DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Welcome, thank you. Welcome, to the BBC’s Radio Theater for tonight’s live debate of Britain’s membership of the European Union between the Deputy Prime Minister and leader of the Liberal Democrats, Nick Clegg, and Nigel Farage, leader of the UK Independence Party. Now the rules for this are fairly simple. Each will make a one minute opening statement, and they have one minute to start off the debate on every topic we cover. And at the end of the hour, another minute each to summarize their position. Questions are going to come from our audience here, who have been chosen to represent both side of the case and undecideds as well, also from emails. And neither side of course, has seen the questions in advance. Now if you want to join the debate, use the hashtag Europe Debate, that’s one word, or go to the BBC’s web page, where you can also find scrutiny of the arguments being put forward. BBC dot co dot UK slash politics is the site. And Nigel Farage and Nick Clegg drew straws to decide who should start, and Nigel Farage drew the short or the long straw depending on his view, I don’t know which, but anyway, he is going to start. Mister Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: Thank you. It's forty years since the BBC debated this great question. The one thing that has remained the same of course is David Dimbleby, well almost. But apart from that everything's changed because in those days we were asked to stay part a common market. It was all about trade if you remember. Well it wasn't true, and we find ourselves today part of a political union. We find most of our laws being made somewhere else. We find it’s all rather expensive, and we have open door immigration. Indeed if you put to a referendum today would we join that union? overwhelmingly we would say no. And there’s now a clear settled majority opinion in this country which says, Look, we’re not anti European. We want to trade with Europe, cooperate with Europe, and get on well with our next door neighbors, but we don't want a part of political union. There’s an obstacle, though. And the obstacle is here tonight in the form of Nick Clegg. It's the career political class and their friends in big business. They want us to keep this status quo. And I want Britain to get up off its knees, let's govern ourselves again, stand tall and trade with the world.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: Tonight I'm going to ask you to remember just one thing. If it sounds too good to be true, then it probably is. You’ve just heard it from Nigel Farage, you’ll hear it from him all evening. He'll say that we could quit the European Union, we could isolate ourselves in the world and still protect jobs, still protect trade, still punch above our weight. That we can have all the good things of being in Europe without actually being in Europe. It’s a dangerous con. Because the modern world has changed. Our economies are now intertwined with each other. We have to work with other country's to protect jobs, to protect trade, to make sure that Britain is richer, stronger, and safer. And for us as a country to thrive and prosper we should do what we do at our best, not walk away but to work with others and lead. Because in an uncertain world there is strength in numbers. That is why we should remain in the European Union.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Right, let’s go to our first question, which comes from Hanna Lippet. For many, staying or leaving the EU is a question of personal principle. What principles do you both base your viewpoints on? What principles do you your base your viewpoints on? Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: What's best for Britain, quite simply. And I just think in this, in this modern world, where there are so many things that we can’t do on our own you can deal with climate change on your own, you can’t go after criminals across borders on your own, you can’t deal with terrorism on your own. We have to, we have to compete to make sure people invest in our country to create jobs. All of that means that we get more out of the world by working together with other countries. Now if you do what Nigel Farage recommends and you isolate Britain, a sort of Billy no mates Britain, well it’d be worse now, it would be a Billy no jobs Britain, a Billy no influence Britain. Working together with others is not a bad thing, it actually strengthens us it doesn't weaken us.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: Hanna, I spent 20 years in business, I'm not a career politician, I got involved in this because I realized with the succession of treaties that we were signing up to we were giving away our birthright. We’ve giving away the ability to govern ourselves, and the principle that drives my entire political career is I believe the best people to govern Britain are the British people themselves. And I have to say democracy matters. Generations before us fought and died to defend it, and you cannot be a democratic self governing nation and a member of this political European Union. I don't want to be isolated, Nick, far from it. I want us to trade with Europe, and cooperate with Europe. There is nowhere else in the world where you have to be in political union to do business with each other. I want a modern business approach but one that is based on patriotic values. Let's be an independent United Kingdom, and when we succeed in doing that, I want the rest of Europe to free themselves from the European Union too.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Of course he says. He says this is too good to be true.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well it's not because if you think about it I mean the only countries in the European Time Zone Ukraine and Belarus are the only ones that haven't got free trade. When we joined the common market, when you hosted that debate, we were living in a world of tariffs, high manufacturing tariffs. That’s all disappeared with globalization, and we now find ourselves actually incapable of making our own trade deals with the emerging economies of the world. So trade with Europe, and don't forget they sell us more than we sell them, trade with Europe, but let's open ourselves up to a bigger twenty first century world.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): The question of course was about principles, not I suppose the practicalities.

NICK CLEGG: I think the values which was Hannah's question, the values are, how do you in a modern world where, where there are so many threats challenges and yes opportunities in the modern world how do you make sure that we keep ourselves safe, that we keep ourselves safe, that we keep ourselves strong, that we have jobs in this country. You know, if you don't want to believe me, or even Nigel Farage just listen to the people, today who employ seven hundred thousand of our fellow citizens in the burgeoning British car industry, they could not have been clearer, ninety two percent to them said It would be crazy to leave the European Union by the way these are the car manufacturers Nigel Farage said last week produced poor cars. They produce brilliant cars, and they export them to the rest of the European Union. And they said don't pull out the rug from under our industry. It means that more people be unemployed. I'm simply not prepared to see joblessness go up. If you really want perhaps the most important value of all, it's keeping people in work, giving people pay packets, hard cash in their pockets, so they can look after themselves and their own families.

NIGEL FARAGE: Nick, Nick that report that KPMG report. What you should have done is to read the small print. I know you’re keen on things like that from last week. And what the small print said was that actually sixty two percent of the people that were surveyed in that British car manufacturer interview, they want serious reform within the European Union if they’re going to stay as members. So far from the top line being true, two thirds of them are saying unless we get reform, then the time has come to leave the EU.

NICK CLEGG: But how do you reform something if you just simply walk away from it? This is the problem, time and time again Nigel Farage has had the opportunity, as have other British MEPs to stand up for Britain to vote, for instance, for cuts in the budget to vote for British business. Tomorrow there's a vote in the European Parliament, I’m not sure if Nigel Farage is going to vote for it, which would eliminate all the roaming charges that everybody, we all face when we go on holiday elsewhere. Just imagine no, no more those extortionate roaming charges when you go on holiday when you want to send a text, when you want to make a call. That's something he could actually do in Europe, but time and time and time again when he has the opportunity to do it, he doesn't. If you want to reform something, you’ve got to lead within it.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Let’s not, let’s not get bogged down too much in the detail of sixty five percent here and the number of just yet, at this stage. I’m sure you’ll have a chance to bog yourself down in detail later if you want to. But I want to take this question, from Charles Hudson please. How can Britain face up to international challenges like Russian intervention in Crimea without the political weight which comes from being part of the European Union? So political weight coming from the European Union. Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: By not becoming a political union with an expansionist foreign policy, with an aim to militarize as quickly as they can. Indeed Baroness Cathy Ashton the British a commissioner is pushing very hard for a European air force and for a series of drones and if you actually look at what's happened with the Ukraine, we've had a message that’s been sent out now for ten years and this is not just the EU indeed David Cameron, Nick Clegg and, and I'm afraid Ed Miliband too, have all been saying to the Ukraine, look why don't you come and join the European Union while you're at, why don't you join NATO, too. And this is something that has been seen by Putin to be a deeply provocative act. We have given false hope to those Western Ukrainians, and did you see them with their EU flags and their banners? They actually toppled a democratically elected leader. Yes I know Ukraine's corrupt, I know he wasn't perfect, but they topple the leader and I do not want to be part have an emerging expansionist EU foreign policy. I think it will be a danger to peace.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: Well, I have to say, listening to that, it seems that if I’m the leader of the party of In, Nigel Farage is the leader of Putin. And it’s just extraordinary…

NIGEL FARAGE: Really?

