

The background of the cover is a dark, grayscale image. On the left, the Elizabeth Tower (Big Ben) is visible, showing its clock face and architectural details. On the right, there is a large, dark silhouette of a person, possibly a man in a suit, looking towards the left. The overall mood is somber and historical.

The  
**Red  
Cell**

# The True Fathers of Europe

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# The True Fathers of Europe

## Introduction

Both the Council of Europe and the European Union identify key political statesmen whom they separately call the 'Fathers of Europe'.

The list does not perfectly overlap. Nor is it uncontentious.

Those involved soon after the War in fostering European cooperation did not all go on to push for deep political integration; indeed, the British 'Fathers of Europe' were either guarded (Churchill) or downright hostile (Bevin) about the prospect.

Nevertheless, every May when both institutions celebrate their respective Europe Days, and separately reflect on their respective histories, the key figures from their founding legends are lauded as visionaries.

The EU has increasingly sought to monopolise the narrative, suggesting or simply stating that its own icons are the ones that are culturally and politically relevant to today. Nothing could be farther from the truth – and the fact of Brexit takes it another long step away.

There is no single monopoly on the direction of this continent. There is no European 'manifest destiny', at least in terms of creating a Single Regulatory Union that runs from sea to shining sea (or hazy Urals). Just as was the case seventy years ago, when countries were seeking to draw broken and embittered nations together after a world war, there are today competing options for countries on what form our own future cooperation should take.

The EU's list of 'Fathers of Europe' has competition. There are Eurosceptic visionaries with equal claim to the title. Across the decades, a number of people have stepped forward at critical points, often speaking out against the trend - and typically at some personal cost - to challenge the orthodoxy.

In so doing, their actions have led to some quite spectacular political results that have invigorated democracy. That means their concrete accomplishments far outweigh the pretence to fame of some of the supposed celebrities placed on the EU's plinths. They can more truly claim to have shaped their country and their neighbours, not only in a more lasting way (as Brexit is now slowly starting to reveal), but for the better.

Here are some of their stories. We offer you some nominations for what future historians might judge to be the true Fathers of Europe.



*“All the wrong people are clapping”*

## Hugh Gaitskill

by Rupert Matthews

*“We must be clear about this: it does mean if this is the idea, the end of Britain as an independent European state. I make no apology for repeating it. It means the end of a thousand years of history. You may say ‘Let it end’ but, my goodness, it is a decision that needs a little care and thought.”*

It was 22 October 1962 and the speaker was Rt Hon Hugh Gaitskill, MP, CBE, leader of the Labour Party and Leader of the Opposition. The audience was the Labour Party Conference. As Gaitskill railed against British membership of the European Economic Community (later the European Union) the applause in the conference hall was thunderous.

But while all other eyes were fixed on Gaitskill, one pair of eyes was scanning the audience. They belonged to Gaitskill’s wife, Dora. And she did not like what she was seeing. “All the wrong people are clapping,” she said. The waves of loud applause were coming from the ordinary members of the Labour Party in the hall, and a handful of senior left wingers. The senior moderates of the shadow cabinet and the guests from the higher ranks of the civil service, press and society were all sitting on their hands. George Brown, the party’s Deputy Leader, actually had his head in his hands.

It was a prophetic moment. Over the decades that followed, the British establishment would pursue their dream of taking the UK into the EEC, and keeping it in the EU, with a ruthless determination. Promises were made, and ignored. Predictions were made, and broken. Above all, the real decisions would be kept away from the hands of the hoi polloi who had applauded Gaitskill, and who would later applaud Thatcher, Farage and Boris.

But Gaitskill would not be around to see his wife’s observations carried into action. He died of a rather mysterious auto-immune condition before he could win the 1964 General Election. But how did Gaitskill and the UK get into the position where he could give such a powerful speech to such a divided conference hall?

As with so much about British politics in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, the roots of the speech and the reaction to it can be found in the aftermath of World War II.

Politicians across Europe, including the UK, were seeking ways to end the destructive cycle of wars between France and Germany that had broken out three times in 70 years. Various schemes for economic or political co-operation were floated. The brutal imposition of Communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe by the Soviet Union gave renewed urgency to the need to keep France and Germany – the two great economies of western Europe – friends with each other.

In 1951 the Treaty of Paris created the European Coal and Steel Community. This not only put the coal and steel industries of France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux Countries under state control, but created a supranational authority to ensure that those countries lacked the independent

armaments industries to go to war against each other. Six years later that organisation morphed into the European Economic Community (EEC) – retaining the same supranational structure.

The United Kingdom, meanwhile, was not interested joining a continental European organisation. There was the Empire to convert to the Commonwealth, friendship with the USA to enjoy and global free trade to encourage. Then came the Suez Crisis.

In 1956 the UK joined with France and Israel in a war against Egypt, aiming to wrest control of the Suez Canal back from Egypt. The USA stepped in to oppose the move, threatening to destroy the British economy by selling the USA's entire holdings of British currency. The British and French pulled out, Egypt closed the canal and the world changed. The UK's friendship with the USA seemed over, the smooth transition from Empire to Commonwealth was disrupted and global trade was hamstrung by the closure of the Suez Canal.

The blow to the self-confidence of Britain's ruling establishment was terminal. They henceforth saw their role as managing an inevitable decline in Britain's wealth, culture and prestige. Even the UK's continued existence was in doubt. Clearly, the establishment thought, the Europeans had been right all along.

Hugh Gaitskill, meanwhile, was ploughing his own furrow. He had spent the war as a senior civil servant in the Ministry for Economic Warfare. In 1945 he was elected as Labour MP for South Leeds and less than a year later became a junior minister with responsibility for nationalising the coal industry.

During his subsequent rise up the ministerial ranks, Gaitskill fell out with the mighty Aneurin Bevan, who led the left of the Labour Party. The hostility between the two broke into open warfare in 1950 when Labour Prime Minister Clement Atlee promoted Gaitskill to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Rapidly, Gaitskill became the great hope of those MPs and activists who did not want to see Bevan take over as party leader when the inevitable happened and Atlee resigned. Although not himself particularly right wing in Labour Party terms, Gaitskill came to be seen as such in opposition to Bevan.

Atlee lost the General Election of 1951, and lost again in 1955 before standing down as Leader of the Labour Party in December 1955. Gaitskill made huge efforts to beef up his socialist credentials in speeches and articles. He did this well enough to gain the support of some left wing MPs. When the result was announced, Gaitskill had won with 157 votes, to Bevan's 70 and Morrison's 40.

Having been in Parliament only 10 years, Gaitskill was considered inexperienced to be Leader of the Opposition, and he had a powerful and angry Bevan to his left.

When the Suez Crisis broke, Gaitskill supported the government up until force was used, when he turned passionately against Prime Minister Eden. That meant that he came out of the crisis with his reputation enhanced. He also went out of his way to support some left wing policies supported by Bevan and his supporters. As a result Bevan rejoined the shadow cabinet as Shadow Foreign Secretary.

