

Dangjie Ji—Indirect Defensive Responses to Hostile Questions

In British Broadcast News Interviews

**INDIRECT DEFENSIVE RESPONSES
TO HOSTILE QUESTIONS
IN BRITISH BROADCAST NEWS INTERVIEWS**

(2 Volumes)

(Vol. 2)

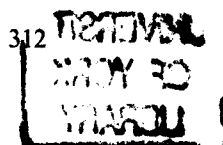
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transcription rules in this thesis

1. Transcript Symbols:

- [Separate left square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances by different speakers, indicates a point of overlap onset, whether at the start of an utterance or later.
-] Separate right square brackets, one above the other on two successive lines with utterances by different speakers indicates a point at which two overlapping utterances both end, where one ends while the other continues, or simultaneous moments in overlaps which continue.
- { These symbol are used to mark overlapping when more than two persons are talking at the same time. Similar to the symbols of [], { marks the beginning of the overlapping, and } marks the end of overlapping.
- = Equal signs indicate ‘latching’, i.e. without break or silence between utterances before and after the sign. They are used in two circumstances:
- a) When indicating ‘latching’ of utterances between two different speakers, they come in pairs—one at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line or one shortly thereafter. See below for an example:

[62] Tuesday 08 March 2005: speed humps
(IR: John Humphrys; IE2: Tim Yeo, Conservative Transport spokesman)

IR: .h Yeah, but that doesn't quite address the question,
>tht< these things work, why get rid of them. =

IE: = .h Well our approach to- safety will be evidence based...

- b) When indicating ‘latching’, i.e. absolutely no break between utterances of one speaker, only one equal sign is used. See below for an example:

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[60] Monday 14 Mar 2005-Graham Allen-5

(IE: Graham Allen, Labour MP in Nottinghamshire)

IE: ...These things are too serious Jim. This isn't about filling the newspaper space o:r the air time on the Today Program. = These are- things that affect my: constituents' lives every single day of their lives. = Many live in fear↑...

- (0.2) Numbers in parentheses indicate silence, represented in tenths of a second; what is given here in the left margin indicates 2/10 seconds of silence. Silences may be marked either within an utterance or between utterances, as in the except below:

'UK interview with Clement Attlee: 1951 (British Prime Minister 1945-51)' (From Clayman and Heritage 2002a

IE: Oh we shall go in t'give them a good fi:ght, (0.2) very good, (0.4) very good cha:nce of >winning, = We shall go in confidently, = We always do, < (0.7)

IR: U:::h And- (.) on wha:t will Labour take its sta:nd?

- (.) A dot in parentheses indicates a 'micro-pause', hearable but not readily measurable, ordinarily less than 2/10 of a second.

. The punctuation marks are not used grammatically, but to indicate
? intonation. The period indicates a falling, or final, intonation
, contour, not necessarily the end of a sentence. Similarly, a question
mark indicates rising intonation, not necessarily a clause boundary.

:: Colons are used to indicate the prolongation or stretching of the sound just preceding them. The more colons, the longer the stretching. For example:

[8] Monday 17 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 "Today Program": 0715
Rick Scannell (03:02.0)

(IR: John Humphrys)

IR: I see? It is tru:e, isn't it that the government is still

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saying that it's thinking about how to respo:nd to::: [e:h
what the House of Lords...

- A hyphen after a word or part of a word indicates a cut-off or self-interruption, often done with a glottal or dental stop.

- word Underlining is used to indicate some form of stress or emphasis,
word either by increased loudness or higher pitch. The more underlining,
Word the greater the emphasis. Therefore, underlining sometimes is placed under the first letter or two of a word, rather than under the letters that are actually raised in pitch or volume. Especially loud talk may be indicated by upper case; again, the louder, the more letters in upper case. And in extreme cases, upper case can be underlined.

- ° The degree sign indicates that the talk following it was markedly
°° quiet or soft. When there are two degree signs, the talk between them is markedly softer than the talk around it.

- ↑ The up arrows mark rises in pitch; and
↓ The down arrows mark falls in pitch.

- >< The combination of 'more than' and 'less than' symbols indicates
<> that the talk between them is compressed or rushed. Used in the reverse order, they can indicate that a stretch of talk is markedly slowed or drawn out.

- => The combination of equal sign and 'more than' sign indicates a rush from one utterance to another, usually within one speaker's turn and in between two grammatical fragments, e.g. two phrases or two sentences. The excerpt below is an example where this combination of signs is used between two sentences, to indicate a rush from one sentence to another by the same speaker:

[62] Tuesday 08 March 2005: speed humps

(IR: John Humphrys)

IR:hh And you must give a rather a fa:n of these things.

=>Do you think they< wo:rk.

hhh Hearable aspiration is shown where it occurs in the talk by the
(hh) letter ‘h’—the more h’s, the more aspiration. The aspiration may
 represent breathing or laughter. If it occurs inside the boundaries of
 a word, it may be enclosed in parenthesis in order to set it apart
 from the sounds of the world.

.hh A dot before aspiration indicates inhalation; and

hh. A dot after aspiration indicates exhalation. For example:

[62] Tuesday 08 March 2005: speed humps

(IE2: Tim Yeo, Conservative Transport spokesman)

IE2: .h [Eh (at least)- (.) (least)] also said that h.

...

£ Pound symbols means smiling voice.

(()) Double parentheses are used to mark transcriber’s descriptions of
 events, rather than representations of them. Thus ((cough)),
 ((sniff)), ((whispered)) and the like. For example:

[8] Monday 17 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0715
Rick Scannell (03:02.0)

(IR: John Humphrys; IE: Rick Scannell)

IR: I see? It is tru:e, isn’t it that the government is still
 saying that it’s thinking about how to respo:nd to:::
 [e:h what the House of Lords =

IE: [((biting lips))

IR: = has said. >And to that extent they migh- s- say what
 you’ve done is a bit pre-mature.

(word) When a) all or part of an utterance, or b) the speaker identification
() is in parentheses, this indicates uncertainty on the transcriber’s
 part, but represents a likely possibility. Empty parentheses indicate
 that a) something is being said, but no hearing can be achieved; or
 b) it is not possible to identify the speaker from the audio. For an
 example of unclear utterance, see below:

[62] Tuesday 08 March 2005: speed humps

(IE2: Tim Yeo, Conservative Transport spokesman)

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IE2: .h [Eh (at least)- (.) (least)] also said that h.

Notes:

1. Most of this guide comes from the Appendix F of Halldorsdottir (2006), with some adaptations to this thesis. Guides to transcription conventions can also be found in many books on Conversation Analysis, such as Atkinson and Heritage (1984); Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998); Jefferson (2004); Schegloff (2007). (Steensig and Drew 2008)
2. The core of this set of notational conventions was first developed by Gail Jefferson. It continues to evolve and adapt both to the work of analysis, the developing skill of transcribers, and changes in technology. Not all symbols have been included here, and some symbols in some data sources are not used systematically or consistently.

2. Format of transcription headings:

[Ordering number of the interview in the database]: Date of interview:
“BBC radio 4 ‘Today Program’”: start time of the interview: title of the
interview: length of the interview: [start time of the episode from the
beginning of the interview—end time of the episode from the beginning of
the interview]

IR(s)' name(s):

IE(s)' name(s):

Notes:

a) The following elements:

- Ordering number of the interview in the database,

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- date of interview,
- the text of “BBC radio 4 ‘Today Program’”,
- title of the interview,
- IR(s)’ name(s), and
- IE(s)’ name(s)

are always present in the transcription headings. The other elements may or may not be present in some transcription headings.

b) Lines and line numbers of the data used in Volumn 1 of this thesis are adapted to suit the format of the thesis. Most of them are still in accordance with the format of data in Volumn 2—Appendix B; however, in some occasions, necessary changes of format are made in those data used in Volumn 1.