NICK CLEGG: That his loathing of the European Union is so all consuming that he is now seeking to justify and defend the actions of a man, Vladimir Putin, who, let’s not you know, let’s, Ukraine is one thing. Look what's happening in Syria. He is the only man on the planet who with one telephone call to to President Assad the most brutal dictator the world could actually help bring the participants to that awful awful conflict to the negotiating table. There are two hundred people dying in Syria, being mowed down in Syria, been killed in Syria every single day and Nigel Farage says he admires he admires the way that Vladimir Putin has played, as if it's a game is if it’s a game, the terrible humanitarian catastrophe in Syria he admires how Vladimir Putin has behaved there. That is why I think Nigel Farage’s position is absolutely indefensible.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well Nick, you, as Prime Minister were happy to go and bomb Libya. You did that and three and a half years on the situation in Libya is worse than it was.

You were absolutely hell bent on getting involved militarily in the war in Syria and I personally am delighted, we didn't go to war in Syria, and we’re not going to get involved I hope in military conflict in the Ukraine. The British people have had enough of endless foreign military interventions. The situation in the Ukraine in Syria in Libya these aren’t simple black and white issues and just to assume that if you support the rebels you're supporting the good guys frankly flies in the face of history.

NICK CLEGG: That’s not the point, that’s not the point…

NIGEL FARAGE: And we should not we should not be intervening. And I am not, I don’t admire Putin, what I said was, he’d outwitted and outclassed you all, over Syria. I also said, I didn't like him as a human being, and I wouldn't want to live in Russia.

NICK CLEGG: I’m not asking, I’m not asking…

NIGEL FARAGE: What I want us to do, is let’s not meddle, let’s not meddle.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Hang on, just before you go on. You did actually say, you admired him.

NIGEL FARAGE: As an operator, not a human being.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): The question was which current word leader do you most admire? As an operator, I would say Putin .

NIGEL FARAGE: Yes, and I then went on to say, David, that as a human being, and with what he was doing, imprisoning journalists, I did not support the man…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Can I just address Nick Clegg’s point?

NICK CLEGG: But can I just say, can I just answer?

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): about that Putin could have made one telephone call to Assad, and that would have stopped.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well I think if Putin had not pointed out, that the use of sarin gas had not necessarily come from the Assad regime.

NICK CLEGG: Aw, Come on…

NIGEL FARAGE: if he hadn't done that I suspect the backbench rebels would not have defeated you Nick.

NICK CLEGG: Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: In stopping us, from going to war. You wanted us to go to war again.

NICK CLEGG: No.

NIGEL FARAGE: I'm pleased the your backbenchers voted against you, and Putin, I don't like the man but he contributed to that debate.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg, your turn.

NICK CLEGG: Listen, he, President Assad denied that chemical weapons

existed. It now transpires that he had the largest stockpile of these abominable weapons anywhere on the planet. Now let's be quite clear about what Nigel Farage said. He said, about Putin, the way he played the whole Syria thing, Brilliant as if it's a game. This isn't some sort of pub bar sort of discussion. This is a serious issue about how we stop the slaughter, the displacement of millions of people. Women and children being sexually abused. Terrible violence on unimaginable scale and all that Nigel Farage can say, all he can say, is he’s played it brilliantly. This is a, this is an issue where quite rightly, we in Britain because we see this devastating humanitarian crisis on our television screens we want to work with others to do something about it. Nigel Farage doesn’t want to work the Americans…

NIGEL FARAGE: No.

NICK CLEGG: He doesn’t want to work with the rest of Europe, he only wants to side with Vladimir Putin, Who's the only man…

NIGEL FARAGE: No.

NICK CLEGG: as I say with one telephone call who could bring this bloody conflict to an end.

NIGEL FARAGE: Nick.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): So Nick Clegg, sorry, just a, Nick Clegg, can you, can you come back to question that Charles Hudson asked, then? In what sense do we have political weight from being part of the European union, and to what success in Syria or Ukraine do you point that justifies it? .

NICK CLEGG: Look, We are part in the European Union, Charles asked the question, of what is the world's largest economy. Right? 500 million people, shoppers, who could buy our goods, who could buy our services. But they don't only buy our goods and services, and contrary to what you’ve just heard from Nigel Farage, we export 50% of the things we produce to the European Union.

NIGEL FARAGE: No, we don’t.

NICK CLEGG: They only export 8% to us. But crucially, they buy and sell as an economic superpower…

NIGEL FARAGE: Haha, Oh dear.

NICK CLEGG: in this part of the world from Ukraine, from Russia, from the Middle East, from other parts of many countries in our neck of the woods. So we have huge economic clout, which of course Vladimir Putin, which of course people in the Middle East will listen to. We don't have that if we were to simply isolate ourselves and cut ourselves off from our own European neighbours.

NIGEL FARAGE: You know, I think you misunderstand the whole point of this debate is forty years on, forty years ago, it was a Common Market. Now, it’s a European Union, who wants an air force, an army, a Navy, and wants to military intervene. And indeed your senior, one of your own senior MEPs wanted missile strikes to be launched against Syria until, you know, you were beaten in the House of Commons.

NICK CLEGG: There is no…

NIGEL FARAGE: This country, this country, Nick has had enough of getting involved in endless foreign wars.

NICK CLEGG: But these are dangerous…

NIGEL FARAGE: Whether it’s you doing it, or anybody else doing it.

NICK CLEGG: These are…

NIGEL FARAGE: And there is no evidence, hang on, hang on, there is no evidence that our military intervention in these countries is making life better. As I say.

NICK CLEGG: But that’s not what Charles asked, that was not the question.

NIGEL FARAGE: With you as deputy Prime Minister, we bombed Libya and it’s worse now that it was then. And the answer to Charles’ question is, I don't want to be part of a Europe European foreign policy.

NICK CLEGG: The problem… This is a dangerous fantasy. The idea there’s going to be a European Air Force, a European Army…

NIGEL FARAGE: It’s proposed.

NICK CLEGG: Is simply not true.

NIGEL FARAGE: Oh dear, dear, dear.

NICK CLEGG: The problem, the problem with people like Nigel Farage is, they swing at windmills…

NIGEL FARAGE: What can you do?