The newly reunited Labour Party was expected to win the 1959 General Election, propelling Gaitskill into No.10, but it did not. Many Gaitskill supporters blamed rabidly socialist outbursts by supporters of Bevan for having alienated key voters and renewed civil war threatened to break out in the Labour Party. The main issue at stake was unilateral nuclear disarmament, a policy favoured by the left.

At the 1960 Party Conference bad tempered debates saw the trades unions ram through a motion supporting unilateral disarmament. Gaitskill had no choice under party rules but to accept the decision as official party policy, but it was up to him when a new policy would be implemented in the form of votes in Parliament. Unsurprisingly, Gaitskill delayed implementing the new policy until after the 1961 Party Conference. At that Conference, Gaitskill came forward with a carefully worded motion supporting nuclear disarmament on a multilateral basis, not a unilateral one. The vote was narrow, but Gaitskill won.

The following month Gaitskill was challenged for the leadership by a former shadow cabinet minister named Tony Greenwood. It was not a challenge with any hope of success, but was intended to show the level of discontent with Gaitskill. Greenwood got the support of 25% of the Labour MPs – enough to worry Gaitskill.

It was in the midst of all this internal Labour turmoil that Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced that he wanted the UK to join the EEC. Many Conservative MPs were unhappy with the decision, but most of them were fairly junior and amidst all the turmoil of the “Night of the Long Knives” cabinet reshuffle, the decolonisation of Africa and concerns over the viability of the UK’s nuclear missile programme, they made little fuss.

The Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, the famously bibulous George Brown, spoke out in favour of EEC membership. He forcefully put forward the view that Britain, having won the War and with a strong economy, long-standing constitution and sound fiscal system was in an ideal position to lead the EEC. He foresaw the UK’s role as being that of the first among equals, rather like a Prime Minister in cabinet. So far as the Labour party was concerned he was a voice crying in the wilderness.

To Gaitskill the issue seemed a godsend. Other than George Brown, few in the Labour Party cared very much about the EEC one way or the other. Those who had given it any thought at all were opposed to British membership. A large number of working class Britons had emigrated to the Empire after the War, especially to Australia under the “£10 Pom” scheme. Their relatives back in the UK were mostly Labour supporters and activists who feared that joining the EEC would lead to estrangement from the nascent Commonwealth growing out of the Empire.

To Gaitskill, looking at the EEC issue in terms of internal Labour Party machinations, it had many possibilities. He could attack the Conservative Government, gain the support of the working classes and reunite the Labour Party all in one go. It seemed a straightforward move to him, and to his supporters.

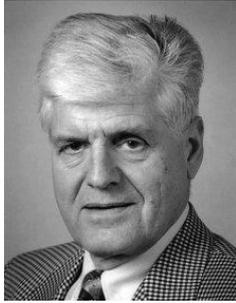
But Gaitskill himself could also see some economic arguments in favour of British membership. That was why he slipped into his speech a section in which he left the door open to the UK joining but “only on our conditions, only if Europe is a greater Europe, only if it is an outward-looking Europe, only if it is dedicated to the cause of relieving world poverty, only if it casts aside the ancient colonialisms, only if it gives up, and shows that it gives up, the narrow nationalism that could otherwise develop.”

Caveats aside, the speech achieved its purpose. The Labour Party rapidly reunited and began to prepare for the General Election that could not long be delayed. Gaitskill, it seemed, was on his way to No.10.

But the speech proved to be Gaitskill’s last major contribution to British politics. Three months later he was dead. His place was taken by Harold Wilson. At this point, Wilson was not particularly

bothered about the European issue. Having come from the left of the party, he sought to build bridges to the right wing by appointing key moderates to his new shadow cabinet. And after he won the election, to his cabinet. He made George Brown Foreign Secretary, accepting that this meant that the UK would apply to join the EEC. But the wily Wilson had first assured himself that the application would be vetoed by France. Wilson was free to concentrate on domestic reforms, as he had planned. But a collateral victim of Wilson's cunning was that the Labour Party had abandoned its formal policy of opposing EEC membership.

Gaitskill's vision was dead. The men who had not clapped had won.



Unity in Opposition

## Davíð Oddsson and Ragnar Arnalds

by Hjörtur J. Guðmundsson

The refusal of Iceland to become part of the European Union has been an enduring reminder that the future political shape of the continent remains open for debate. This evidently cannot be credited to any one individual alone or any two or any three. Keeping the country outside the bloc has naturally been a joint effort of a very large group of people. In fact, for more than a decade now the results of every single public opinion poll published in Iceland has had a solid majority rejecting membership of the EU, of those either in favour of or opposed to the idea, or roughly two-thirds of the population. In other words, opposition to becoming part of the EU is widespread among Icelanders.

However, several individuals, who can be considered as more responsible than most others for contributing to this reality, can of course be singled out. One of those people is former Prime Minister Davíð Oddsson who was leader of the liberal conservative Independence Party (Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn) from 1991-2005. He held the office of Prime Minister from 1991-2014 and is the longest serving Icelandic premier. After stepping down as Prime Minister he briefly served as Foreign Minister before becoming President of the Central Bank of Iceland. Another one is Ragnar Arnalds, former Finance Minister who used to be leader of the now defunct socialist People's Alliance (Alþýðubandalagið).

### The key element of a broad political alliance

What has been one of the key elements of the opposition to EU membership in Iceland is a broad alliance between people on the right, the left and the centre of Icelandic politics which in turn has been a thorn in the side of those of the opposite opinion who are mostly to be found in or close to the centre. Those against joining the EU have rallied around their common perspective that the interests of Iceland and the Icelandic people are better served by not becoming part of the bloc regardless of exactly how and why they have come to that conclusion. Nevertheless, there has also been an agreement on certain issues, especially when it comes to sovereignty and democracy.

During the debate on whether or not Iceland should join the European Economic Area (EEA) in the early 90s Oddsson and Arnalds found themselves on the opposite side of the argument. Oddsson was in favour of signing up to the EEA Agreement while Arnalds, as an opposition MP, was against it. What the agreement entails is participation in the EU single market by accepting significant and growing part of EU legislation. Iceland eventually joined the EEA on January 1, 1994 under Oddsson's premiership. Shortly after Iceland had become part of the EEA the focus of the national debate shifted towards the question of EU membership where the two were, however, in an agreement.

In 2002, when Oddsson had been Prime Minister for just over a decade, Arnalds was elected as the first leader of a then newly founded broad political organisation against EU membership called

Heimssýn, a role he would have until 2009. Members of the organisation have come from all over the political spectrum; conservatives, libertarians, centrists, socialists, etc. This was a crucial time in the EU debate with those in favour of joining the bloc making repeated attempts to advance their objective. After the international financial crisis had hit Iceland with full force in the autumn of 2008 they then attempted to use the ensuing public desperation to make a final push for their goal.

### Doomed EU application from the beginning

The public desperation Icelandic supporters of EU membership sought to use for their advantage, however, proved only temporary and in the summer of 2009, when the then leftwing government applied for EU membership, the majority of Icelanders were opposed to joining the bloc according to opinion polls after the polls had previously indicated a brief surge in support for doing so for several weeks first after the crisis had hit Iceland. Since then, as mentioned earlier, every opinion poll published in the country has had a solid majority against EU membership, a decision which is a subject to a referendum according to a general agreement between the Icelandic political parties.

