's. We face shared problems in endless comparable ways. The hon. Member for Brighton, Pavilion (Caroline Lucas) rightly mentioned all the environmental issues on which Europe has been extremely effective.

However, our political and deeply shallow media do not engage with any of that, or, as the right hon. Member for Leeds Central pointed out, with the interests – vital to us – of our European partners, allies and friends. At least, that was the position until very recently. Now the media have finally woken up, like the great, slack monster they are, to the awesome prospect of combat, newspaper sales and competition as each side of the argument tries to persuade our fellow citizens of the right way.

I rejoice at the Prime Minister's extraordinary achievement in Brussels, and I commit myself to making the same case to the best of my ability whenever I have an opportunity to do so. I am struck by the scale of support for the European Union from British commerce and businesses both large and small, and especially – in an important letter published in *The Daily Telegraph* yesterday – from four former Chiefs of the Defence Staff and other former service chiefs, who drew attention to the great importance of the EU in the security sphere.

I believe that the case to remain is overwhelming on all fronts, but there is no point in pretending that the European Union does not face many major challenges that it has to find a better and more effective way of resolving. The refugee crisis, for example, has made the EU look deeply ineffective and purely reactive. It is clear that Schengen cannot survive without the most dramatic reform, and that the external borders of Europe need to be strengthened rapidly. None of us can feel happy that the European Union, which has brought such great stability to much of

the European continent, now appears to be weak and uncertain. Its unpopularity matters and it is damaging.

My hope is that our Government will seize the moment, and that, having rediscovered the great value of extremely energetic and skilled diplomacy, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, the Minister for Europe and others will really push ahead in the EU to drive – along with like-minded colleagues and friends – the big reforms that Europe must swallow. They will find willing friends who want to do the same. There is a huge agenda to which Britain can play, and in which it will play a leading role. On economic reform, on security, on energy, on defence and on foreign policy, there are practical and radical steps that can be taken.

May I finally indulge myself, Madam Deputy Speaker, by recalling the end of Churchill's great speech to the Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948, remembering that the founding fathers of Europe, with a noble vision, built this astonishing edifice on firm and very lasting foundations? This is what Churchill said at that conference:

"A high and a solemn responsibility rests upon us here this afternoon in this Congress of a Europe striving to be reborn. If we allow ourselves to be rent and disordered by pettiness and small disputes, if we fail in clarity of view or courage in action, a priceless occasion may be cast away for ever. But if we all pull together and pool the luck and the comradeship – and we shall need all the comradeship and not a little luck...and firmly grasp the larger hopes of humanity, then it may be that we shall move into a happier sunlit age, when all the little children who are now growing up in this tormented world may find themselves not the victors nor the vanquished in the fleeting triumphs of one country over another in the bloody turmoil of...war, but the heirs of all the treasures of the past and the masters of all the science, the abundance and the glories of the future."

Those of us who fight the good fight to remain will do so with confidence, but also with humility and profound respect for those who hold long-standing views that are very different from ours, and in the sure knowledge that this issue is about the fundamental place in the world, for a generation to come, of a confident, open, engaged, pro-European Great Britain. Faites courage!"



The referendum debate so far has been focused almost exclusively on short term considerations, weighing the risks for the economy and migration flows in particular on whether to vote to remain or leave the EU. But as this vote on Thursday 23rd June is likely to decide the future direction of our country in the 21st Century, then it is vital that we have some clue of what waits for us ahead, not least for a young generation who will be massively affected by the decision taken.

While it is obvious that it is impossible to see what will happen in specific terms, it is quite easy to spot where the major trends are leading us, as Churchill did about the rise of Hitler in the 1930's. We are aware that energy resources are finite and our environment is vital to be sustained. We know that in Europe we have ageing populations with rising life expectancy creating many centenarian societies by 2050. But these pale into insignificance compared with the rise of China, expected to be the world's largest economy by 2030. This will happen in most of our lifetimes.

As the world has become more fragmented, and still recovering from the deepest recession since the Second World War, there are mounting risks to the global trading system, as clearly set out in an article by William Hague in the Telegraph (Thursday 24th May). He commented "trade is becoming the scapegoat for all the pressures of rapidly changing economies, blamed for poor business practices, inequality and the growth of corporate power."

As the US Presidential election enters its final phase to early November 2016, expect the anti-protectionist drum beat to rise, threatening as it will trade pacts

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Thursday 23 June
Referendum on UK membership of the EU

under negotiation such as the Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the EU and the US. Its purpose is not just to set rules across the Atlantic, but to lead to global rules governing the world trade system for the 21st Century. As the leading US trade negotiator said "there is no plan B if the talks are not concluded this year. We either work together to help set the rules of the world, or we leave that role to others." (FT 1 June 2016).

And then there is the menace of Russia on our borders, a daily threat for those living in the Baltic States who worry about Russian incursion, as recently happened in the Crimea. It cannot have escaped anyone's attention that the only world leader to want the UK to leave the EU is President Putin. Perhaps he realises better than the leaders of the Vote Leave campaign that the huge upheavals to trading and security arrangements proved by the UK leaving the EU will substantially distract and weaken the West at a critical juncture where European states are fragile ?

According to Brexiteers, NATO remains the bastion for our security. But when the head of NATO comes to our country to give his advice, he is roundly abused by a leader of the Vote Leave campaign, telling him not to interfere in the UK's voting process. He could be forgiven that he might turn a blind eye if the same person was to ask for his help were the UK to leave the EU!

To recall, President Obama commented that as your friend, let me say that the EU makes Britain even greater: *"You should be proud that the EU has helped spread British values and practices - democracy, rule of law, open markets - across the continent and to its periphery. The European Union doesn't moderate British influence - it magnifies it. A strong Europe is not a threat to Britain's global leadership, it enhances Britain's global leadership."*

Thus, looking ahead to 2030, the world we live in today and increasingly tomorrow, will be uncertain, insecure and unstable, not least close to Europe in the Middle East and North Africa. We will need all the friends we can get to survive, whether it is in combatting international terrorism, staving off an intrusive Russia or an increasingly powerful and assertive China.

On the campaign trail, none of this mounting uncertainty seems to worry Brexiteers. It is shrugged off as Project Fear. But this is the real world emerging, one where to be part of a bloc, unless a country is the size of the US, is vital for survival. Instead, in order to escape the grasp of the European Union – which, by the way, is a free Union of democratic states – someone like Lord Owen says it's more dangerous to stay in than leave! He says this even though we have a veto on enlargement or a veto on internal integration. Others welcome the opportunity for our departure hoping to prompt other countries to do the same... totally irresponsible that the UK should be in the vanguard to destroy the EU !

So this said, what is the choice on Thursday 23rd June ? For me the choice is simple. Either vote to stay with those who have the best opportunity to guarantee Britain's security and prosperity, sharing some sovereignty with our EU partners to do so, or plunge into the unknown regaining theoretical powers over our lives when in practice this will be largely illusory.

So do we opt to run our lives in the 21st Century, together in part with our European friends or simply submit to the gradual but increased control of China over our lives?

My mind is made up: is yours?

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