NICK CLEGG: They see conspiracies everywhere.

NIGEL FARAGE: What can you do?

NICK CLEGG: I wouldn’t be surprised if Nigel Farage soon tells us the moon landing was a fake…

NIGEL FARAGE: What can you do?

NICK CLEGG: That Barack Obama isn't American, that Elvis isn't dead. You know…

NIGEL FARAGE: Why do you?

NICK CLEGG: It’s not going to happen.

NIGEL FARAGE: Why do you deny your Union?

NICK CLEGG: He claimed last week, He claimed last week…

NIGEL FARAGE: Why do you deny your Union, Nick?

NICK CLEGG: He claimed last week that 485 million people were going to vacate the whole of the rest of the European continent and turn up in Britain, leaving no human habitation left to the rest of Europe.

NIGEL FARAGE: Where do you?

NICK CLEGG: It is as silly as me saying that five million people living in Scotland might all move to Orpington next Tuesday. It isn't going to happen.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: Nick, Nick. When are you going to start confronting a few simple truths and stop twisting the facts, the way you did last week, and you’re doing this week? You’re doing it again. You’re saying that I said 485 million people would come to Britain. I didn’t, I said they were able to. You came up with the most twisted trade figure, I’ve ever heard.

NICK CLEGG: So…

NIGEL FARAGE: And last week you even said, you tried to tell the British people that only 7% of our national laws emanate in the European Union.

NICK CLEGG: That is true.

NIGEL FARAGE: I thought you believed in the European project. You and I both know that the whole point of the constitution, which you supported, was to make the European Union an economic and a military superpower.

NICK CLEGG: Oh, no…

NIGEL FARAGE: And now you deny…

NICK CLEGG: Yes.

NIGEL FARAGE: The fact they are trying to build a European Air force.

NICK CLEGG: It is a dangerous fantasy.

NIGEL FARAGE: It is about time, well you said…

NICK CLEGG: It’s a dangerous con.

NIGEL FARAGE: You keep using this word fantasy.

NICK CLEGG: Well it is a fantasy.

NIGEL FARAGE: I thought you were here to defend the European Union. They want an Air Force.

NICK CLEGG: I want, I also want to explain the truth and the reality…

NIGEL FARAGE: Well it’s not true is it?

NICK CLEGG: rather than this fantasy world, which you keep…

NIGEL FARAGE: Oh dear, dear, dear…

NICK CLEGG: which you keep talking about, that simply doesn’t exist. Saying that I only said 485 million people were entitled to move here is like me saying five million Scottish people are entitled to move to Orpington. It’s not going to happen.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Ok, we’ve got to move on. Can I just ask you one point, something you said a moment ago. I just want to clarify what you said, if that’s the right way to put it. You said that a democrat in the Ukraine was overthrown suggesting that you weren’t on the side of the demonstrations against Yanukovych.

NIGEL FARAGE: No, I think…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): What was your view about the shooting by snipers of the demonstrators?

NIGEL FARAGE: Look, David, my whole point is that the situation in these countries is deeply complex. There is no evidence that our intervening will make them better. I don’t want us to get involved, it’s not our business, we can’t make it better. That’s the point I’m trying to make.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Now let’s, let’s, go on. We move on next, I think, to immigration, which, is a key part, of course, of EU membership, the free movement of people, which means citizens of member states are free, as they were talking about a moment ago, to live and work in other EU countries. Kerry Francis has our first question on this subject, Kerry Francis please. Although I believe immigration is essential to all European countries' economies, it needs to be controlled and I'm concerned the UK's infrastructure can't cope with the current high levels. How would you address that? Concern that the UK’s infrastructure can’t cope with present levels, Nick Clegg?

NICK CLEGG: I think you're right, Kerry, to make sure

to highlight that we need to make sure that as people move into this country and

indeed as they move out about one

and a half million people from elsewhere in the European Union have come to our country

since 2004, about half of those have gone back home. There are

about one and half million Brits elsewhere in the European Union so there are people

moving in and out. You need to make sure, as you say, that the checks we’ve got in place the

infrastructure we’ve got in place, the support from our public services

is in place. That's one of the reasons for instance that we’re changing, and

have changed dramatically in this coalition government the benefit rules

so people can’t just turn up and claim benefits, no questions asked no strings

attached on the first day that they arrive. It's why I think we should reinstate

the exit checks that were taken away by previous governments so we can count

people out just as well as counting people in. But we’ve got to be absolutely clear

that, that this is a two way street and it is really important

to create jobs in this country. 1 in 7 of all businesses in this country

have been established by people who have come from elsewhere in the world to pay

their taxes and to put more into the coffers rather than to takeout.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: Yeah I think the impact on public services isn’t really discussed enough here. It’s interesting. When the labor government predicted 13,000 people extra would come a year from Eastern Europe.

and Nick Clegg

wrote in The Guardian don't worry chaps it'll just be a wee

trickle, we saw a migratory wave come to Britain we could never

have predicted. and we’re still in that territory I'm afraid,

because the big increase in net migration last year

came almost solely from the European Union. and we have of course in the euro

zone some very perilous problems in Spain and Italy, and the difficulty is

we can't plan anything because we don't know how many are going to come. we can’t plan

anything.

we have a chronic problem in schools, with the National Audit Office saying we need

we need to make

a quarter of a million new primary school places immediately and housing,

goodness me, we need to build a house every seven minutes

just to cope with immigration into this country.

so whichever way you look at it we have got huge problems with a population

over which we have no control at all.

NICK CLEGG: Of course, Cary, as ever it's simply not true to say

that anyone can come here. people can only come here from the European Union and stay here, and stay here,

if they want to support themselves, if they want to work

if they are students. I'm just simply saying that we need to have a

level headed debate. it’s a really

difficult debate. there’s a lot of people are really anxious, about immigration. But let me just show you,

I told about the way that the UKIP had said that 29 Romanians and Bulgarians might come to this country

when there aren’t even 29 million Bulgarians and Romanians in those two countries.

This let me show you this is a leaflet from UKIP. It's a

picture of a very unhappy looking

Native American and it says he used to ignore immigration,

now he lives on a reservation. the suggestion being

that if we ignore immigration the British people will be cooped up on a reservation. Nigel Farage, we are not, by staying in the European Union, we are not going to be cooped up on a Native American reservation.

What are you going to say next, that you’re Crazy Horse or Sitting Bull?

We've got to have a level headed debate about these things.

NIGEL FARAGE: I don’t know that leaflet, Nick, but.

NICK CLEGG: It’s your leaflet…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Hang on, hang on. Do you want to comment, briefly, on that?

NIGEL FARAGE: Yeah, I don't recognise that leaflet, but I will say this to you.