When Arnalds stepped down as leader of Heimssýn in the autumn of 2009, after a very successful time at the helm, it was evident that the EU application was already doomed. The successful campaigning of the organisation under his leadership had played a vital role in preparing the ground for that. As Iceland's traditionally largest political party the Independence Party, mainly under Oddsson, had also played a prominent role. Those in favour of EU membership were consequently far from united when it came to the question whether it was wise to push for EU membership under the circumstances. Several prominent proponents of joining the bloc warned publicly that doing so would do more to harm the pro-EU cause than to advance it. One of them went as far as to say in September 2009 that Icelanders would only in the state of a temporary insanity accept EU membership.

Contrary to a popular believe outside Iceland the main reason Icelanders have not been willing to join the EU over the years has not been the country's fishing industry but its sovereignty. Iceland became a sovereign country only a century ago and an independent republic in 1944. However, because of the importance of the fishing industry to Iceland's economy and after having waged several cod wars with Britain in the latter half of the 20th century in order to secure control of the fishing grounds around the country the fisheries is seen as a symbol of the sovereignty of the Icelandic people.

### The focus shifting from the EU to the EEA

Shortly after Iceland's EU membership was delivered in 2009 Oddsson became editor of the Icelandic daily Morgunblaðið, Iceland's oldest newspaper still in circulation, founded in 1913. Traditionally it has had a conservative leaning and rejected EU membership in its editorials. Under Oddsson's editorship, Morgunblaðið has enthusiastically carried on that tradition and in recent years, after accession talks with the EU were halted in 2015 and the focus again shifted towards the EEA, become increasingly critical of Iceland's membership of the area as well as the Schengen Area.

There has been a growing debate in Iceland on whether it serves the interests of Iceland to remain part of the EEA in light of how the EEA Agreement has been developing. Especially during the last several years. The EEA Agreement is designed to follow the EU integration process in the bloc's single market. Decisions in Brussels for more integration means the same is expected to apply for

the EEA as a whole to ensure that the same rules are in place for the entire area. This has among other things led to growing demands from Brussels towards the three EEA countries who are not EU members, Iceland, Norway and Liechtenstein, that they transfer more and more powers to EU institutions.

When Arnalds left the leadership of Heimssýn he retired from politics having been active in that field for a very long time. He was first elected as an MP in 1963 at the age of 25 and five years later he became leader of the People's Alliance. Oddsson, however, ten years younger than Arnalds, remains as editor of Morgunblaðið where he continues to write about Iceland's place in Europe and the wider world and the importance of defending national sovereignty and democracy.



## The Trappers Trapped

# Sir James Goldsmith

with thanks to Georges Berthu, l'Observatoire de l'Europe, Patrick Robertson, and Stuart Coster

If controversy were a disqualifier from being counted a 'Father of Europe', neither the Council of Europe nor the EU would have added Churchill to their list. 'Sir Jimmy' was a colourful character with vocal detractors from his business years, a number of journalists amongst them. That should not preclude us from recognising his immense political achievements

Critics noted that a part of his arguments differed depending on whether he was speaking to a French or British audience. The response supporters made to that is that this was realpolitik; Jimmy was "playing on two pianos at the same time", each with different political situations. That means, supporters readily acknowledge, having to consider his speeches in their context. His driving idea in France was indeed building Europe, but firmly on the base of its nations (which would indeed produce the name of his Eurosceptic group in the European Parliament).

At the start, Sir James thought that European cooperation could be beneficial in three areas: the environment, international trade rules beyond the EU, and migration control. He quickly came to see that in these very areas Europe was doing the opposite of what it should be, and this nurtured his opposition. He thought that each country should set its own way democratically. Only by that route could national democracies collectively make the world a better place. Unrooted bureaucracies could never achieve the same.

A little-known anecdote is informative. At the European Parliament, Jimmy chaired the group covering Europe-Canada relations. When he fell seriously ill, he stood down and recommended fellow MEP Georges Berthu to take over. At this time, he knew that the prospect of a referendum of Quebec independence was on the rise, and he also knew what line Berthu would take on the matter.

One day, Berthu told him delicately that his own line was that he could only support the independence cause. But Jimmy gave a succinct response: "Georges, il y a une sorte d'hommes que je méprise profondément, ce sont ceux qui ne défendent pas leur communauté."

Sir James was a democrat and a patriot, and one that understood the sentiments of both in others. More significantly yet, his campaigning in the mid '90s, pursued despite grave illness, were absolutely instrumental in hamstringing UK entry into the Eurozone. It happened at a time when the incoming Blair Government were riding high in popularity and otherwise could and would have delivered on it, with all the consequential implications for sovereignty that would have followed.

Sir James Goldsmith bought Eurosceptics time.

Author of *The Trap* and the sequel a year later *The Response*, two other key texts that help understand him are less well remembered. The first was the campaign magazine "L'Autre Europe", distributed across all of France during the 1994 EP elections. The second was a keynote speech, delivered in Bristol in December 1996, in the dying months of the John Major Government that was grimly clinging on to power.

What remained uncertain to just about every political observer was not who would win the election, but the scale of the Conservative defeat. A policy that was still to play for was over the EU. Negotiations were ongoing over what would become the Amsterdam Treaty, and it was already clear that a new Blair Government would sign away the UK's Social Chapter opt out. That had been hard won, and was being yielded for free; a precedent that did not augur well for Eurosceptics eyeing nervously the Blair team pledge to 'put the UK back at the heart of Europe' after the BSE affair.

What remained very much still in the air for both parties was their policy over the UK joining the Single Currency. Major's people were not unsympathetic to Eurozone accession in principle; indeed, Major had arrived in Downing Street on the back of a Cabinet rebellion that undid Margaret Thatcher, about the UK joining the Exchange Rate Mechanism. Black Wednesday reminded many Conservative backbenchers of why it had been opposed in the first place; but both front benches appeared to be heading towards tacitly committing to Eurozone membership.

Sir James's decision to set up the Referendum Party forced the issue. It placed the subject on the agenda, cornering Major into giving a pledge that in turn coerced a similar one from Blair. Both potential Prime Ministers now accepted that ultimately the decision was so important it deserved to be put to the people in a referendum.

In the half year still remaining before time ran out for Major, Goldsmith then placed down key markers about the wider conduct of both main parties towards 'the European project', questioning what their end goals were, and the amount of either drift or collusion that was going on. A possible referendum on joining the Euro wasn't enough. The EU as a subject and a direction deserved being put more broadly to the people. EU membership itself deserved to be a referendum question.

The campaign must have hurt. Major allegedly offered Goldsmith a peerage. It is telling that he turned it down.

Sir James died a matter of weeks after the 1997 election, in July. His party saw no MPs elected, let alone sweep to power. It survived in physical form not as the original political party but as a grassroots force, the Referendum Movement. Yet if the measure of success of a one issue party can be measured in the speed in which its objective is met, the Referendum Party broke most records. Its long term effect was similarly incalculable, since the pledge once made was impossible for successor manifestos to undo. Even the Liberal Democrats were obliged to pay lip service to it.

