AM: Now Gisela Stuart, Labour’s only German MP, is also one of the party’s most prominent Eurosceptics. Oh yes, there are plenty of Labour people who want out of the EU. So far, she has been unsure which way she’s actually going to vote. Gisela, we’ll come onto that in a moment. But first of all a little bit of historical perspective. Last time there was a referendum in ’75 there was a huge horde of very prominent Labour figures. Tony Benn and Peter Shore and many more who were campaigning for us not to join the EU or the European Community as it then was. It was a big, big Eurosceptic part of the Labour Party. It’s almost vanished with a few notable exceptions, why is that do you think?

GS: But if you go back even further, 1962 Hugh Gaitskell warned of a federal state, a federal state of Europe and we kept conflating the arguments about economic advantages, jobs, sovereignty so you found in the 70s we were sitting on the fence but in essence people thought this was probably too much for business. In the mid 80s the European Union and the [inaudible] law gave us the kind of worker’s rights which Margaret Thatcher denied us, and that was the moment –

A: That was the moment when the trade unions came over.

GS: when the Labour Party suddenly became pro-European and ever since Maastricht both sides have frozen. We on the Labour side know that all we have to say to the Tories is the word ‘Europe’ and they divide and because we’re internationalists at heart it’s easier for us, so we try to divide the Tories without really re-examining where we stand.

AM: And so what is your biggest worry about Europe going ahead? Is it still the Euro itself and the integration that requires?

GS: I think it’s a historic misunderstanding what the project is about. The project was always deeper integration and post Maastricht and the creation of the single currency you no longer could widen and deepen without serious political consequences.
And in a sense for the last 15 years we've been trying to pretend that you can have one without the other. And what worries me about this referendum Andrew is that everybody keeps talking about the consequences of a No vote and we pretend that if we had a Yes vote the status quo would simply be maintained. No, it wouldn't. The Eurozone would have to integrate more deeply.

AN: Well we know from these negotiations the French are determined that the Eurozone will carry on and will integrate more, that's their big position, which means fiscal integration, means one single European tax system but can't we as Britain just stay outside all of that? We're outside the Euro, we're outside Schengen and we can carry on with our semi-detached relationship with the Eurozone?

GS: If in the Lisbon Treaty, which was the last big treaty negotiations we had actually created a non-Eurozone group and an institution that was entrenched in the treaties, an acknowledgement that there will always be some countries and not part of the Euro, then that would have been a possible scenario. The Prime Minister, when he was on your show, said his negotiations would involve treaty changes. That is not happening now. So any of his safeguards will be exceptions rather than entrenched institutional.

AM: Now you haven't made it clear yet which side you would vote for. Looking at David Cameron's negotiations and what he's got so far and what he's likely to get this week, what's your position now?

GS: Well, I'm the eternal optimist, but all I can see is the bar he's set himself was exceptionally low and I will be really surprised if when he comes back on the 22nd to the House of Commons –

AM: He's got over it.

GS: that I would say well, this is good enough.

AM: So you're leaning towards No at this point?

GS: My instincts are very much this simply isn't good enough and won't serve the British people.
AM: Jeremy Corbyn, your Leader, is making what we’re told is going to be a bold speech in the next few days backing the case for migration, that actually we need a positive speech pro-migration from the Labour Leader, but for a lot of, what used to be called blue Labour, working class Labour voters, they are very worried about immigration.

GS: They’re worried about unfair treatment, being undercut and pressure on public services and I think the pro-immigration case, particularly in big cities, is a very strong one. Unless we actually explain how we deal with that and how we don’t disadvantage the people here, it will be problematic. But I’m glad that we are widening the debate.

AM: Now, a lot of people who want people to leave the EU, the Brexit campaign, are on the right and one of the points they make again and again, we’ve heard it on this show as well, is they want less workers’ rights, they want to get rid of some of the regulations about how many hours people can work and health and safety and all the rest of it. Don’t you sometimes feel ‘I’m on the wrong side here?’ That you’re opening the door to a much more free market, much less regulated Britain of a kind that a lot of Labour voters don’t want to see.

GS: Well I’m slightly puzzled by this because whilst it’s quite right in the 80s it was the European Union which gave us the right, it was then a Labour government which gave us a minimum wage and a living wage which we haven’t got across Europe, so the argument is really ‘I want a Labour government in the United Kingdom’ and that will give me the workers’ rights.

AM: If Britain votes to leave the EU do you think that changes domestic politic dramatically in a way that might favour your party?

GS: I think that would be too cynical or even wrongheaded a calculation.

AM: I’m not suggesting that’s why you would want to do it, but do you think that the kind of turmoil on the other side will be so great
that even under Jeremy Corbyn Labour can charge back right across the UK?

GS: I think the vote will not fall along party lines. People will make it on very different basis and I think after the referendum we probably will have a reconvening of the tribalism of party politics. But I think going to the referendum with people coming from all sides and voting in pretty unpredictable ways.

ENDS