NICK CLEGG: It’s your leaflet, look.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well all sorts of things get put out but I don't recognize that leaflet, And I certainly wouldn’t endorse its sentiments. But I would say this. that it’s actually bad news

for ordinary British workers and families

that we've had over the course of the last decade because of an excess in the

labor market, a model that benefits the labor market,

we‘ve had wage compression where wages have gone down by 14 percent in real terms

since 2007. We’ve had a doubling of youth unemployment.

it's good for the rich because it's cheaper nannies and cheaper chauffeurs

and cheaper gardeners,

but it's bad news for ordinary Britons. we need to have a control

on immigration, over the numbers that come here and over the quality of people that

come here.

And I don't want us to discriminate against India

and New Zealand because we have an open door to Bulgaria and Romania.

let's have an immigration policy based on quality, and people will support it.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg, I don’t want to get into the numbers because you didn’t answer the nub of the question, by using the pamphlet. Which was about infrastructure.

NICK CLEGG: Yes.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): About housing, about schools…

NICK CLEGG: Absolutely.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): about the NHS. What’s you answer to that? And the ratio of immigration to the services that as a society we provide?

NICK CLEGG: Kerry’s absolutely right. Where for instance a school has more people, more parents

applying to have their children go to school because of a

change in the local population

central government must and does give more money to those schools.

There are about 96% of all people in social housing in this country

are a British. 90% of all the new employment

created in our country over the last year have gone to British

citizens. So all I'm saying is yes this is an important issue, Kerry.

yes we should support public services where there are pressures. yes let's make sure

that our border checks

work properly. but let's not, let’s not indulge in dangerous scaremongering. Dangerous scaremongering. It simply will not come about.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): No housing problem, no schools problem, no NHS problem, in your view?

NICK CLEGG: Of course there are always problems…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): because of immigration.

NICK CLEGG: when you have people. And by the way this is not just in Europe.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): When you have what, sorry?

NICK CLEGG: The idea

that there will be no problems at all, if you are not part of the European Union.

There are countries on the other side of the planet where people move

from one country to another. You can’t simply wish away the fact that people down

down the centuries have moved from one country to the next. What you need

to make sure is that people play by the rules, they don't exploit our generosity through benefits,

we support public services and we make sure that we create jobs in our country which go to the many British people who need them.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: I'm sorry Nick the whole point is we have no idea how many people are coming here

from the European Union next year

the year after or the year after that because and I repeat unconditionally

we have an open door to 485 million people. and many of them, and

I feel sorry for them because they're living in poor,

former communist countries and others who

took up the ideas of people like yourself and stupidly joined the euro

are now finding themselves forced into poverty and I fear

there is going to be a very big migratory wave from the Mediterranean

into Britain over the next few years. indeed there was a report out this

morning from migration watch that said even at current numbers we've got to build a new

city the size at Manchester to cope with immigration over the next four

to five years. And what I want, is for us to get back control of our borders.

NICK CLEGG: The population of Manchester is…

NIGEL FARAGE: and be selective about who comes here.

NICK CLEGG: Just and interesting thing. We’ve heard it again, more dangerous scaremongering.

The population of Manchester, of greater Manchester, is 2.7 million. It is a nonsense, that 2.7 million people are going to come here. Only 1.5 million, have come since 2004, Kerry. And half of those have gone back home.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Pause a moment, because I said we had two questions on immigration. This is the second one from Simon Lock, which came into our website. Do you consider the social impact of unlimited EU immigration to be positive or has it caused a damaging element of cultural segregation? Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: It's interesting because so often the debate on immigration is framed in terms

of economics.

you know one side claims it's a net benefit the economy

on the other side claims actually it's costing us money because

we're having to pay for primary school places. but I think the real impact

and the real upset, up and down this country, the shock, if you like

is that immigration on this scale has changed fundamentally the communities

not just of London but actually every city in every market town in this

country

and its happened rapidly over the course of the last few years. its lead to

increasing segregation

in our towns and cities which for a country that has always had a great

record

of racial harmony and integration is bad news. The worst of all, is what it’s done socially, it has left, I’m afraid,

a white working class and yes I know educationally

many have not done as well as we would like but it’s left the white working class

effectively

as an underclass and that I think is a disaster for our society.

NICK CLEGG: I think this really does get down to the sort of nub of it, Simon’s question.

because it is actually about our, Nigel Farage and mine conflicting

attitudes towards modern Britain. Of course there are problems

in some parts of the country where you get a big change in the local population

but on the whole

Nigel Farage says he basically doesn’t like

modern Britain. I love the diversity

and the compassion and the outward facing values

of modern Britain and I think we should be celebrating that

not denigrating, and not turning the clock back, not turning the clock back on this

issue.

not turning the clock back as Nigel Farage has done by saying the people who

are gay

are not allowed to get married, not turn the clock back on women's rights. Nigel Farage just said

that women

are worth far less…

NIGEL FARAGE: No, I didn’t.

NICK CLEGG: in the workplace if they want to have children

not turn the clock back by saying that climate change is some conspiracy.

let's, let's go with the grain of what modern Britain is

not pretend that we somehow can turn the clock back to some nineteenth century

bygone age which simply doesn't exist

anymore.

NIGEL FARAGE: But Nick, but Nick, it is the duty of government to make sure that its own citizens have

got the best chance for advancement that is possible. I mentioned the white working

class. I could have course in London, have mentioned the Afro Caribbean community

fifty percent of whose youngsters

are currently unemployed. what I mean, I can understand why big business supports

you

because what you've done is given us a cheap labor economy.

NICK CLEGG: Small business is…

NIGEL FARAGE: Now that will be very very good for big business

very good for rich people to take on servants but it has not been good

for the people at the bottom of society and we need to find a way

to give people at the bottom society and to give our young people

jobs.

NICK CLEGG: It’s all very well, it’s all very well…

NIGEL FARAGE: and we will not do with an open door immigration policy…

NICK CLEGG: No, look…

NIGEL FARAGE: to southern and Eastern Europe.

NICK CLEGG: It’s all very well…

NIGEL FARAGE: That is about putting Britain and British people first.

NICK CLEGG: No, it’s all very well… it's all very well for Nigel Farage to sort of pontificate from the sidelines of his

taxpayer funded job in Brussels

this government has had to sort out…

NIGEL FARAGE: Ha, ha, ha.

NICK CLEGG: the biggest mess in our economy in a generation. We've created 1.6 million

jobs, ninety percent a new employment over the last year has gone to British

people

we’re giving people huge tax cuts by raising the point at which you stop

paying

income tax. We’ve expanded apprenticeships for young British people

who need to get into work on a scale never seen before. that's the kind of…

NIGEL FARAGE: What about the argument?

NICK CLEGG: that's real solutions for the world…

NIGEL FARAGE: What?

NICK CLEGG: in the way that it is. not fantasy solutions for a world that doesn’t exist anymore.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): What about the argument that the white working class has been left behind, which Nigel Farage made?

NICK CLEGG: I think you always have a problem in a fast moving world in an economy which

changes, you particularly have a problem where peoples’ skills

are no longer needed because technology moves forward because investors need new

things.

that's why what we need to do is expand apprenticeships, expand training

make sure the people who do come here for instance speak the language

I agree we must make sure people speak the language.

NIGEL FARAGE: How are you going to do that? That would be against European Union rules. you

can't do that you haven't got this power.