Such is the context of the Bristol keynote address, from which we cite a part below. As an exception amongst the Red Cell's papers, it is cited in the surviving French version of the text to mark the internationalism of the man.

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*Il existe une différence essentielle entre une union européenne dans laquelle tous les pays fusionnent et sont soumis à l'autorité d'un gouvernement unique, et une union de nations souveraines qui acceptent de coopérer librement entre elles. Dans une telle association, quand l'un des partenaires connaît de fortes divergences avec les autres, il peut s'en retirer; et si les autres considèrent qu'il est impossible de collaborer avec tel ou tel autre, ils peuvent l'exclure de l'association. Mais dans une union irréversible, la situation est malheureusement toute autre. Un pays ne peut ni s'en retirer ni en être exclu, car il ne s'agirait plus alors d'une union irréversible. Dans ces conditions, un tel pays ne peut que se soumettre à l'autorité centrale que je viens de dénoncer. L'OTAN et le FMI sont des*

*exemples de libres associations. Tandis que l'Union européenne a été conçue pour être irréversible. En d'autres termes, il s'agit de la création d'un nouveau pays.*

*On objecte à la seconde alternative que nous proposons - redevenir membre d'un marché commun - qu'elle est tout simplement irréalisable.*

*Une telle objection trahit une vision défaitiste ou ne caractérise qu'un nouvel exemple de la désinformation propagée par ceux qui militent en faveur d'un super-Etat fédéral européen dans lequel la Grande-Bretagne viendrait se fondre. Quant à moi, je ne doute pas une seule seconde que si le peuple britannique votait en faveur du retour à un marché commun - l'option que je propose - la Grande-Bretagne pourrait l'obtenir.*

*[...]*

*Si le peuple britannique votait en faveur de la seconde option proposée dans notre référendum - voulez-vous que le Royaume-Uni revienne à une association de nations souveraines faisant partie d'un marché commun ? - voici ce que je proposerais de faire. Le référendum que nous proposons, comme celui de 1975, lierait le gouvernement. Ce dernier devrait alors déposer devant le Parlement un projet de loi abrogeant l'acte d'adhésion à la Communauté européenne, voté en 1972 et par lequel nous avons souscrit aux clauses du traité de Rome, ainsi que tous les engagements ultérieurs qui en découlent, y compris le traité de Maastricht. Cette loi, une fois promulguée, prendrait effet au plus tard douze mois après, afin de nous permettre de négocier en bonne règle la nouvelle union européenne que le peuple britannique aurait ainsi réclamée.*

*La formulation de ce projet de loi serait simple : "L'acte d'adhésion à la Communauté européenne, voté en 1972, et tous les actes législatifs ultérieurs : découlant, sont abrogés par la présente loi."*

*Ce projet de loi comprendrait une disposition qui traiterai des nécessaires, amendements à apporter dans tous les autres domaines législatifs de notre pays touchés par la loi européenne, ainsi qu'une autre disposition exigeant que notre gouvernement dénonce le traité de Rome, signé le 25 mars 1957, ainsi que tous les autres traités consécutifs, y compris celui sur l'Union européenne signé à Maastricht, le 7 février 1992.*

*Une telle loi, formulée en ces termes, placerait le gouvernement dans la meilleure position possible pour négocier une nouvelle forme d'association avec les autres nations européennes. Cela nous permettrait d'en revenir au type de marché commun que l'on nous avait fait miroiter au cours de la campagne référendaire de 1975, et de construire une nouvelle association grâce à des accords librement conclus entre les nations qui le souhaitent.*

*Au cours de cette année consacrée à la négociation, le gouvernement devrait systématiquement exercer son droit de veto sur toutes les questions où il en a le pouvoir, sans exception aucune. Ainsi pourrait-il bloquer ou ralentir toute avancée vers l'Etat fédéral européen.*

*Il n'y aurait là rien de nouveau ni de scandaleux. En 1965, le général de Gaulle, convaincu que les projets fédéralistes des eurocrates nuisaient gravement aux intérêts de son pays, n'a eu qu'un mot: non ! Il a refusé que son gouvernement participe à toute négociation aussi longtemps qu'il n'aurait pas obtenu un accord équitable. C'est ce qu'on a appelé la politique de la "chaise vide".*

*Un dirigeant britannique d'envergure, soutenu par un mandat populaire très clair, pourrait ainsi mettre un terme à la dérive fédéraliste actuelle, et même l'inverser complètement.*

*Jeudi dernier, Jacques Santer, président de la Commission européenne, a fait une déclaration extrêmement importante: "L'heure de vérité approche où les Etats membres auront à choisir entre une vision de l'Union qui incarne un projet politique ou simplement une zone économique".*

*C'est très exactement ce que propose le Parti du Référendum. Mais le fait même que le président de la Commission soit d'accord avec nous sur ce point prouve que les eurocrates perdent confiance en eux. Il y a encore très peu de temps, il aurait été inconcevable que Monsieur Santer envisageât qu'on pût abandonner une union politique pour en revenir à une simple zone économique. Si, en dépit de cette déclaration de Jacques Santer, l'Union européenne choisissait de dénier à la Grande-Bretagne le droit de se retirer de l'Union et décidait de la poursuivre devant la Cour de justice européenne, alors la Grande-Bretagne devrait récuser cette Cour et déclarer sans équivoque que le Parlement britannique représente la seule autorité suprême et légitime dans nos îles. Une telle situation de blocage, gérée sans les faiblesses, les compromis et les vacillements habituels, permettrait à la Grande-Bretagne de reconquérir le droit de se gouverner elle-même'*

*Sans oublier que notre pays ne serait nullement isolé. Sondage après sondage, élection après élection, manifestation après manifestation, tout démontre que les peuples européens sont de plus en plus hostiles à des gouvernements qui bradent leur souveraineté nationale et détruisent leur identité. Les peuples de Suède, de Turquie, d'Autriche, de Finlande, de Malte, de Slovénie et de Grèce tous ont manifesté leurs sentiments au cours des derniers mois. En France, le gouvernement, bureaucratique et défaitiste, est encore plus impopulaire que le nôtre. Il ne recueille qu'environ vingt pour cent d'opinions favorables. En Allemagne, en France et en Italie, le peuple a défilé dans la rue. A Rome, c'était aux cris de: "Nous ne voulons pas mourir pour Maastricht!"*

*Sous l'impulsion britannique, les peuples forceraient leur Gouvernement à se plier à la volonté majoritaire et à suivre la voie ouverte par la Grande-Bretagne vers une nouvelle Europe de nations souveraines, désirant créer un grand marché commun et coopérer entre elles dans tous les domaines où elles peuvent mieux réussir ensemble qu'isolément.*

*Le vaste édifice bureaucratique européen - commissions, comités, directions, sous-comités et autres institutions multiples et variées, peuplées de fonctionnaires tout-puissants et non élus - tout cela serait balayé. Seuls seraient conservés les fonctionnaires européens dont nous aurions besoin pour assurer, le bon fonctionnement d'un marché commun libre et compétitif. Mais leur pouvoir serait strictement limité et contrôlé afin qu'ils ne puissent l'étendre de quelque manière que ce soit.*