Appendix B: Data Transcriptions in this thesis

[1] Monday 17 Jan 2005: BBC TV 2: Newsnight: Interview section 1: Tory
Tax Cut: 40m-26m

IR:

IE1: Evon Davis, BBC economic editor

IE2: Martha

IE3: Ben Page, of the Public Opinion Posters of Mori.

IE4: Collin Talbot, professor of the University of Nottingham

01 IR: Well in a minute I'll be speaking to the (Shadow) of Chief
02 Secretary of the Treasury George↑ our correspondent↑ has
03 been cross-examined by two: expert witnesses, .h but first
04 our (rumor answer) BBC's .h economics editor↑ Evon
05 Da↑vis are with us↑. .h E:h Evon, do these sums add out↑
06 as they're claiming?

07 IE1: Well, if you- .h add the numbers up, you get the total in the
08 bottom. The q(h)uestion is whether the numbers
09 themselves are in the sense .hh credible. I think↑ .h (in
10 venous) twelve billion in savings, it's quite am- it's quite
11 ambitious, for the: conservative party. But, if you take- .h
12 twelve billion out of .hh government pro- e:h spending
13 plans↑ .h then you cut taxes that beat us up. The question I
14 say is whether .h you can make those twelve billion cuts .h
15 in the way the Tories say .h by slashing wastes things like
16 that, not rather than things we- we'd really fear.

17 IR: Are the cuts as proposed as dramatic as presented.

18 IE1: Well I think↑ it's worth getting this simp- spectrum. >We've
19 got< little graphic here. The best way of measuring public
20 spending .hh i:s the proportion of our national income↑ (.)
21 that is devoted to it. >Have you get back to< when (.)
22 Labor came into power you see it when Downing and the
23 austere first years of Gordon Brown? The:n he let it go up
24 again. Now if (you- sum up all the hours) where it's go on
25 to the Labors↑ .h i- probably gonna stay around where it
26 is↑ forty percent of national=-

27 IR: =you can- =

28 IE1: =These are the Tories pr-posal. They want it to go back
29 down. Now, don't make it seem radical. >In two thousand
30 and seven< it's back down to where it is this year↑, two

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- 31 thousand an- eleven it's where it is, and two thousand and
32 two so that isn't. That's radical. The Tories' difficulty is
33 that- .h they got it back down to where it was in two
34 thousand and two. But in building into that huge increase
35 in health education spending? (.) .h So all the sort of- .h
36 pressure all the strain has to be taken by the (examine)
37 department, >it is so called< .h low priority department. It
38 h(h)ave to s(h)uffer .h incredibly (.) to pay for the growth
39 of .h health education.
- 40 IR: There Ma- Martha, politically, is tax cuts being promised↑
41 e:h with any detail. >I mean< they're pretty modest too.
- 42 IE2: Yes, they are. If you remember a the last election .h there
43 was eight billion of savings translated directly to eight
44 billion pounds of tax cuts. This time thirty-five billion
45 pounds↑ worth of savings↑ .h into just four billion e:h
46 pounds of- of tax cuts. One member of the Shadow
47 Cabinets acknowledged to me .h that this was symbolic,
48 directional merely a down payment if- if you like or what
49 they like in the future. And the reason is that there has been
50 a debate about whether it was wise to pull those tax cuts at
51 all because with that .h muddy the message on public
52 services. In the end they decided they had to do it simply
53 this was the clearest way of showing differentiation
54 between them and the Labor party. (In me-) source of main
55 frustration to people in the Conservative party. .h They say:
56 you know the Labor is the (Mag Pize Mag pie), Tony
57 Blair↑ .h ye- know talks out talking our (wears and clairs).
58 People with tax cuts↑ that's a very simple way of doing,
59 and also will win them e:h some pro- still in doubt in areas
60 of Conservative press.
- 61 IR: I- is it a flavor of the election campaign to come.
- 62 IE2: Oh certainly it was today. I'll tell you three press
63 conferences three parties and a: pile of abuttal documents
64 immediately you know in the Labor getting there're a
65 rebuttal (thurs) there even .h one argument about whether
66 the meat license in service .h is really [a (magnative) =
67 IR: [hhhh
68 IE2: = of the food standard agency or not. .h But I- I will not tell
69 you the [details of that.=

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- 70 IR1: [hhhh
71 IE1: =I think- I think [it's a good (sanger) that-, kh
72 IR: [Well, out of our program really?
73 IE1: Ther- (.) there are number of ways in which the two party
74 are sharing the: the very same sort of- I wouldn't go on
75 fantasies, but sharing the same assumptions. Things↑ (.)
76 some really difficult questions that .h all of them want to
77 avoid. The interesting one on the public spending is the
78 benefit budget where .h both parties are glibly assuming
79 that will whole benefits more or less lay out at the
80 moment, .h despite having ambitious grand or some
81 ambitions for reducing poverty and I suspect (.) tha-
82 actually there is gonna be a lot more pressure on public
83 spending↑ than either of them (.) really want to admit.
84 IR: O:k:. Well u:hm let's take some of this up, now with the:
85 e:h Shadow Chief Secretary to the Treasury George
86 Osbourne Winnerson in the studio now. Two people know
87 eh what they are talking about. I suppose (.) you claim to
88 know [what you're talking about too.
89 IE2: [hhh
90 IR: But .h two other people know what they are talking about.
91 E:h Professor Collin Talbot↑ of the: University of
92 Nottingham↑ a:nd: (.) Ben Page of the Public Opinion
93 Posters of Mori. Eh George Osbourne, u:hm (.) the last
94 time you offered us tax cuts of eight billions. Of course
95 that was spectacularly successful. >And now you're
96 proposing< .h tax cuts of four billion. Are you a hoping to
97 do half as well as you did last time or what.
98 IE3: hh No. We're offer hoping to offer people a real choice at
99 the: eternal election. Do they want (.) a lower taxes and
100 value for money under the Conservatives? Do they want
101 higher taxes which every independent commentator say: is
102 coming if the Labor is selected, and more waste. And that's
103 the choice we offer. And I take the difference between the
104 last election and this one. There's two >for one is< (.) I
105 think our sums are credible↑ there's a huge↑ amount of
106 work in Scotland and England↑ This is not- .h something
107 we just done just on the back on the (envelope). And the
108 second point is people are looking for alternative. And I