NICK CLEGG: Yes, we do.

NIGEL FARAGE: You haven’t you got this control.

NICK CLEGG: Yes, we do.

NIGEL FARAGE: I would be all for, Nick…

NICK CLEGG: Yes, we do.

NIGEL FARAGE: an immigration policy based on people speaking English,

having skills , and being law abiding citizens. we do not have that power…

NICK CLEGG: Yes, we do.

NIGEL FARAGE: as members of the European Union.

NICK CLEGG: Yes…

NIGEL FARAGE: and that’s the truth of it.

NICK CLEGG: Well, it…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel, are you done on that, so we’ll move on, if you are. Yeah?

NIGEL FARAGE: Yeah.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Just a word, we’re sort of halfway through. You can join in this debate by tweeting your thoughts using the hashtag Europe debate, on word, or go to the BBC’s live webpage at BBC dot co dot UK forward slash politics. Right, now, we come to one of the biggest issues, perhaps, of the European Union. We’ve touched on it, which is the economy and the effect on the economy. And Jeremy Nicholson is here, with a question on that. Jeremy? I work for manufacturing industries who want to remain as part of a single European market. But their competiveness is being undermined by costly environment, climate, energy, and social regulations. Can the EU reform itself in these areas without Britain threatening to withdraw? Can the EU reform itself without Britain threatening to withdraw? Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: Yes, I think it can, I think it can. but as I said earlier, you can only reform something

if you are prepared to, put your shoulder into it and

and lead. and that's why I don't think simply isolating ourselves is going to lead

to the reforms as well. I want more trade, I want less bureaucracy, I want less red tape. That’s why I’m very

pleased with the fact, because I've always felt those just too much red tape, by the way not just

European red tape but also national red tape on

on small companies and that's why we've as a government

actually negotiated a complete moratorium on new red tape

European red tape being imposed on small British companies and indeed small

companies across the European Union. We need to go further. it's why I want to see us

complete these big trade talks with America, for instance, which would be worth

over 400 pounds to every single individual in this country, would be worth

billions of pounds for the European Union as a whole and for British business. but you

only you only measure up, you only have the clout to negotiate on an equal footing

with a big economic superpower like the United States if you're prepared to be

part of a economic superpower on this side of the Atlantic. Simply hovering

somewhere in the middle

in the mid atlantic neither one side or the all the other isn’t going to help

British business in the end.

NIGEL FARAGE: The answer is No. I see no prospect of the European Union

changing its environmental policies. The belief

in Brussels that global warming is happening is absolute. Now weather they’re

right or not

is actually irrelevant because what Europe has done

is declared unilateralism. We will unilaterally

make sure that every consumer has expensive electricity

and we’ll make it as difficult as possible for our manufacturing industries

to survive. Think about this country, you know, we are responsible for something under

2% of the world's global CO2 emissions

And right at the very moment when the Chinese

and the Indians have gone for coal on a scale we can’t

fathom, and are building four new coal fired power stations every week

and the Americans have gone for shale gas meaning

that their gas and electricity prices are less than half that they are in this country.

we’ve gone for wind energy and expensive costs

for industry and we’re losing our manufacturing base for this

simple reason. 40% percent of the cost an average factory

is its energy prices and I, you know,

there is no way we can combat global CO2 emissions

without the Indians and Chinese in the Americans working with us

this active unilateralism is damaging British industry.

NICK CLEGG: the real problem about the way in which energy is priced

and imported into Europe is actually our over reliance

on oil and gas from Nigel Farage’s friend, Vladimir Putin.

That's the problem is that there are too many European countries who are only importing

oil and gas from Russia

that means we basically have our energy policy set by other people

it means there’s great volatility in the prices. that's why I think we need to have actually

closer cooperation between European

countries. the national grid in this country for instance has estimated that

if we build new

interconnectors between ourselves and our European neighbors we could reduce

the cost of

energy in this country by 13% percent.

NIGEL FARAGE: No.

NICK CLEGG: That is a major savings. This idea that we can

be completely isolated on the one hand

and then have Europe over dependent on russian oil

oil and gas is somehow a solution to a long term needs

never mind the need to deal with climate change is a complete and dangerous fantasy.

NIGEL FARAGE: It’s interesting, Nick, that you didn't tackle wind energy, did you?

Many of our leading politicians have family members who are

or who have been associated with the Wind Energy industry. It's very very good for

rich people

very good indeed. If you’re a land owner, and you get a thousand pounds a day by just putting

wind turbines on your land.

isn't that great. and the fact is we’ve committed ourselves to something

that has made the rich richer the poor poorer…

NICK CLEGG: No.

NIGEL FARAGE: has not actually helped the environment at all

and is putting British industry, aluminum smelting

steelmaking cement making its leaving our shores

and going to other parts of the world.

NICK CLEGG: It’s just a…

NIGEL FARAGE: but don't abide with these rules…

NICK CLEGG: Nigel…

NIGEL FARAGE: and it’s bad for Britain.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): What steps would you take about climate change, if you were outside the EU? What would you like to see happen?

NIGEL FARAGE: Well I think that the,

in terms of energy production, I mean clearly nuclear energy

is the carbon free way of providing electricity.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Any more?

NIGEL FARAGE: but it takes a long time to get nuclear going and I want cheap energy, Nick and I tell you what.

in the northwest of England

we are sitting on a shale gas field that is

absolutely huge. if we do what the Americans have done

we can bring down the price of energy by nearly 50%.

NICK CLEGG: Shale, look…

NIGEL FARAGE: and I would say let's not look a gift horse in the mouth, scrap wind

energy

scrap the subsidies, scrap the money for the rich landowners. let's

get fracking in the short term and let's make sure we can give industry

and ordinary people value for money.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick, I’m going to…

NICK CLEGG: Just a small point…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): I’m going to move on, because I’m trying to keep an even balance between the two of you and you slightly have the edge, I was going to say, but I don’t know you’ve spoken a bit more than Mister Farage has so far. So let’s go to this question, from Natalie Towers, please. What would the effects be on the UK’s bargaining position in trade negotiations if we no longer a part of the EU That’s one for you to start on, Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: It’s very interesting actually one of the things that's been sold right from the

start

is we have to be part of a big club to have clout, that’s the word Nick uses,

to have clout on the world stage in trade.

do you know when the world trade organization meets to discuss global

trade

the British representative is not allowed to speak.

and there have been occasions on which the British representative

has been asked to leave the room, whilst Guatemala,

and everybody else, are allowed to be there. we have given away our ability

to make our own trade deals with the rest of the world. We now rely, on an

unelected Dutch bureaucrat, who I but nobody in this room could name,

and he's now in charge, not just of the UK's trade policy

but of it for another 27 different countries. and I

personally think, that if we did what Switzerland do, or Iceland do,

we’d be able to negotiate our own trade deals. And those little countries

have done deals with japan, and with China which we haven't managed to do

as part of the European Union. we have no influence globally as part of a

European Union

on global trade talks.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: Natalie where are you? I can’t, ah, there you are. I think it would be very detrimental indeed

to the United Kingdom, to us, if we were to

seek to renegotiate the 50 trade agreements that we have

by way of our membership with the European Union. We’d have to, on top of that renegotiate with

27 other countries within the European Union, so that’s 77 countries you have to renegotiate

some, but clearly not all, of the trade access that we presently enjoy.