*Le lendemain, après avoir rendu publique la question que nous voulons poser par référendum, j'ai été interrogé à la télévision par des journalistes distingués, à l'émission "Today" ainsi qu'au journal de 13 heures de la BBC.*

*Tous ont souligné que la première partie de notre question - voulez-vous que le Royaume-Uni fasse partie d'une Europe fédérale ? - décrivait très précisément la situation existante : le Parlement, la Commission, la Cour de Justice, toutes ces institutions européennes existent et fonctionnent aujourd'hui; la loi européenne s'impose d'ores et déjà à chacun des pays de l'Union européenne; et l'Union économique et monétaire est largement en place.*

*Ces journalistes avaient parfaitement raison.*

*Puis, alors que j'étais encore dans les studios de la BBC, j'ai pu entendre les commentaires des leaders des autres partis.*

*Le président du Parti conservateur, Brian Mawhinney, a déclaré: "J'ai lu que le Parti du Référendum n'était pas favorable à une Europe fédérale. Les Conservateurs ne le sont pas non plus."*

*Gordon Brown, chancelier de l'Echiquier dans le cabinet-fantôme, a affirmé : "Nous n'avons jamais dit que nous voulions une Europe fédérale, et je ne connais personne qui le souhaite."*

*Ces messieurs semblent avoir la mémoire très courte.*

*Les députés conservateurs au Parlement européen sont affiliés au Parti populaire européen. Chacun d'eux a personnellement approuvé un document officiel sur les orientations politiques fondamentales de ce groupe.*

*Quelles sont les orientations politiques auxquelles les Conservateurs ont souscrit et qui, selon Brian Mawhirurey, s'opposeraient à une Europe fédérale?*

*Elles stipulent - je cite le programme de ce parti - qu'il faut "poursuivre le processus d'unification et d'intégration fédérale en Europe et contribuer à la création des Etats-Unis d' Europe". Si cela n'est pas encore assez clair, voici une autre déclaration approuvée par les Conservateurs; "L'Union européenne ouvre la voie à une Europe unifiée. Notre but, c'est une Europe fédérale"*

*Examinons maintenant ce que dit le Parti travailliste, et voyons comment ses positions concordent avec les déclarations de Gordon Brown. Le député européen travailliste David Martin, vice-président du Parlement européen, est le co-auteur de la contribution de ce Parlement à la Conférence intergouvernementale en cours.*

*Voici ce qu'on peut lire sous la plume de David Martin: "Il est de plus en plus nécessaire de transformer rapidement la Communauté en une Union européenne de type fédéraliste et [d'aller] au-delà du marché unique et de l'Union monétaire."*

*Pauline Green, leader du groupe socialiste au Parlement européen' a déclaré de son côté : "Je n'ai nullement peur de ce qu'en Europe on pourrait appeler le fédéralisme".*

*Quant aux Libéraux-démocrates, leur porte-parole est tout aussi clair. Il a déclaré catégoriquement: "Nous sommes partisans de la supranationalité".*

*N'est-il pas temps de dire la vérité au peuple britannique ? N'est-il pas temps que les politiciens en finissent avec leur politique d'abandon de la souveraineté nationale, menée par faiblesse, à la dérobée et en désinformant l'opinion ?*



Would de Gaulle support Frexit?

## Charles de Gaulle

By Philippe Joly

General de Gaulle is one of the guiding figures of French history and someone who witnessed the first steps towards European Union, including the Treaty of Rome in 1957 which founded the EEC. What were his views on these significant developments and what can we surmise would be his attitude to France's continued involvement?

De Gaulle was out of power during the decisive years when the European institutions were established.

The hero of the liberation of France was initially in power for only a short period of time after the war. He had left France for London in June 1940 after rejecting the armistice signed by the Marshal Pétain. From London, with the agreement of Winston Churchill, he called for resistance against the collaborationist regime and the occupying force. He joined efforts with the British and American allies and allowed French servicemen and civilians to take part in the liberation of the French territory. In June 1944 he chaired the French provisional government, and in November 1945 he was elected by the French parliament as the head of the government. However, when he presented his programme to the national assembly, he faced the opposition of the socialists and the communists and so resigned. In consequence, he retired from political life from 1946 to 1958.

During these 12 years while de Gaulle was absent from power, the foundations of the pan-European bureaucracy were laid with the help of some of his fiercest adversaries. Men such as Jean Monnet, a founding father of the European project and a hero for the devotees of European Union, although we now know from declassified documents that he was funded by the US.<sup>1</sup>

In 1963, de Gaulle stated:

“Integrated Europe, it could not suit France, nor the French people... Except for a few madmen like Jean Monnet, who are, above all, concerned with serving the United States. Or to all these lamentable characters of the fourth Republic. Thus, they found a way of discharging their responsibilities! They were not able to grasp them; so, they had to pass them on to others. Holding their rank in the world? No way! Let us put ourselves under the umbrella. Have an army and make it obey? No way! Give it to others! Put the country back on its feet and serve as an example to the world? Not for them! The readymade alibi, it was Europe. The excuse to all the avoidances, to all the cowardices: the integrated Europe.”<sup>2</sup>

De Gaulle saw the European project as a dereliction of democratically accountable leadership - leaders of nation-states abdicating their responsibilities and sovereignty to the integrated Europe. In 1953, de Gaulle publicly expressed himself against the European Defence Community treaty, which

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<sup>1</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 27 April 2016

<sup>2</sup> Alain Peyrefitte, *C'était de Gaulle*, Volume 2

would transfer French armed forces to a pan-European entity. The treaty eventually failed to be ratified by the French parliament because of the opposition of the Gaullist - and communist - members of parliaments. The idea of a European army would not return to the agenda of federalists until many decades later.

When de Gaulle came back to power in 1958, he strategically played the game of Europe to the advantage of France

De Gaulle returned to power as President of the Republic as the country was on the verge of civil war. The Algerian war had started in 1954 between France and the FLN (National Liberation Front). In spring 1958, there was great political instability in Paris with successive unsuccessful attempts to form a government. The supporters of a French Algeria feared that a weak government would abandon them. In May 1958, French nationals from Algeria called for a demonstration against the FLN in Algiers, which ended in an uprising. A committee of senior officers of the French army in Algeria put pressure on the Paris parliament which called on de Gaulle to manage France out of the crisis. He proposed a new constitution to the French people, which was approved by referendum and he was elected President of that Fifth Republic.

In these circumstances, his priority was to unite the country. Critically, his party did not have an absolute majority in the parliament, and he needed the support of the pro-Europe Christian Democrat party to govern. Consequently, he could not oppose head-on pro-European policies. He adopted the position of upholding his vision of a Europe that, above all, respected the sovereignty of nation-states - and the advantage of France. Like Theresa May who promised making a success of Brexit while being a secret Remainer, de Gaulle would exploit the advantages for France in the European project while in reality resisting the federalist prospect.