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- 109 don't think they were looking for alternative to Tony Blair
110 fours years ago.
- 111 IR: So you will take it that if you lose the next election people
112 eh don't want tax cuts and (bear) in public services will
113 you?
- 114 IE3: Well we're fighting to win that election and I think what
115 we've done today brings a sustained place to that↑ by
116 giving people a real choice. [And you know =
- 117 IR: [w-
- 118 IE3: = [for all the arguments we have today =
- 119 IR: [What a sort of-
- 120 IE3: = for all the arguments that Martha produced the
121 documents just now, for all the rebuttals about whether the
122 sums add out. What were trying to offer people↑ .h in an
123 emphatic political world↑ (.) is a choice.
124 [Do you wan- higher taxes in the Labor↑ or =
- 125 IR: [Bu-
- 126 IE3: = [lower taxes under the Conservatives.
- 127 IR: [You talking about being a clear choice, an- Michael
128 Howell says this is a fundamental difference between your
129 party and the Labor party↑. Yet- when it comes down to it,
130 there is evidence av- amiably demonstrated↑. It's one
131 °percent°.
- 132 IE3: What we're talking about two important (copats). One is
133 actual tax cuts as opposed to the tax increases which are
134 coming if a- the Labor is selected↑. And second of all is a
135 totally different approach to public services that delivers
136 real value for money .h for the taxes people have [already=
137 IR: [Alright?
- 138 IE3: = done in this government.
- 139 IR: Professor Talbot, does it add up to you.
- 140 IE4: E:hm, well- as I ever say I think- the fi- the figures (it real
141 particular) adds up. I don't think it adds up in the sense I
142 would call it fantasy. I- I think both parties main parties are
143 playing fantasy efficiency savings, the: the bulk of the
144 efficiency savings that their legend is going to make.
145 There's no way of measuring whether or not they're
146 actually going to get them. Most of them have been
147 recycled within government department, so we'll never

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- 148 know whether they've made or not.
- 149 IR: What most troubles you?
- 150 IE4: E:hm will sort of thing you got in the: in the government's
151 own plans which: the Conservative Party seems to more or
152 less adopted now. I mean for example in health they expect
153 to save three point twenty five billion pounds (.) by u:hm
154 speeding up writing letters a:nd: eh prescriptions and so on.
155 We- the figures just don't make any sense to anybody
156 actually works in public services. They know that these
157 levels of efficiency savings have never been achieved in
158 the past.
- 159 IR: Do you wanna try to explain it, [do you?
160 IE3: [Yeah, can I take an issue.
161 This is not- what we're proposing there- are not efficiency
162 savings, simply. There are reductioning government
163 activity. We're not going to running the new deal. We'll
164 have a big political argument about that? but we are not
165 running the new deal. We are not offering a small business
166 service, through the DTI. We a:re no:t having strategic
167 health authorities. Probably no one listening to this
168 program, no one heard of this strategic health authority,
169 because they don't- [we think contribute=
170 IR: [Tho- those- are (things) those jobs
171 () they're- they're- should be ()
172 IE3: = hugely to the hospital. (If) they're going. In other words,
173 there are two things the government [() dedededede
174 IE4: [that's surely cost
175 twelve billion. You're talk about cutting. You- this is your
176 (impile) jump. By the way, you talk about e:hm back form
177 envelop, I mean that's your reportings published today on
178 basis always massive word that David James has (already
179 done). And I (phone counseled) the Party [Executive =
180 IE3: [Yeah-
181 IE4: = Office today and said .h where is the James report, [and=
182 IE3: [()
183 IE4: =the response was you were not publishing 'cause you too
184 [much ambition on your publishments
185 IR3: [And we have publish every- eh James report, but every
186 single [publish of government.

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- 187 IE4: [You published set in power-point slide=
188 IE4: = [as soon you published (series annoying) points (to =
189 IE3: [so every single ()
190 IE4: = you) =
191 IE3: = Well, I- I promise to you, if you look at the word that
192 David James [has mended, =
193 IE4: [I have to look at it.
194 IE3: = the word that David James has done, with the team of
195 fifteen independent experts, they've gone through the
196 books of government. Another say, I may stress this point,
197 this is reducing government activity, getting rid of the
198 small business service, getting rid of fallpits of the civil
199 service in the DTI, and I will have a (roil) with people
200 about those things as the election approaches. But we've
201 made those- tough choices↑ .h and we are reducing
202 government activity. And that enables us, we think, to give
203 people value for money and lower taxes.
204 IE4: The (avulse) majority of what you're ca- what you're
205 purporting to save in these thirty five billion is not by
206 cutting things. >It's actually to do efficiency savings, at
207 least according to your own documents, that's what you
208 said.<
209 IE3: You are- you are talking I think about the government-
210 [eh- the g-
211 IE4: [This is your-
212 IE3: You're talking- the: the elements you're talking about the
213 [efficiency savings, =
214 IE4: [°well°
215 IE3: = the things that the government have done. We take the
216 government of their words? We think we are gonna be
217 more effective of finding many of the efficiency savings
218 incursive that they talk about but what we have talked
219 about today is a reductioning in government activity
220 contrast at the political will .h which on day won the
221 Conservative Party we can save the permanent secretaries
222 of various departments. .h Do: this do: that. This is our
223 program for government.
224 IR: Ben- Ben Page, wanna ask you, how is this play with the
225 public.

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- 226 IE5: Well I think- remember we're living in a time of ver- very
 227 low employment an- very low inflation by historical
 228 standards compared to say: nineteen ninety-two when it
 229 was the las- very (collactional) election. So the problem
 230 is .h if you ask the voters one of the biggest issues that m-
 231 decide how you vote, (.) interestingly taxation is actually
 232 number seven on the list. It's well behi:nd public services
 233 and the NHS, education, crime, which are the top three. .h
 234 And of course if you ask people what's wrong with the
 235 NHS which do every single month. Biggest problem? (.)
 236 under-funded, not over-stuffed bureaucrats.
- 237 IR: (.) You- now you're not even telling in which taxes you are
 238 gonna cut, are you?
- 239 IE3: Well we'll (.) between now and the general election and
 240 I'm happy to come in on this program (gemering) talk
 241 about which exact taxes we're gonna cut↑ a:nd =
- 242 IR: =But I thought you're trying to get your messages [across=
 243 IE3: [We =
 244 IR: = today.
 245 IE3: = are- we are getting our messages across. We've come
 246 home with four billion pounds [of tax cuts and=
 247 IR: [Ok, well, w-, () that
 248 again.
- 249 IE3: = the (bat tax) the fact that I'm on this program talking
 250 to you. This is part of the sign that we're getting on
 251 message on tax.
- 252 IR: Well, I think we'll let the audience be the judge- o- of that.
 253 Next, look at this question o:f (.) e:h (0.2) what public
 254 priorities are. You said tha- it's pretty low down, (.) [the =
 255 IE5: [Yeah
 256 IR: = ideal of- of tax cuts. Is it easy to say >in your
 257 experience< eh something public opinion. What is the
 258 effect in this mixed the message. >(That is it)< both tax cut
 259 (.) a:nd great efficiency in the public services.
- 260 IE5: I- I think it's difficult, because you know, everybody wants
 261 to pay less tax? But they also want↑ u:m high standards of
 262 public service. >What the Conservatives have to do< (.) is
 263 explain precisely how hh. (.) they are going to be able to
 264 achieve that. >If you look at the evidence, unfortunately at

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- 265 the moment, for the Conservatives more people believe
266 that actually tax cuts will probably damage public services
267 rather than just leave them .h with pounds [and pounds in=
268 IR: [Do people =
269 IE5: = their pocket.
270 IR: = understand what the Tory's stand for.
271 IE: .hh I think there's an- there's an issue there about (.) being
272 very very clear, and you know thi- this is- this at the
273 moment doesn't seem as strong as things like aligning you
274 to buy your own cars or something like that. I think one of
275 the things that might make a difference is if they actually
276 said .h how much the average vote is going to get back
277 every week. But it seems that detail is still not there yet.
278 IE3: Well tha- that detail is coming. And I agree with you that at
279 the moment the public need to be convinced that you can
280 cut taxes .h and deliver value for money and better public
281 services. That is all about what today: i- we are trying to
282 do. We re trying to show (.) that you can deliver improved
283 public services on a lower tax be- eh base by reducing
284 taxes.
285 And- there are many countries around the world where this
286 is achieved? This is not rocket sides, but it does require a
287 real lap of political world? And I think today: we show we-
288 we've got the appetite for [them].
289 IE5: [I mean the trouble is .h the huge
290 challenge you've got is that people still say the NHS is the
291 biggest issue and how they will vote and of course the
292 Conservative has never ever been seen as a better party
293 than Labor on the NHS.
294 IE3: But I think- on the NHS, precisely why: today we've
295 plugged in big increase in spending↑ twenty one percent
296 increase↑, and on top of that promise a totally different
297 way of delivering health services in this country↑ .h which
298 puts the patient in charge↑ .h with the money coming for
299 the government, so that the health care is still free at the
300 point of views.
301 IR: .hh Is there any possibility of a party coming back when
302 this- this far behind.
303 IE5: E:hm by historical standards no. The moment the