Look, unlike Nigel Farage, I actually stood negotiate…

NIGEL FARAGE: Hm.

NICK CLEGG: Some of these trade deals

behalf of British business and European business. It is simply not true

to say that British negotiators are not in the room. it is simply false.

It is the British Parliament that

ratifies these agreements, but crucially, here’s the point. What kind of world, do we think we live in? Nigel Farage thinks, that we live in a world where we can cut

ourselves off

we can be isolated and that we don't gain by working with other countries.

when measuring up to some of the big new powers on the global stage

India America China these countries are not going to take

us as seriously as they take the world's largest economy

of which we are a member, right now.

NIGEL FARAGE: Nick Iceland has,

Iceland has 320,000 people and

she negotiated her own free trade deal with China last year.

Switzerland has more free trade agreements with the big economies of the

world than we do

as part of the European Union. And to say we're not good enough

we're not capable of making our own trade agreements because we need to have

lots of them.

shows that you frankly don't believe in this country...

NICK CLEGG: Ugh.

NIGEL FARAGE: and don’t believe in the

ability of

the people in this country to govern themselves. Now of course…

NICK CLEGG: I’ll tell you what I don’t believe.

NIGEL FARAGE: Of course we can make our own…

NICK CLEGG: I’ll tell you what I don’t believe in…

NIGEL FARAGE: trade policy in the world, and stand on our own two feet. Of course we can do that. And to say that we can’t, I think, is defeatism.

NICK CLEGG: No, I’ll tell you what I don’t believe in.

I don't believe in the dishonesty

in saying to the British people, that we can turn the clock but, what next?

NIGEL FARAGE: No we’re going forward Nick. we’re going forward.

NICK CLEGG: Are you going to say we should return to the gold standard?

NIGEL FARAGE: No, we’re going forward. This is the twenty first century.

NICK CLEGG: Or a pre decimal currency?

We’ll get WG Grace to open the batting for England again…

NIGEL FARAGE: Oh, dear, dear, dear.

NICK CLEGG: It’s the twenty first century, it’s not the nineteenth century.

NIGEL FARAGE: Yeah, well.

NICK CLEGG: Now Nigel Farage, I’ve heard this many many times, and you’ll hear it this evening, says,

that we should be like Switzerland, or Norway.

let’s just think about that for a minute. Switzerland and Norway have to pay into the European

Union coffers, they have to obey all European Union laws.

That's why they call it fax democracy in Norway.

Everything gets decided by everybody else in Brussels. they then

have to transpose it into law, in Oslo. they

have no British MEPs, no Norwegian or Swiss MEPs or commissioners.

NIGEL FARAGE: Ah.

NICK CLEGG: They have no passport checks. they have no power whatsoever, all the rules are made by foreigners, utter powerlessness. That is how perverse, the patriotism of Nigel Farage has become, that he now advocates that we

become like two countries that have less power than we do…

NIGEL FARAGE: Ha.

NICK CLEGG: in the world's largest economy.

NIGEL FARAGE: Nick Nick Nick Nick Nick you talk about

modernity.

you are advocating the continued membership of a customs union.

it is the only customs union of any size that exists in the whole

world. it is a nineteenth century concept based on

building a club and protecting yourself against the rest the world. it is not fit

for purpose

in the twenty first century and that's why people with real experience of

economics and from a standpoint of total independence like Nigel Lawson,

say, we now need to get rid of this outdated model

a move into the modern world. The European model

is outdated, crumbling, and failing. We deserve something much much better than

that in my view.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): What do you make of the argument, What do you make of the argument that Nick put that these countries that have these relationships appear to be outside of the EU but have a trading relationship, in effect, have to do what their told by the EU, without having any voice at all within the EU?

NIGEL FARAGE: Well Mexico has a trade deal with the European Union, and if Mexico sells…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): You weren’t citing Mexico, you were citing Iceland and Switzerland.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, it wasn’t that he was citing both Norway and Switzerland. Both Norway and Switzerland sell about 75 percent of

their overseas goods to European Union countries. To maintain

free markets and to avoid an argument they pay a small subscription. Their goods…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Freedom of movement…

NIGEL FARAGE: Well that’s up to them, and the Swiss have recently voted of course to potentially…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): But the Norwegians have freedom of movement, is that correct?

NIGEL FARAGE: if we sell goods to North America we have to conform to the standards of

North America

without having a direct say over the regulations in North America.

Wherever you trade in the world, you know, if we sell motor cars to America

they have to be with the steering wheels on the other side that's just the way

that it is.

But what people who buy and sell products that is they adapt. It’s called business.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): We’ll go on. This is a question that was sent in by email, and it comes from Anne Turner. This is the question What’s the point of having a general election, when whoever we vote for, cannot do what they promise, even if they want to, while we’re dictated to by unelected bureaucrats in Europe? Where is the democracy in that? Nick Clegg?

NICK CLEGG: This, this is, Anne quite rightly sort of lifts the lid on a really important issue.

Nigel Farage says we must take

power back. I say, by being isolated, by cutting ourselves off,

making ourselves, less powerful, we will have less influence

over the world in which we inhabit.

The reality is, we can't change it, that we live in a world

in which climate change crosses borders, which criminals cross borders,

in which terrorism cross borders, in which there are challenges and opportunities

which we deal with better together than if we are apart. It’s actually funny enough,

if in a slightly different context, an argument we're now having about whether

Scotland

should remain part of the family of nations of the United Kingdom.

I believe I believe it’d be better for Scotland to be part of the family of

nations the United Kingdom not because it will rob Scotland of the identity

of Scottish nationhood but because there’s so much we can do together that we can't do

apart.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Ok, we mustn’t turn…

NICK CLEGG: Exactly the same lesson applies...

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): I don’t want to turn this into a debate on the Scottish referendum. Let’s leave that to one side, Nick Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: No, it’s Nigel, honestly.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel, sorry.

NIGEL FARAGE: I know you’re not trying to agree with either Nick…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): I try to disagree with both of you…

NIGEL FARAGE: Anne, great question. You know, Canada lives next door to America,

Japan lives next door to China they do massive amounts of business with

each other

but they have their own democracies and their own rights of self government.

general elections have been rendered frankly fairly

impotent affairs because we've given away the control of most of our country.

I was astonished last week in the first of these debates when Nick Clegg claimed

that only 7% of our laws are made in Brussels. he said it was there in the

House of Commons library note

and therefore was unequivocal. Well I’ve got the note with me, Nick,

and on page 1 it says the British government estimates

that around 50 fifty percent of UK legislation comes

from Brussels. There are other estimates, there are other estimates

coming direct from the European Commission that over 70% of our laws

are made in Brussels…

NICK CLEGG: Complete nonsense…

NIGEL FARAGE: and in Germany they reckon 84% percent of their

national laws, are made somewhere else.