A key factor in his pragmatic approach to Europe was that he believed that France was in pole position to take the lead among the six founding members of the European Economic Community (EEC). Germany was not yet re-unified and its relatively recent ignominious past, and that of its erstwhile ally, Italy, prevented them from taking a leading role. The Benelux countries were obviously much less significant in terms of size and international influence. Europe could become the vehicle through which France would recover its status as a first-class nation:

“Europe, what is it for? It must be used to avoid being dominated either by the Americans or by the Russians. At six, we should be able to do as well as each of the two giants. And if France manages to be the first of the six, which is within our reach, it will be able to use this Archimedes lever. It can pull others. Europe is the way for France to become again what it has ceased to be from Waterloo: the first in the world.”<sup>3</sup>

De Gaulle saw that Europe could be an opportunity to leverage French influence, which explains in large part why he vetoed UK entry in 1967.

With regards to international power blocks, de Gaulle advocated cooperation between western European nations in order to counterbalance the Cold War powers of Russia and the United States in terms of diplomacy, defence and technology – again with France leading - but there was a limit to such cooperation:

“Each people are different from the others, incomparable, unalterable, irreducible. They must remain themselves, in their originality, as their history and their culture made them,

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<sup>3</sup> Alain Peyrefitte, *C'était de Gaulle*, Volume 1

with their beliefs, their legends, their faith, their will to build their future. If you want nations to unite, do not try to integrate them as you integrate chestnuts into a chestnut puree. You must respect their personalities. We have to bring them together, teach them to live together, get their legitimate governments to work together, and one day to work together, that is to say to pool certain skills while remaining independent for everything else.”<sup>4</sup>

De Gaulle held that France must not be in the situation of facing a choice between becoming a colony of the soviets or a protectorate of the United States. While obviously France would be allied with the free western world, he did not believe that this situation would last forever. The Soviet Union would not last. He was convinced that “The only international realities are nations. Russia will absorb communism like blotter paper absorbs ink” - history proved him right.

As soon as the institutions moved towards further integration, de Gaulle dragged its feet to try to block them.

In 1965, a disagreement on the application of unanimity for decisions of the EEC and the inclusion of agricultural products in the common market triggered a crisis. The modification of the rules from unanimity to majority voting would have meant that a country could have been forced to accept decisions taken at a supranational level. He strongly resisted this, stating that important matters must be decided by each government controlled by their respective parliament. As a result of this disagreement the French government decided that no French minister would take part in any meeting of the community, thus blocking all decisions. This ‘empty chair’ period lasted for seven months and was only solved by the Luxembourg agreements which established that all important matters had to be decided with unanimity. Federalists viewed this as a significant brake to further integration.

De Gaulle’s aim was not only to gain leadership in Europe but also to build relationships with non-aligned countries throughout the world and promote independence of the people.

De Gaulle was a supporter of self-determination by independent nations. Having accepted the independence of the former parts of the French empire, his policy was to promote cooperation between independent peoples all around the world.

In March 1964 he made a trip to Mexico and in September 1964 he visited ten Latin American countries where he was acclaimed by enormous crowds.

In 1966, he gave a speech in Cambodia where he praised the right of peoples to self-determination in the context of the Vietnam war.

In July 1967, while on a state visit in Canada he pronounced the memorable: ‘Vive le Québec libre!’ from Montreal city hall, which was rather controversial for the Canadian state.

De Gaulle was against any form of federalism. He was prepared to provide qualified support to European cooperation while France could be a dominant player. He tried to prevent further integration as soon as he had the political opportunity.

There can be little doubt that de Gaulle, father of the Fifth Republic, was a passionate believer not only in France, and the contribution it could make to the world, but in the notion of the nation-state generally. He understood that European empire, whatever its ideological motive or its form, could

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

not legitimately exercise power over independent nations, and that any such arrangement would, like the Soviet empire, be unhappy and short-lived. If he were alive today, no doubt de Gaulle would declaim: 'Vive le Frexit, Vive La France libre!'



Saving Europe from Itself

## Margaret Thatcher

By Ethan Thoburn and Robert Oulds

The Bruges Group was set up in 1989 in honour of one speech, a now landmark address made by our then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the College of Europe on 20th September 1988 on the 'Future of Europe'. Lady Thatcher influenced the creation of the Bruges Group, one of Britain's most recognised political and economic think tanks. The Bruges Group set out the intellectual case for departing the European Union and with the support of countless former and serving Cabinet Minister as well as MPs, businessmen, journalists and politicians the Group were one of the key players in the 2016 EU Membership Referendum. It was the Iron Lady's view of Europe and the direction the EEC were taking that inspired a generation of politics and the Bruges Group has been there ever since that now famous speech in Bruges. All of her predictions on the course the European project would become reality at some point or another, from further integration to a single currency, she of course vehemently opposed both. Without Margaret Thatcher and the generation of thinkers, politicians, journalists and think tanks she inspired, Britain would've never have left the European Union, we might well have even been sucked further into this disastrous and failing entity.

As the Founder President of the Bruges Group, Lady Thatcher's closest allies such as Norman Tebbit, Norman Lamont, Peter Lilley, Sir John Redwood and Sir Bill Cash spearheaded the case for political and economic freedom while fighting the analytical and theoretical battle to leave the European Union. Many leading politicians have recently emphasise the importance of Lady Thatcher in the Eurosceptic cause, ranging from Jacob Rees-Mogg to Priti Patel to Nigel Farage, Suella Braverman, Mark Francois and Andrew Rosindell.

In her aforementioned Bruges Speech, she made clear the EEC planned on not only creating an economic community but also creating a political union under a technocratic bureaucracy. The Iron Lady spoke of how "we have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state here in Britain, only to be reimposed at European level with a European superstructure exercising a new dominance from Brussels." However, those frontiers of the state are being reimposed on a grand scale in the EU, only this time it is Ursula von der Leyen and before her, Mr Juncker instead of Commissioner Delors. Thatcher knew fine well that the EEC was heading towards a political union, especially with Delors as the appointed Commissioner, the superstructure that she spoke about is more evident now more than ever with plans for a EU central defence policy and further integration proposed by President Macron and plans already put into motion by Chancellor Merkel.

The speech in question set out three guiding principles of "willing co-operation between independent, sovereign states", "perusing policies that relate supply more closely to market requirements" and the "need for the Community to encourage enterprise". The former PM suggested reforms to the Common Agricultural Policy back in 1988 yet little has been done to act

upon those advisories. The points that were outlined is that the CAP sees a minimum price imposed and that around two thirds of the budget in the 1980s was spent on storing and purchasing food as part of the CAP. Still to this day, the CAP is one of the most unfair and regressive policies of the European Union.

Thatcher is often portrayed as ahead of her time with supply side policies and monetarism which created a prosperous and efficient economy as well as making London one of the world's two financial centres. Lady Thatcher reduced overmanning in the public sector to boost productivity and increase competition with her flagship policy of privatisation and the sale of council houses and increased share ownership. Thatcher was also ahead of her time when it came to Europe, predicting the failure of the Exchange Rate Mechanism, or as Norman Tebbit put it the "eternal recession mechanism", Thatcher herself caused a significant conflict leading to the resignation of both her economic adviser Alan Walters and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nigel Lawson. Thatcher had predicted the failing of the ERM in the mid-1980s as soon as the idea of a monetary mechanism was discussed, Thatcher even suspected a monetary union would "take away a country's identity", a point that was also made in the Bruges speech. Thatcher's resistance to joining the ERM caused conflict in the cabinet with all three of her Chancellors across her premiership, Sir Geoffrey Howe, Nigel Lawson and John Major, as well as other ministers such as Ken Clarke; those conflicts would eventually see Howe and Lawson resign but it was Mrs Thatcher who proved to be right in the end with Black Wednesday being a timely reminder on how a fixed exchange rate could never work.