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- 304 Conservative is going to be forming the next
305 administration. >They want to be about ten or twelve
306 points ahead of Labor.< E:hm obviously there- you know
307 currently three, four, five, six or more points behind.
308 (0.2)
- 309 IE3: Well, even if you believe the: opinion polls.
- 310 IE5: hhhhh
- 311 IE3: Even if you believe the opinion polls, there are several
312 general- general elections in the last thirty years where
313 parties that were two or three or five points behind have
314 gone on to win their elections.
- 315 (:): U:
- 316 IE3: I remember in nineteen ninety-two? I wasn't born in
317 nineteen seventy, by I read a history books that I happened
318 to (lend them) to.
- 319 IE4: I- I I think that might happen if you- if you have some big
320 political issues in stake. One of the things I found curious
321 about this is the- the level of political (ratury) seems to be
322 inverse proportion to the level of difference in actual
323 spending figures. I mean Evan was absolutely right. .h
324 Average spending in UK on the public sector over the last
325 fourteen years. A- average is out of forty-three percent.
326 Both parties are hovering around that sort of number.
327 [(How can-)
- 328 IE5: [Not enough.
- 329 IE4: Absolutely.
- 330 IR: °Our concern is there at least. ° Eh I think you'd better
331 come back when you gonna tell us what precisely you
332 gonna do with our taxes.
- 333 IE3: Let's put the date in the diary.
- 334 IR: I thought we will all look forward to that. Thank you very
335 much.

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[2] Tuesday 18 Jan 2005: BBC TV 2: Newsnight: Alcohol Licensing Act: 6m
IR:

IE: Tessa Jowell, Culture Secretary

01 IR: Well tonight I went to see the Culture Secretary Tessa
02 Jowell who is (babying) this legislation is. I asked her how
03 she managed to squander a wide spread of view that the
04 licensing norms perhaps needed reforming.

05 IE: (0.3) I think there're still a consensus that the: licensing
06 need to be changed. But I think what has happened .h in
07 the two years since the .h licensing act. A secure (royal of
08 sent) supported (.) eh by: the opposition parties (.) at the
09 time. I think what's happened .h is that public concern?
10 and police concern? (.) about (.) binch drinking and
11 alcohol related violence has become (.) much bigger, much
12 more prominent. And so (.) we do have a problem (.) eh
13 with- with alcohol? (.) That's why we published as a
14 government, in our strategy? with- you know with plans to
15 tack on, eh binch drinking, eh alcohol related drinking,
16 (back-lot smarch). But a very important plank .h of
17 beginning to change things (.) is getting this new licensing
18 act (.) in force.

19 IR: But when even (0.2) the last home secretary says this is
20 just leaping the dog?, when you're (own bed). Benches are
21 saying they are against it, when senior police officers are
22 saying they're against it. When senior doctors are saying
23 they are against it. What makes you so sure you are right.

24 IE: By no means, (.) all (.) (poliver) the police ar- are against
25 this. I mean (.) the: eh Regnator of the Supreme (Term) of
26 Association? today was saying .h that he: he suppo:rts
27 [(e:h flexible)

28 IR: [we- we can (trace) police- [police officer (ingendously).

29 IE: [yes, of course you can, of
30 course we can. And of course I take (.) very seriously (.)
31 e:m criticism o:f the potential effects of proposals .h by the
32 police, or by doctors. [That their concerns-

33 IR: [Do you accept David Blanket's point that it is at least a
34 leaping at the (door).

35 IE: No, I don't accept that. [And-

36 IR: [Or what else can it be=

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- 37 IE: =Well=-
38 IR: =[You don't know what the consequences will be, do you?
39 IE: [David- eh David Blanket had concerns about the: David
40 Blanket had concerns about the impact of the legislation.
41 He and I discussed his concerns?, and I met his concerns .h
42 particularly about ways in which eh publicans could take
43 their own responsibility .h for tackling the: the risks of
44 crime, eh alcohol related e:h crime. An- so all that eh was
45 written in to the legislation, and into the statutory
46 guidance. But to go back to the main point, the concern is
47 about excessive alcohol consumption particularly .h by
48 young people.
49 IR: (.) Yes, it is. (.) And why are you so sure that it's not gonna
50 get even worse, when you change the licensing act.
51 IE: Because eh as the police has been telling us, for the last
52 five years, one of the:, eh one of [the reason,
53 IR: [As some of police have
54 been telling you?
55 IE: No no. I mean the Association of Chief Polif- Police
56 Officers? You know back in two thousand, said that they
57 believed .h that the introduction of flexible licensing?,
58 which means eh difference opening and closing times .h in
59 a given area will make it easier (.) to police e:h pubs at
60 closing time. [That promised you-
61 IR: [And since then plenty of police officers have
62 had second thoughts about it. As you know, Mr. John
63 Stevens, we- when we can carry on training this. That's not
64 really the point, is it.
65 (0.3)
66 IR: You know: (0.2) that we don't know what the consequence
67 of this change of licensing hours will be. You may be right,
68 but you would equally well be wrong.
69 IE: .h We- I think there is very good evidence (.) from other
70 countries (.) that where you have flexibility (.) .h not just
71 substituting one fixed closing time .h for another. You see
72 changes (.) and drinking patterns, and you don't get what
73 we have in this country, which is the increase in alcohol
74 related crime .h and alcohol related crime .h that
75 coincides .h with simultaneous .h pub closing.

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- 76 IR: What has been the advice to you from the Department of
77 Health.
78 (0.3)
- 79 IE: I've obviously had discussions with the: with the Health
80 Secretary, of with excessive health secretaries. I was a- I
81 was a Public Health minister. A:nd .h the concern (.) from
82 the Department of Health is about very particularly binch
83 drinking .h and adults drinking too [much.
- 84 IR: [Has the Department
85 told you, yes Secretary of State, we would like see: (.) the
86 sort of reform that you are concentrating.
- 87 IE: As far as I'm aware, yes they did. Ye know in- th- you
88 may .h e:h hhh you- you may have an issue to raise eh
89 about which I'm not aware. You know every single
90 member of the Cabinet .h signed up to this legislation .h in
91 a normal way. =
- 92 IR: = Because you know research commission for the number
93 ten policy unit? by Professor Colin Drummond said your
94 decision .h flew: in the face (.) of all the evidence, (.) and
95 indicated nothing so much as you desired to please the
96 drink industry.
- 97 IE: Well, that i:s (.) a:bsolute rubbish. I mean b- hh these
98 decisions .h you know have nothing to do (.) with pleasing
99 anybody, [except the people, except the people of this =
- 100 IR: [Well then why are you doing.
- 101 IE: = country. And making communities after, and give
102 communities (.) more control (.) over when their pubs
103 open and when they close. It's the (status of quo) .h which
104 is creating the problem, not .h the potential new licensing
105 [act, which will be part of the solution.
- 106 IR: [You don't know that though.
- 107 IR: You don't know that. it is easily leaping the (dog).
- 108 IE: Well, i- the- the responsibility (.) and power (.) will be
109 given (.) t local authorities. Local authorities will be able
110 (.) to implement the change at the pace at which they
111 choose. They can- you know they can fa:ce the
112 introduction of flexible opening. But most of local
113 authorities, the local authorities support this. You know at
114 lunch time, eh today, the Local Authority Association .h