It’s time we said, let’s

run our own democracies in France Britain and Germany, work

and trade together in a European club but not in a political union. Bring back

democracy.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Are you, when you say 7% or whatever…

NIGEL FARAGE: Yeah.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Are you talking about regulations or laws?

NIGEL FARAGE: Well what’s interesting…

NICK CLEGG: Maybe I can help…

NIGEL FARAGE: What is interesting…

NICK CLEGG: The report is very clear…

NIGEL FARAGE: It doesn’t include EU regulations. That’s the point.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Okay.

NICK CLEGG: It actually says two things, three things, rather. Firstly, firstly

7%, not 75%, which was the

figure cooked up fictitiously by Nigel Farage…

NIGEL FARAGE: Ha.

NICK CLEGG: 7% of our primary legislation is, derives, from the European Union.

14%, of what they call statutory instruments, those also laws but done through secondary legislation

and then they say

it's difficult to estimate exactly how many non legislative regulations are produced.

but then no one says

this fictional figure of 75% percent has any bearing in reality at all.

So all I would say is

let's have this debate not based on scaremongering,

not on some sort of dangerous fantasy or con, but actually on some of the realities that

we have, to have to face, as a modern country.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): So are there no unelected bureaucrats in Europe?

NICK CLEGG: There are…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Is there a democratic deficit?

NICK CLEGG: The total size of the European bureaucracy, this

monstrous super state that Nigel Farage talks about is about exactly the same size as

the number of people employed

by Darbyshire County Council. Some super state.

NIGEL FARAGE: Ha.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): But surely it’s what they do that matters, not the numbers.

NICK CLEGG: We’ve heard, I’ve heard, I’ve heard all evening…

NIGEL FARAGE: They’re making the laws…

NICK CLEGG: we’ve all heard all evening that

apparently the European Union’s going to have its

own army, it’s going to have its own air force…

NIGEL FARAGE: Yup.

NICK CLEGG: It's this huge super state that is trampling on our liberties

in fact the reality is 7% of our primary law

is, derives from the European Union…

NIGEL FARAGE: Oh dear, dear, dear…

NICK CLEGG: and the reality is, the bureaucracy is no bigger…

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage, your turn.

NICK CLEGG: than the people employed by Darbyshire county council.

NIGEL FARAGE: I’m sorry, I’m sorry.

I said yes to these debates, I thought you would honestly make the pro EU case.

by saying 7% of our laws are made in Brussels you are willfully

lying to the British people.

NICK CLEGG: Aw, come on.

NIGEL FARAGE: About the extent to which we have given away

control of our country and our democracy, and I'm really

shocked and surprised that you would try and do that.

NICK CLEGG: I don’t, I don't think, in a debate like this, Nigel Farage you should start

making things up to make a point.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well you’ve done rather well at it so far, Nick, haven’t you?

NICK CLEGG: No.

NIGEL FARAGE: So there we are.

NICK CLEGG: No, As I say, the House of Commons library

says 7% of our primary law is…

NIGEL FARAGE: There it is again, 7%. Dear, dear, dear, what are we going to do? I don’t know.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Alright, our fact finders at the BBC will be able to…

NIGEL FARAGE: They will.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): say whose side their on, on this. We go onto another question though, this from Sheila Campbell, please. Sheila Campbell? If the British public are deemed intelligent enough to vote for their own MP’s, then surely they are intelligent enough to decide whether to be part of the EU or not. The last referendum was forty years ago, and was on the question of trade, not on the federalization of Europe. Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: I couldn't agree more. Do you know what really matters about this

Debate, and it’s great

that we’re actually at last after forty years debating the issue, but

what really matters at the end of the day isn't what I think, or what Nick thinks,

or what the chairman thinks, or you think. It’s what the British public think,

and they should be given a free and fair referendum and the opportunity

to express that. But the problem is that, you know, the elite club of career politicians

and big businesses

don't want you to have a say, you know why?

because they think you might give the wrong answer. they think you might say no

we'd rather govern our own country and the sheer duplicity

and deception of the political class on this issue

really is a wonder to behold. You know, Nick you yourself have done it,

you know it's time for real referendum that was you

back in 2008, and when you were challenged on it last week you said read the small print

well I have read the small print and it’s totally

and absolutely clear that a referendum is vital

and there's no get out clause at all, and Nick’s turned his back on it

David Cameron gave us a cast iron guarantee of a referendum on the Lisbon

Treaty, if he became prime minister, he turned his back on it too. And Miliband, I

have no idea

frankly where he stands, it’s about time we had our say, it really is.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Alright, Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: Sheila, my, my opinion hasn't changed over

many many years, including in 2008, when we,

as a country were asked to give up new powers to the European Union.

the government of the day said you must do that,

through something called the Lisbon Treaty. so when the rules change, and

I said then, and I believe now, when the rules change, when there’s a new treaty

when you when powers which rightfully belong to you are being

given up if you like to the European Union by a government it shouldn’t be for that government to decide, it

should be for you to decide. That's why there should be

a referendum every time that happens. Now we’ve gone further

actually in this government, one of the first things we did in this government

was to translate that into law, so you now have a legal guarantee in law

that when there's a treaty, when new powers have been given up to the

European Union,

that is not going to happen over your heads, there will be a referendum. Now, Nigel Farage,

and others want a treaty today, or next Tuesday, or next Wednesday.

I think that would put the economic recovery at risk but as a

guarantee now in law that

when the rules change with new powers given up the European Union.

there will, there must, and there will be a referendum.

NIGEL FARAGE: But the trouble is, Nick, the trouble is, Nick,

nobody believes you. nobody believes you. and since you’ve been together in this

coalition government

you’ve given away a vast chunk of control over the management of our financial services

industry, our biggest employer,

you've given aid and encouragement to the formation of a European External

Action Service namely

an emerging European foreign policy, and tomorrow, well, there’s a vote in Brussels

tomorrow in the European Parliament

every single directive that gets voted on adds to the body of law

and the power and control of the European institutions.

This isn't about lines in the sand coming every five or ten to twenty years

with a treaty, this is about as the lady says a genuine anger

and anger amongst the over 57’s many of whom voted but not suggesting

you are, for a moment, by the way, but you know,

anger that they voted as my mom and dad did for common market but turned out to

be something different.

and the majority of us, you know and I’m 50 tomorrow, so I’m hardly young. Who’ve never even had the chance to express an opinion and we want to do it now.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nick Clegg, can I ask you something coming out of what you said, and the question that Sheila Campbell said, the last referendum from 40 years ago. You’ve described everything that’s happened since, the Lisbon Treaty and all those things. Why can’t there be a referendum on all the things that have happened. Why wait, for even more change before you agree to a referendum?

NICK CLEGG: I accept Sheila is not going to be satisfied with my response, if Sheila wants

a referendum now, immediately.

By the way people who don't believe there should be a referendum at all, are not going to be

satisfied with me response either.