But it wasn't just the failing ERM that the Iron Lady predicted, it was the whole direction of Europe, "suppressing nationhood to the power of a central European conglomerate would be highly damaging" and so we have seen in today's climate. The EU under Jean-Claude Juncker's Presidency saw plans for further integration to a European superstate with the French and Germans as pioneers. And now as we enter trade talks, spurred on by Angela Merkel and Emmanuel Macron, Michel Barnier is continuing that stubborn position held by the EU, which is in neither party's interest. Mrs Thatcher would often go to Brussels and demand change to policy to benefit Britain, something we have seen too little of since her departure until recently.

Margaret Thatcher described Europe's policies as "an inclination towards bureaucratic rather than market solutions to economic problems" and an "overt federalist and protectionist agenda" something which seems ever more apparent as time goes on. Thatcher said herself that Britain had joined the Community in the 1970s to "deregulate and free the markets by removing constraints on trade" however, by the late eighties Thatcher took a different view and spoke of how the EEC had not embraced free markets and instead were ploughing towards centralisation, more regulation and more state intervention. The EU has penalised entrepreneurs and crippled industries with red tape and regulation as well as doing exactly the opposite of what Mrs Thatcher advised "detailed planning does not work, and that personal endeavour and initiative do".

In addition to this, the PM said how "Europe should not be protectionist" and now we see all 27 nations (after Britain leaves) being forced to comply with endless regulation, quotas and targets set out by the Brussels bureaucracy. EU states are unable to negotiate favourable trade deals with other superpowers such the US due to the EU's one size fits all policy; a trade policy destined to fail. The truth is that all nations' trade terms are different, here in Britain services are our greatest export whereas Germany relies more on automobile exports, therefore a single trade policy set out by a central body is not going to succeed.

And then of course we have the biggest failed project of all, the euro, a single currency with a central bank. You don't need to be a financial expert, economist, or politician to realise that this project was a doomed one from the word go. However, at the time Labour told us that if we didn't join then it would be us in crisis, looking back it's the best thing, we never did. It was in her 2002 book 'Statecraft' that Mrs T predicted the failing of the Euro saying how "this project is essentially political, rather than economic". It was plain to see, by placing contrasting economies such as strong economies like Germany with collapsing economies in the instance of Greece, France and Italy that disaster would follow. The 2008 financial crisis nearly sent the whole Eurozone into collapse due to the stark contrast of economies using the single currency. The EU continued to dictate, and still does to this day, the budgets of Greece and Italy, placing them into special austerity measures which has caused serious political unrest and a rise of extremist parties. Baroness Thatcher put it "without the power to issue and so to control one's own currency a state can no longer be said to determine its own economic policy", exactly the case which we've seen all across the EU and Eurozone in the last 10 years.

In essence, Mrs Thatcher has consistently predicted the correct outcome of flagship EU policies, not to mention the fact that she wrote in her autobiography that "she would have never signed the Maastricht Treaty if she were PM". From the failing of the ERM to the failing of a single currency and to the direction of the EU bureaucracy, the Iron Lady has been spot on the money. In her famous House of Commons speech in 1990, Thatcher argued how the "Commission wanted to increase its powers with the European Parliament as the democratically elected body, the Commission to be the executive and the Council of Ministers to be the Senate. No! No! No!" and as we look back on that speech nearly 30 years later it shows astounding resemblance to what the plan is for the EU now. Baroness Thatcher was way ahead of her time and her predictions on the EU have near enough all been a direct map of what has happened over the last three decades following her departure from office.

We can be certain how Lady Thatcher would've voted in the 2016 referendum, and that would be of course be a Leave vote. She made clear in her later speeches that she was staunchly supporting Britain's departure from the EU, most notably at her speech at Party Conference in 2002, and then in a now famous communication with veteran Brexiteer MP, Sir Bill Cash. She was one of the earliest Brexiteers. Her friend and former Cabinet Minister, Lord Tebbit said how he thought it was "beyond doubt" that Britain's greatest peacetime leader would've chosen to leave the grasp of the ever growing and ever more centralised European Union. Her Bruges Speech in 1988 set the tone for British Euroscepticism before it became a mainstream idea. Her opposition to the ERM before later leading the charge from Parliament's upper House against the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and 1993 would cement her position as one of Britain's first Brexiteers and one of the brightest beacons of Euroscepticism. Lady Thatcher is without a doubt one of the most key figures in Britain's decision to leave the EU in 2016 even though she had unfortunately passed away three years prior to the referendum; she inspired a generation of politicians and instilled core anti-EU sentiments in several of today's political leaders, including 'Mr Brexit' himself, Nigel Farage and Vote Leave big hitter and now Home Secretary, Priti Patel.

Thatcher's forecasts in 1988 lay out how she saw Europe taking the wrong turn. Her vision was to embrace the nation state, decentralise power away from Brussels and to promote international free trade and deregulation of industries. She knew that "disaster was on the horizon" if Europe didn't take on her recommendations. 30 years on, time has proved that the Iron Lady's vision was the one which most people can resonate with. It's the only one that works.

If the EU do not accept Thatcher's vision of deregulation, openness and decentralisation then the EU is heading for a disaster just as Margaret Thatcher predicted decades ago: "A unified Europe is, in fact, a classic utopian project, a monument to the vanity of intellectuals, a programme whose inevitable destiny is failure: only the scale of the final damage done is in doubt."



A Grassroots Hero

## Arne Otter

by David Wilkinson

*Arne (centre right) during Estonia's accession referendum. The 'No' campaign's T Shirt logo references the opening clause of the national constitution that conflicts with EU membership.*

Arne Otter was a key figure in building conventional eurosceptic movements in the so-called applicant countries in the time between regaining independence and the accession referendums. He was known for this in his native Estonia, but his influence was felt all the way down to the Adriatic.

Arne organised. In the movies when Bond arrives in a foreign city and sees a man who arranges everything - that man was Arne. But he was also, contrary maybe to his image, a sensitive and skilled politician. In central Europe the great task before international euroscepticism was to build a resistance that was patriotic, free market and politically moderate. The accusation levelled against its opponents by the EU was that its opponents wanted the USSR back.

Within the EU he found allies in Scandinavia and, more importantly, Britain. Not only were the British eurosceptics conservative rather than tired old communists, but they were also willing to put their hands in their pockets to help pay for the necessary materiel. The Scandinavians were better with energetic young manpower.

Arne was central in the organisation of many international events in many countries.

The existence of centre-right eurosceptic politics in much of central Europe owes a massive amount to the matchlighting of those early years.