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- 115 was on the radio (.) .h suppo:rting (.) the licensing act. So
116 there is a stro:ng support for the case for this legislation.
117 [(Pleased) for this legislation which has been made for the
118 last five years.] =
- 119 IR: [No, the chairman of the local government committee, one
120 of your ben- benches,] =
- 121 IR: = eh says the move is stupid.
- 122 IE: Look, there is a campaign against this legislation. You
123 know it is not my job, .h a Secretary of State? (.) to bow:
124 to every campaign, which is got up for whatever reason.
125 [I hav-
- 126 IR: [Would you mind at least to listen to them.
- 127 IE: Of course I listen to them. And of course I study the
128 evidence. Of course I took all these factors .h into
129 account .h when this legislation was first passed. And e-
130 these are precisely the kind of factors that I've taken into
131 account? .h in subsequent discussions with David
132 Blanket? .h with Charles Clark? .h about how we relate
133 reform of the licensing act .h to: t- a- as a solution to a
134 wider problem .h of alcohol related violence.
- 135 IR: Tessa Jowell speaking earlier.

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[3] Friday 14 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0712 Pubs Pay for the extra police (03:55.6)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Mark Eastern, BBC home affairs editor

- 01 IR: Thirteen↑ minutes↑ pa:st↑ seven. The police are worried
02 about what will happen when pubs are allowed to stay
03 open twenty four hours a day:. Now it seems the
04 government has so:me pla:ns to try to deal with that. Our
05 home affairs editor is Mark Eastern:. Now we are not .hh
06 quite clear what they are, Mark?
- 07 IE: Eh: no, I don't think they are quite as far down the road as
08 perhaps: some of the speculation. (hh) In the run-up to the
09 election, frankly the la:st thing Labor wants to is a herd of
10 the chief constables careering from .h studio to studio
11 claiming they have not got resources to deal with (.) with
12 eh binge drinking and = >all the rest of it< particularly, eh::
13 since the government believes it has actually a good sto:ry
14 to tell on police numbers and (.) and obviously their
15 manifesto's gonna to be full of measures to deal with
16 anti-social behavior, but equally unappealing is the idea
17 that (.) you (.) you go into an election with a lobby like the
18 drinks industry and open conflict and, .h I don't know grim
19 warnings about how your pine- pint isn't safe under
20 Labor. So I think that Mr. Clark does- Mr. Clark and any
21 other ministers will be thinking ha::rd about the how to
22 deal with this, an- an- I'm told that th- Home Secretary will
23 be making his clear- his views eh: clear to the nation within
24 the next couples of weeks, certainly before the new law
25 comes into the force eh: on February the seventh.
- 26 IR: An- what at the moment (.) what does it look as though the
27 favori::te:: plan is?
- 28 IE: We:ll, I think that (0.2) I think Charles Clark's:: eh: view
29 will be this, tha::t e::h he'll want to- frankly push the whole
30 thing into the long grass, and an- I- I think eh: he: will say
31 look we simply don't know yet what kind of effect this act
32 is going to ha:ve . .hh Early signs are that very few pubs
33 have indeed appli:ed eh: for extensions yet, so the i- I don't
34 think that they're really persuaded that the m- there's
35 gonna be massive increase in the [number of police needed

- 36 =
- 37 IR: [(hh)W(h)e(h)l-(£) you
- 38 wonder what's the point is all of this then (£).
- 39 IE: Well I- it-it- well I suppose the police argument is that
- 40 there will be a much bigger impact than the government
- 41 likes to think. An:: th-th-th-th- the discussion is I suppose
- 42 whether you go down a voluntary route or a mandatory
- 43 route. Now in-in March last year, when the government eh:
- 44 published its alcohol harm reduction strategy, proposed this
- 45 idea about voluntary levy on the drinks industry (.hh) that
- 46 they did have a responsibility (.) in this area. Eh: an:d =
- 47 IR: = to pay for extra police =
- 48 IE: =Yeah. Exactly. An:: now the- the question is (.) is the
- 49 situation eh: serious enough that the government now to
- 50 say:: right not good enough, we'll gonna have to eh:: force
- 51 them to pay eh:: some sort of booze tax. I- I suspect that
- 52 what will happen is that .hh they wi:ll say eh: we really
- 53 don't know quite how this act's going to work? We're not
- 54 convinced yet tha- there is going be a huge impact on-
- 55 the requirements eh: for poli:ce. Eh: but let's see .hh a:nd
- 56 should the voluntary ban not provide the:: the kind of
- 57 resources required then obviously we're going to have to
- 58 look at again amendatory band? That I'd think is going to
- 59 be the sort of political answer, .hh to- to dealing with this =
- 60 IR: = what about the possibility that they tell local
- 61 authorities, .hh if they:: eh:: agree to license pubs to stay
- 62 open twenty four hours a day↑, with all the effect↑ that
- 63 they might ha:ve? They: have to find a way of pay↑ing for
- 64 it.
- 65 IE: .hh >well of course the role of local authorities will change
- 66 quite dramatically on February the seventh.< In the pa::st,
- 67 the:: the license of a pu::b eh:: or the cost of it was decided
- 68 by how much they took to process the piece of paper↑ .hh
- 69 sometimes got a license for a tenner? A::nd a-as on
- 70 February the seventh it also has to inclu::de the cost o:f .hh
- 71 inspection and enforcement, .hh so they- they'll council
- 72 many i::n a:: metaphorical (peaked) ca:ps, .hh a::nd who
- 73 must go around and make sure it's all working properly,
- 74 have to be paid for out of the license. Tha:t's gonna put it

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- 75 down quite dramatically. .hh A::nd e- the:: proposal (.) la:st
76 summer (.) wa:s that the average .hhh license will shoot up
77 to something like a hundred and ni:nety pounds? But I'm
78 tell that that wasn't enough for our local authorities and the
79 department ev- of the DCMS has looked at this again .hh
80 and indeed .hh has been persuaded that they'll should be
81 quite significantly higher. They say that when .hh the
82 figures are announced in the next few day:s, our local
83 authorities .hh will be pleasantly surpri:sed =
84 IR: = Mark? =
85 IE: = I don't really think, (h)sorry(h) [I don't really-really =
86 IR: [Well-
87 IE: = think they'r they are going to add an extra burden so you
88 are gonna k- pay the cost of policing as well =
89 IR: = Indeed. Mark↑, many thanks.

[4] Friday 14 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0719 Succession to the Crown

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Sunder Katwala, General Secretary of the Fabian society

01 IR: The time is twenty three minutes .h pa:st seven. Heirs to
 02 the throne or at least one in particular are making a lot of
 03 news at the moment†. Coincidentally some members of
 04 Parliament are making a big push† trying to cha:nge the
 05 rules that govern the succession to the crown. There’s a
 06 Private Members’ bill in the Commons and another bill in
 07 the Lords. The main effect would be to stop giving
 08 preference to male heirs over females. Primogeniture and
 09 abolish the ban on an heir to the throne marrying a Roman
 10 Catholic. °Is it likely to happen?° Well Sunder Katwala is
 11 the General Secretary of the Fabian society, the answer to
 12 that is probably not, isn’t it?