I’ve been very clear, I’ve had the same view all the time, that

in a parliamentary democracy such as ours you don't have a referendum

every time there's a little tweak or change or amendment…

NIGEL FARAGE: It says right there…

NICK CLEGG: No,

because in 2008 when that leaflet was issued,

let’s be absolutely clear, we were being asked as a country to ratify something called the Lisbon Treaty, it was a big rewriting of the rules.

That is when you should have a referendum.

I think if we were to have a referendum right now or next week.

I think given that given we’re at such a delicate stage of our economic recovery which is so

important

I think that would be, put at peril. I'm not prepared to do that, but we’ve put into law the guarantee that there will be referendum when the rules change again.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Hold on, we must move on. We’re got one time for just one more question, which I’d like to fit in. It’s from Clive Hamilton please. Clive Hamilton. What will the EU be like in ten years? What will the EU be like in ten years? Nick Clegg.

NICK CLEGG: I think it'll be very, where are you Clive? There you are.

I suspect it'll be quite similar to what

it is now. I think if you look at the history of the

European Union, the main achievement, the main achievement has been this creation of what they,

people call the single market by the way, a

creation of Margaret Thatcher, Nigel Farage’s great heroin. it created this huge marketplace of 500 million people, who buy our goods, who trade,

completely unhindered by endless rules and I think that will remain

the absolute heart of the European Union and the fact that

over three million some people estimate over four million jobs in our country

are linked to our presence in that huge economy.

I think that is incredibly important to us that's why I think at

the end of the day the most important reason for us to remain

in the European is jobs jobs jobs. and I think that'll be the case in 10 years’ time

just as it is now.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Alright, Nigel Farage.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, Clive, the good news is, the good news is,

the most upbeat point of the night

is that in 10 years’ time we won't be members of the European Union.

we will have had our referendum, we will have got our democracy back and I

hope, and cross my fingers particularly for the sake of those people trapped in that

idiotic euro zone down in the Mediterranean. I hope that by Britain's

example, of breaking free of political union, of showing we can try to cooperate and be

friends with our neighbors

without signing away to the European Commission and others

our hard won freedoms and birthright. I hope by example

that the rest of Europe will follow us, too. We live in a Europe, of

democratic nation states that trade together, we will not

ever go to war together, and that would be a far better way

then frankly this trap, that so many of those other countries

stuck in the euro zone now find themselves in. I want the EU to end

but I want it to end democratically. if it doesn't and democratically

I'm afraid it will end very unpleasantly.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Sorry. What do you mean by very unpleasantly?

NIGEL FARAGE: Well we already David, in some countries are

beginning to see

the rise of worrying political extremism. There is a neo nazi party

in Greece that looks certain to win seats in the European

Parliament. We see in Madrid we see in Athens

you know, very large protests tens of thousands of people

a lot of violence if you take away from people their ability

through the ballot box to change their futures because they've given away

control of everything to somebody else. then I'm afraid they tend to resort to unpleasant means, and that's my big worry.

NICK CLEGG: Nigel Farage has been a Euro politician, paid for by you in Brussels, for 15 years now, and year in year out,

I actually got elected as a Euro MP on the same day as Nigel Farage…

NIGEL FARAGE: You were?

NICK CLEGG: I’ve heard the same thing now, for a decade and a half, the world’s going to come to an end, the European Union must come

to an end

everything's going to fall to bits, it hasn't happened. there are huge

difficulties

in the euro zone but the idea that it is somehow a good thing for Britain,

or a good thing for Europe to want to see it to fall, fall apart to perhaps

even predict as Nigel Farage has just done, they’ll do so

with violence on the streets across Europe and at the same time

to side Vladimir Putin on some of the biggest issues…

NIGEL FARAGE: I haven’t sided with…

NICK CLEGG: rather than our own

country and the European democracy.

we work together with, I just think is a huge difference in priorities.

I think we should be making the best of a membership of the European Union

not always seeking to destroy the things we've achieved together with other countries.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Nigel Farage?

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, Nick, I would just say this to you. That had we taken your advice

as recently as 2009, and ditch the pound

and join the euro we may well find ourself in a similar position to one or two of

those Mediterranean countries. and you may have

a strong conviction and passion for the European project

but frankly when it comes to the Euro and immigration and the effect on ordinary people's lives you been proved wrong again

again and again.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): We just have fifteen seconds before we go…

NICK CLEGG: My passion is what I think is right for

Britain in the modern world.

I don't think because of turn the clock back, to a world which doesn't exist

Anymore. I think we are,

I think we are always better when we work with other countries on issues like

climate change, I know Nigel Farage denies that climate change exists,

terrorism, crime, all the kind of things

we can't deal with on our own, in this modern world of ours.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): Alright, I suppose we better draw this to a close, because you each have a minute. I don’t know whether you’re talked out but you each have a minute for a closing statement and Nigel Farage, it’s you to go first.

NIGEL FARAGE: Thank you. This is our country.

it is a very good country. It is a country that actual developed the

principle of

parliamentary democracy. it has been given away

through a whole series of lies and deceits and even if the common market

might have been a

good idea for two years ago, it’s certainly hopelessly out of date now.

let's take back control of our country. let's control our borders

and have a proper immigration policy. let's stop giving away 55 million

pounds a day

as a membership fee to a club, that we don't need to be a part of.

Let's reembrace the big world, the twenty first century

global world. let's strike trade deals with India New Zealand

all those emerging, doing superbly, parts

of the world. let's free ourselves up and in doing so

let's give an example to the rest of Europe. I know the people

are behind this, and I would urge people, come and join the People's Army, let’s

topple the establishment, who’ve led us to this mess.

NICK CLEGG: So it's time for you to choose. There are people like, Nigel Farage, who, shun the

modern world, want to turn the clock back, to a world where it’s all so much more simple.

I don’t know.

Britain had the empire, women knew their place and stayed at home, people who were gay were

not allowed to get married, where we didn’t have to deal with complicated

things like climate change.

And then there are those of us who believe

who believe, who believe, and love modern Britain as it is today,

compassionate, diverse, outward facing

who understand that there are complexities and challenges in the modern world, but who

also understand that by working with other countries, we

deal with those challenges and we make Britain richer stronger

and safer. In short, real remedies for the way that the world

is today, not dangerous fantasies about a bygone world that no

longer exists and that is why, I'm going to do everything I can

to make sure that we remain part of the European Union because

that is how we protect the Britain that we love.

DAVID DIMBLEBY (BBC): So, that's our hour of debate over Britain and the EU to a close.

A useful debate, I hope.

I don't know whether it made things any clearer or not, but it’s very interesting

to hear the arguments put this way for and against.

For reaction and analysis, by the way, to what you have been hearing over the past hour, you can tune in to the BBC’s News Channel.

For me, it is my thanks and I will get their Christian names right this time to Nick Clegg and to Nigel Farage, and to the audience for coming here to the BBC's Radio Theatre and of course to you who have watched it at home.

I hope you have found it stimulating, enjoyable and certainly controversial.

Good night.