Without a title, Arne was the main figure in the "No" side in the accession referendum in Estonia.

If what Arne did was still done, Europe might be slightly different. We might be different.

Arne Otter was one of the great heroes of the international eurosceptic movement. For me he was the dearest friend. He was taken from us by illness.

Arne was Estonian. Many British people of the eurosceptic cause will still define Estonia as being "where that Arne Otter comes from". Whenever anyone asks me about my personal or political involvement with Estonia, about the referendum or my house, whenever they ask, "why Estonia?", the story begins with meeting Arne Otter.

Everyone remembers the day they met Arne Otter. Everyone has an Arne story. Everyone can do an Arne impersonation.

Arne was larger than life. But sadly, like so many of those great men whose names go down in history, he died young. He always reminded me of T. E. Lawrence's description of Auda: his life was a saga and everyone in it heroic.

Arne was a big man with a big heart. He loved his country in a way that was unfashionable with the elite: he was a eurosceptic and paid the price. Some men believe what it is advantageous to believe while others believe what is true. Although all insults and unpopularity seemed to bounce off him. *Seemed to*, but closer friends knew a man of incredible sensitivity. Men of integrity ignore the folly of fashion and the pain of vilification just the same.

In political terms Arne made a mark on his small country, yet too few will praise him for it. The international involvement in the EU-accession referendum was almost entirely down to the work he had done over the years, the networks he laid down and the trust he built.

The euro-optimists would have said that Estonian eurosceptics were isolated, so Arne brought people from Europe, Britain and USA. They would have said eurosceptics were all communists, so he brought friends of Lady Thatcher and even messages from her. They would have said that rejection of EU-rule meant you wanted Moscow rule, so Arne brought patriots from many nations.

There is growing up an internationally-minded, patriotic, free-market euroscepticism in Estonia today. Today, some very, very wise men now see what has been going wrong. Today, Arne knew these things fifteen or twenty years ago even though he was alone. *Sirs*, we see today but we stand on the shoulders of a giant, and that giant is called Otte.

Big men never take themselves too seriously. This year Tartu will miss its favourite Father Christmas. What about *that* Postimees newspaper advert? (Sadly, you had to be there.)

People were no longer ordinary once they became friends with Arne, it was impossible to go anywhere near him without having an adventure. The English language took on a new colour. Not even a mobile phone could be ordinary in the hands of Arne Otter.

Such has been Arne's notoriety that even as the cock crowed, people denied knowing him. Shiny clever people ridiculed him and said he was wrong but now we know he was right - on EU and other matters. Their names are already forgotten but Arne Otter's name will not so easily be forgotten. People who ran away will say they knew Arne. Many did know him and stood by him because he was a loyal friend with time and energy for his fellow man, for students, for neighbours, for Tartu. Many people will stand by his grave and say thanks.

The proudest thing I ever whispered to the world was that I am a friend of Arne Otter.

Arne has left a wife, Tatjana, a son, Jaan and a daughter, Anne-Liis. They have our sympathy but to have had a father like Arne is also something to envy.

## Contributors



**Rupert Matthews** became MEP for the East Midlands in July 2017 following many years of campaigning on behalf of local people across the region.

Prior to his election, Rupert worked in publishing writing a wide variety of children's and history books. He is now the Conservative candidate for Police and Crime Commissioner in Leicestershire and Rutland.



**Hjörtur J. Guðmundsson** has studied Iceland's relations with the European Union for almost two decades, alongside international free trade. He has written extensively on these subjects, both for foreign but mainly domestic publications and websites as well as giving presentations both in Iceland and abroad. Currently he works as a journalist and on various research projects but previous to that he was active in the conservative Independence Party (Sjálfstæðisflokkurinn) sitting on the foreign affairs committees of both the party itself and its youth branch. He holds a Master's degree in international relations with focus on European Studies and Defence and Security Studies.



**Georges Berthu** has been a background contributor to this paper. A longstanding associate of leading French *souverainiste* Philippe de Villiers, whose presidential campaign he ran in 1995. He was a prominent Eurosceptic MEP and a leading figure in the Mouvement pour la France.

We are similarly grateful for input from the **l'Observatoire de l'Europe** (<https://www.observatoiredeleurope.com/>), a resource centre based in France that reviews European integration from an EU-critical angle.



**Philippe Joly** was born in France and was educated at Skema Business School in Nice.

He has been living in the United Kingdom for 15 years and he is a financial analyst in the City of London.



**Ethan Thoburn** is Deputy Chairman of South Tyneside Conservatives and an Area Officer in the North East of England, where he is standing for Council in 2021, as well as running the campaign for the Conservative candidate for the Northumbria Police and Crime Commissioner. He has previously campaigned and worked with Vote Leave and Leave Means Leave as well as other think tanks and Conservative Party groups. A recently graduated student In Economics and Politics, he is passionate about carrying on Margaret Thatcher's legacy of political and economic freedom in Britain and the rest of the world with free market policies and social conservatism, as well as of course leaving the EU.



**Robert Oulds** MA, FRSA, is the longstanding Director of the Bruges Group, the respected think tank which since 1989 has been at the forefront of the debate about the UK's relationship with the EU and the wider world. The President of the Bruges Group was the former Prime Minister, the late Baroness Margaret Thatcher. He is the author of *Montgomery and the First War on Terror*, *Knife Edge: Montgomery and the Battle of the Bulge*, and of *Everything You Wanted to Know About the EU But Were Afraid to Ask*. Amongst other works he is also the co-author of *Moralitis: a Cultural Virus*. He was honoured to be the Standard Bearer and Treasurer for his local branch of the Royal British Legion (RBL). Robert regularly appears on the television and the radio debating topical issues.



**David Wilkinson** came into the international anti-EU movement when the Maastricht Treaty appeared, recruited to CIB by the legendary Marie Endean. He took an active role in the Newbury and Christchurch by-elections with Alan Sked, was a founder-member of UKIP, and became one of Jens-Peter Bonde's circle. His first serious international campaign was the Finnish accession referendum and, having met Sir James Goldsmith in the European Parliament, was one of the first employees his Referendum Party. He went to Brussels and, in cooperation with Sir James and Jens-Peter's group in the EP founded *These Tides* magazine. This magazine covered and assisted anti-EU movements in the applicant countries. He took a role in the Estonian campaign and settled there. He has supported anti-EU organisations since and was recently employed as an advisor to Central European eurosceptics in the European Parliament. He broke from his studies for ordination in the Church of England to serve in the leave campaign based in the Bruges Group campaign office in Ealing.

*Images for Hugh Gaitskill and Charles de Gaulle are taken from Wikipedia, with that of CdG sourced from the Bundesarchiv donation. Those for Davíð Oddsson and Ragnar Arnalds are from the website of (and ©) the Alþingi. Those of Robert Oulds and Ethan Thoburn are courtesy of the Bruges Group and the authors. Those of Sir James Goldsmith and Georges Berthu are courtesy of and copyright the European Parliament. That of Margaret Thatcher is curtesy Wikipedia and the Thatcher Estate. Those of Arne Otter and David Wilkinson are courtesy of These Tides magazine.*