13 IE: Well I think (.) it’s probably bound to happen at some point
 14 in the near future. This- this particular bill, .h ah which in
 15 (.) the House of Lords today having a second reading has
 16 been adopted in the .h House of Commons by Anne Taylor
 17 the former leader of the House, wou:n’t pass if there’s a
 18 general election when we all .h expect one. But we hope
 19 this will be a gentle nudge, .h so the government perhaps
 20 after the election to do something that’s very long
 21 over-due.

22 IR: Do we think the government’s keen on the idea?

23 IE: Well actually in nineteen ninety eight, the government said
 24 in principle it suppo:rted the idea of: .h eh ending gender
 25 discrimination and would consult on how to come forward
 26 with its own measures. Nothing’s been heard .h of that
 27 since so this this by eh raising the issue again will- will
 28 demand a response, we expect them to be warm towards
 29 it .hh and we hope they don’t say it’s not the right ti:me
 30 because (.) on that grounds it will never be the right time

31 IR: But aren’t there () aren’- aren’t there a:ll sorts of
 32 sensitivities when we(’re) discussing the royal family or
 33 the House °or that sort of thing°?

34 IE: I don- I don’t think so. .hh I think it’s highly misgui:ded
 35 actually Parliament feels it would be wro::ng, in someway

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- 36 it would be disrespectful to discuss the .h the monarchy,
37 because i- [(uh con-)
38 IR: [but that is the sense like these? =
39 IE: =>Ther- there is somewhat but constitutionally it's entirely
40 inappropriate for the Queen or Prince Charles or anyone
41 else to say what should happen within the matter of .h
42 political controversy, and so if Parliament a:lso feels .h
43 disabled then you('ve) got the centre piece of the British
44 constitution, .h you got some highly out-dated features in
45 thirty years since Sex Discrimination Act .h And nothing
46 will ever be able to do about it. .h Sort of like a Bermuda
47 Triangle [of British constitution if Parliament council =
48 IR: [Hehhhh.
49 IE: = (back either)<
50 IR: Well hehe (£) qu(h)ite. So wha-what do you think. I mean
51 what's your best guess. (£)
52 IE: Well I-I-
53 IR: [And this bill is(n't to) go ahead, right? The Private
54 Members' bill (.) the- they don't u:sually get anywhere
55 anyway, do they? unless the government has said
56 absolutely clearly <<we are in favor>> (imitating voice) (I
57 think) we haven't done this time?
58 IE: No, there- there isn't- there isn't time that sounded has
59 been a grea:t deal of support, and not one voice defending
60 the current rules of succession. >And a lot of< .h Labor
61 support in the House of Commons as well. >Now th-< the
62 Ti:mes for example has come out and said .h nobody could
63 possibly defend the current rules. .h It's sometimes nice to
64 have some .h (qua:ky) bits of history but (not) things are
65 doing entirely .h indefensible. .h I just think this is long
66 over-due, Parliament (will) have to do it eventually. .h If
67 the government I hope a:ll of the political parties might
68 think this is a rather simple thing to put it in their election
69 manifestos.<
70 IR: Well, we'll see. (Sunder Katwala), thank you.



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[5] Friday 14 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0751 Prince Harry (06:54)

IR: John Humphrys

IR0: Nicole Stanbridge

IE0: Sarah Ferguson, Duchess of York

IE1: Bob Satoror, duet of Society of Editors

IE2: Simon Jenkins, of the Times

- 01 IR: The time:: i::s ten to eight. Well the Ashby's anniversary is
02 as Catherine Pemonster has just reminded us? (.) .h One
03 of the factors which has given a certain edge to the criticism
04 of Prince Harry's appearance in a Nazi uniform at a fancy
05 dress party. .hhh But the Duchess of Yo:rk has been
06 defending her nephew, and our reporter Nicole Stanbridge
07 asked her why she was speaking out for Prince Harry.
- 08 IE0: I want someone to stand up for him (.) and say he is a very
09 good man (0.2) and I'm that person, because I know what
10 it's like to have a very bad press. A:nd I know e:h what
11 it's like to continually be criticized. And you know it's very
12 tiring and it's- it's very unpleasant a:nd .h he is a young
13 man, he does a lot of good? .hh when he is following his
14 father's work .h with AIDs and .h in Africa? And he is a
15 very good young man. And I just think it's time that the::
16 th- the Press backed off and stop criticizing him. = They've
17 been criticizing:: now for months and months. A:nd jus-
18 you know let him be::: a young man, and be productive and
19 do what he is going to do. (.) And I feel very strongly about
20 it.
- 21 IR0: So you think the media should lay off. You think he's
22 having too: hard a time in front of the media >at the
23 moment<.
- 24 IE0: I'm not going to (.) e:h say anything about his feelings?
25 cause I don't know them. But what's- from my personal
26 opinion? and from what I know feels like to be or- at the
27 end of be:ing (.) a continual batter- being battered by the
28 Press I know: .hh I know how sa:d it is and then I know
29 how awful it is. It makes you feel very .h very ba:d .h and
30 I- an- and I- I don't know. E:h at all. (And I don't give
31 spokesperson f- for him.) .h all- all the royal family. But I-
32 from my own personal point of view? .h I thought s-

- 33 somebody needs to stand up and say no? .hh leave him
 34 alone, he is a very good man. A:nd- a:nd he::? both
 35 (William) and Harry are very good men. >And I think<
 36 that- their mother was very proud of- of them both, and-
 37 and ok he- say we- I made a mistake publicly in my life as
 38 you know (0.2) many many mistakes. And it's very ha:rd
 39 when yo- you think ah::: no::: I shouldn't have done that or
 40 you live with ramifications of your own actions
- 41 IR0: How is he feeling how hard is it for him right now.
- 42 IE0: I don't know? For me (.2) e:hm personally? whe- when
 43 you make a mistake and you- you apologize for it? and
 44 it's-it's very difficult, because the Press run with it for a
 45 long while an- and yo- you know you- you look back (with
 46 all pity) (.) you know sh- could have done it in a better
 47 way.
- 48 IR0: But wasn't what he wo:re (.) a mistake.
- 49 IE0: That's not what we're discussing. I'm speaking to you
 50 (0.2) .h in support of a great young man? (0.2) .h who
 51 needs more support and less criticism. And he has
 52 apologized? .h and people have accepted the apology, .h
 53 and let's move on.
- 54 IR: That was Sarah Ferguson the Duchess of York? .h talking
 55 to Nicole Stanbridge? >Well< Bob Satoror's director of the
 56 Society of Editors? He joins as da Simon Jenkins of the
 57 Times. Good morning, and you both?
- 58 IE1: Good morning, ().
- 59 IR: Back off. Says the Duchess of Bob Satoror.
- 60 IE1: .hh We:ll I think it is very touching that an aunt shou:ld:
 61 get along an- and suppo:rt: her nephew but e:h i- it's not
 62 just a- a- a sort of sma:ll mistake of the kinds e::h
 63 sometimes may come in. >It's clearly< clearly something
 64 which is hh. e:h which is going to run and run, especially
 65 when people like Sarah Ferguson in fa↑ct join in tha- in
 66 that roar. And I mean I think that- e:h it might well ov- e:h
 67 ended sooner if people didn't tried to defend e:h e:m a:hm
 68 the situation.
- 69 IR: Oh yo- you think that just by joining in the debate, she's
 70 actually encouraging it, isn't it.
- 71 IE1: Well, I don- I don't think it would help, hh put i(h)t (h)that

- 72 w(h)ay
- 73 IR: E:m. (.) Simon Jenkins?
- 74 IE2: I think it's absolutely bloody rubbish. E:h I've never know-
- 75 never known such an over-blame story in my li:fe. E:h we
- 76 seem to 've lost all the ability to-, we- we- we can't- we
- 77 can't do recognize an accident from a catastrophe, we can't
- 78 recognize a mistake from a catastrophe. .h I mean the guy's
- 79 a ki:d. I mean people dress up as Nazis. They- they- dress
- 80 up as soldiers? I mean I- I probably dressed up as a
- 81 German to fight Britain when I was at school myself. =
- 82 IR: = (wel-)
- 83 IE2: It is just compl[e:tely absu:rd to blow these things out of =
- 84 IR: [you-
- 85 IE2: = a:ll propor[tion like this. =
- 86 IR: [you-
- 87 IR: = Pretty much are (lowing voices so), aren't you. >I was<
- 88 just looking at this Pilot papers in front [of you?
- 89 IE2: [That is never a
- 90 pro- [problem
- 91 IR: [No:, well, but I mea:n (.) well? well? if i- if- if- if
- 92 fro:m the Su:n to the Independent, th(h)ey've got the
- 93 sa(h)me st(h)ory on their front page (£), it must give you
- 94 some points of report (£).=
- 95 IE2: =Yeah, when someone (trips their repaving stone), it's
- 96 considered the multi-million settlement. I mean we- we've
- 97 lost the ability to ju:dge language. And I think it's very
- 98 sa:d, when- when Auchwitz is drived into this- the- the- the
- 99 entire sort of e:m e:h (Santa of magic Robby's dragging
- 100 into this). I mean he is a just a boy. He's made a mistake,
- 101 he said so:¿ And it was a party, it's- it's the ludicrous. e:h
- 102 High part of the fault does lie with th- with th- with the
- 103 kind ov- .h the overblame or the royal family itself. (It's
- 104 not th-) ye kn- we talked about that. But just to say:: that
- 105 when someone makes a mistake like this, they've got to be
- 106 treated as- as- as- as- as a glo:bal statementship
- 107 catastrophe. It's ridiculous. =
- 108 IR: =Bob [Sateror?
- 109 IE?: [(I think) It's absurd.=
- 110 IR: =() Bob Sateror? quite e:h broad accusation against the

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- 111 way it's been covered there?
- 112 IE1: Oh I see some of Simon's points, but they ha- the problem
 113 is that it is not as though this was just the fi:rst of- of a
 114 series a- a- a first a first mistake which he has made. He is
 115 a young man, but he has actually been running into quite a
 116 lot of trouble over the last few months .h and really I think
 117 the question th- reason why tha- the papers are sort of
 118 making the points that they are again making so much
 119 troubles because there seems to be rather sort of slow
 120 reaction from the palace which is fairly typical↑ .h e:h and
 121 also that's [(.) They're gonna say: well is this boy out =
- 122 IR: [Well wel- yo-
- 123 IE1: = of contro:l.
- 124 IR: You're changing your ground a bit, aren't you? You've said
 125 to us a moment or two ago: .h that it was the gravity of the
 126 mistake that justified all this. And and and .h for Simon
 127 Jenkins' point is that- that's exaggerated. It's not- it's not
 128 an international incident.
- 129 IE1: Well I think- I think it's the gravity, it's- it's i- i- it's the
 130 continual sort of errors which are happening. And I think
 131 the questioning that is going on is .h you know is .h who
 132 is .h sort of advising Prince Harry about his behavior. I
 133 think that's where th- the problem is going. >I mean<
 134 clearly it is- .h it has some gravity. Whatever Simon says, it
 135 is offending quite a lot of people. [I think that's- that's-
- 136 IR: [It- it-
- 137 IE1: = that's their judgment.
- 138 IE2: It- it is offending (.) because (.) it- it'ss put in confrontation
 139 with the newspaper. =
- 140 IR: = Oh that's not true. [Is it?
- 141 IE2: [I think- I think a: I think they so what.
 142 >It's not as though this chap< on the government. [He's =
- 143 IR: [no but
 144 he is- he is
- 145 IE2: = no- he's not the head of the state?
- 146 IR: He is that of lau- well he could be,
 147 [couldn't he. He's third in line to the throne.]
- 148 IE1: [wha- whate- what's e:h]=
 149 IE1: =third (.) we- we- we're now taught people you know yo-

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- 150 should never motor offense to their sixteenth in line of the
151 throne. This is a complete (.) mumble jumble land. This-
152 this guy is- is going, he ought to be an ordinary private kid.
153 And he is virtually a private kid? And I really don't see
154 why: the fact that he is the thi:rd in line to the thro:ne, a- a-
155 a job I may save no power at all? E:h it's significant, it jus-
156 it just doesn't matter. =
- 157 IR: = Should h- shouldn't he be judged differently Bob Sateror
158 to say Prince Charles or indeed for- to Prince William?
- 159 IE1: I think it's a- I think it's actually a- a view of the whole of
160 the wha- the royal family is going at the moment. I think
161 part of the problem is when Simon said is- is should be a- a
162 privat- eh private person. I mean of cou:irse he is entitled to
163 som- (.) privacy an- and everybody is, but- you know th-
164 the media and the press .h the press generally has gone
165 along (.) with some of the positive stories about what he
166 did in Africa, with children and so on, an- that's the Palace
167 trying to eh [put a =
- 168 IR: [Bob Sateror
- 169 IE1: = different- different fight on it. But in fact [this guy =
- 170 IR: [w-
- 171 IE1: = we used to call (bank to rites).=
- 172 IR: = We- get the point. Bob Sateror and Simon Jenkins,
173 thanks very much indeed.

Dangjie Ji—Indirect Defensive Responses to Hostile Questions

In British Broadcast News Interviews

[6] Saturday 15 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0833 A retired policeman who killed his terminally-ill wife (11:00.5)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Brian Pretty

IE2: Ebon Harries, Liberal Democratic MP

IE3: Lady Finley, professor of pallet medicine at the University of Wales, College of Medicine

01 IR: In the story that emerged from the trial of retired police
02 officer Brian Blackburn which ended yesterday, .hhh was
03 extremely distressing. Mr. Blackburn killed his wife, who
04 was suffering from stomach cancer? .h and then tried to
05 take his own life↑ but failed. She told him that killing her
06 was the last loving thing he could do. Mr. Blackburn was
07 given a suspended sentence because of what the judge
08 called .h the exceptional circumstances of the ca:se. .h W’l
09 Brian Pretty has some experience what it’s like to deal with
10 the law in this area? although .hh his own situation was of
11 course very different. He and his wife Dianne tried but
12 failed to persuade the courts .h that he should be allowed to
13 help her die when she was terminally ill. But Motor
14 Neuron Disease Mr. Brian Pretty is on the line, good
15 morning.

16 (0.3)

17 IE1: Good morning.

18 IR: Did you feel (0.2) hh. so:me sense of sympathy with Brian
19 Blackburn’s story.

20 IE1: .hhh e:h yes I do in fact, because:: the simple reason is he
21 done (.) the one thing that: (.) Dianne didn’t want me to
22 do? But: eh (.) also th- (.) what happen(ed) was he’s: eh (.)
23 he- he was taking his own life as well which (.)
24 unfortunately it didn- it didn’t do, but: eh .hhh anyway it
25 wo- .hh within (.) his life is still with us (.) has helped (.)
26 helped him to turn round and move on, in one respect.

27 IR: One ima:gines that if you are: in the:: very distressing
28 circumstances of having .hh eh wife or partner, o:r husband
29 or partner, come to that, e:h who is very i:ll. (.) A:nd you-
30 you- you want to help them end their lives, that dealing
31 with the legal system must be: a very .hh difficult thing to
32 do.

- 33 (0.3)
- 34 IE1: Yes, it is very difficult, because at the moment where the
- 35 laws (.) in this country stand, .hh if you: (.) help someone
- 36 to die, you can be: imprisoned up to fourteen years. But: eh
- 37 luckily fo:r Bria:n that they gave him a suspended
- 38 sentence? which is (.) in all due respects- (.) there're issue
- 39 he shouldn't have even a sentence, because eh as- as we-
- 40 (.) we all know he was helping his eh last request of his
- 41 wife.=
- 42 IR: =D- do you recognize after being through what you have
- 43 been through that .h whatever people may feel about their
- 44 individual circumstances, this i:s an area where society (.)
- 45 should really reserve to its rights, collectively to make
- 46 decisions about what people can: eh or can't do, and that
- 47 even (.) if it's very difficult individuals have to: (.) accept
- 48 that to some degree.
- 49 (0.3)
- 50 IE1: .hhh not really, because: eh you know you g- you have the::
- 51 (.02) cho:ice yeah. This is what we have say: that people
- 52 (shou-) have choices. You have choices, I have choices.
- 53 Terminally ill people (.) .h also have choices. But: eh at the
- 54 end of the day, i- i- if you take those choi- rights and
- 55 choices (well often), then- (.) they jus- (.) they (gonna tell
- 56 and) say well- I've got a (.) take on what: the: government
- 57 tells me (good) to do, which aren't right. Then, you know,
- 58 then you've got no rights at all. This is what (Dian) was
- 59 saying.
- 60 IR: Brian Pit, thank you very much indeed for talking to us.
- 61 We: are joined now by the Liberal Democratic MP Ebon
- 62 Harries, who is on the line from Oxford. .hh Harries, what
- 63 do you make o:f the: case (of) Blackburn.
- 64 IE2: .h Well- it's clearly a tragic case. I bu- I think it's an
- 65 example of the desperation that some people are in,
- 66 because they foresee a time. If they are terminally ill,
- 67 where they are going to be suffering? despite what (pallet
- 68 of cac) can do, despite that, .h or indeed, that they will be::
- 69 e:h they will lack dignity at the end, and they want the
- 70 ability to choose the ti:me .h and means of their going, and
- 71 may need assistance in dying, as Dian Pretty has requested.

- 72 And the fact that the law: are very cruel law, .h says (.) that
 73 you can't do that. Doctors are not allowed to he:lp? and
 74 any family member .h who wants to help out of lo:ve, .h
 75 providing you all the autonomy, to do this (.) for yourself
 76 eh face the sentence of up to fourteen yea:rs. So:: w- we do
 77 need just more grace to them ill, .h about reforming the law
 78 to allow those people who wish it? No one is forcing those
 79 have .h moral views against this (.) .h to go down this
 80 path.=
- 81 IR: = Could you not look at the outcome: of the case, and say
 82 that there wa:s (0.2) a sort of sanity in it, the tragic there it
 83 was, in the sense that .h in the end the judge e:h allow Mr.
 84 Blackburn to go free and recognize the exceptional
 85 circumstances .hh of his individual situation. But at the
 86 same time upheld .h the principle, which is th- heart of the
 87 law: (.) wo:rks (.) in this area.
- 88 IE2: No, because (.) this is a man who's been bereaved
 89 effectively? He lost his wife, and he was in jail for months.
 90 And he's been through the trauma of court case, and indeed
 91 the states spent a lot of money .hhh e:n in time on the court
 92 case. That we're hy- we're hypocritical in this
 93 country, .hhh because (.) there have been at least two: (.)
 94 couples who have gone (.) Two people who('ve) been
 95 taken by their loved one (.)? To the dignity test (claimed) in
 96 Switzerland? .h which provides e:h eh help in dying? and
 97 that's clearly an offense in this country? But neither of
 98 those two people have been charged with aiding and
 99 betting. So- B-ritish situation is we don't allow it. U:m and
 100 if you do it we won't charge you if you have the wa- ways
 101 and means to get to Switzerland. And I just think that we
 102 ought to take a rational view of this .h >in the political
 103 establishment< .hh which against the views of the majority
 104 of British people as always opposed any change in the law,
 105 (how) won't even allow a debate in Parliament, far less a
 106 vote on it, .h should open its mind to the possibility .h of
 107 liberalizing the law of- as the Dutch have done, and
 108 Oregon has done, with no ill effect. =
- 109 IR: = Well I suppose I- in a sort of way I was- I was asking you
 110 whether .h em eh a bit of hypocrisy in this area might not

- 111 be a ba:d thing, but because .hhh given that the vast
 112 majority of politicians are:: opposed to the cu- change of
 113 the cu- e:::h change of the law that you're ta:lking
 114 about. .hhh Perhaps common sense in the way (.) the law is
 115 administered is a sensible way to go.
- 116 IE2: Well firstly I'm not sure what the vast majority of
 117 politicians are in favor of, because we haven't had a vote. =
 118 >My own party< .h has argued hh. e:h although a little bit
 119 of free vote for members that .h there should be a change
 120 in the law? With adequate safeguards in the debate I think
 121 isn't around the principle any more, it has to be around the
 122 safeguards to prevent coercion, .h and people feeling a
 123 burden so forth. And I recognize those fears. .h But we
 124 don't know what people want. And I don't think we want
 125 to have a legal system .h particularly based on these
 126 profound issues of end of life, .h which doesn't provide the
 127 ce:rtainty that people want. I don't think there i:s room
 128 for .h hypocrisy and doubt, in la- in law in this area. And
 129 that's why I think it's time tha- Parliament reviewed it,
 130 >maybe< .h another law commission, because since the
 131 House of Lords .h looked at this, a number of members of
 132 the House of Lords committee? .h who had rejected a
 133 change in the law .h have changed their mi:nds and indeed
 134 been on th- this program .h to say they've done that. And
 135 then Lord Jophy's bill, a private members in the House of
 136 Lords before a select committee. I- I hope [I think that =
 137 IR: [Well-
 138 IE2: = se(lect) committee will back it. [And I think the =
 139 IR: [We do-
 140 IE2: = government really has to consider giving time to debate
 141 this .h on a free vote.=
 142 IR: =>We have a member of the House of Lords directly
 143 involved with us<, eh with us as well. >We're joined now
 144 by Lady Finley< of Flander, .h who is professor of pallet
 145 medicine at the University of Wales: College of Medicine.
 146 U:m you I think take a rather: (.) different view, Lady
 147 Finley.
 148 IE3: Yes I do, thank you.
 149 (.)

- 150 IR: A:nd could you explain why.
- 151 IE3: I- I- I think that- it's a- tra- this is a tragic case, a:nd there
 152 will always sadly the individual cases which (.) for which
 153 you can not legislate, because you have to decide in law:
 154 where you put the li:ne. And the li:ne in law is to protect
 155 the vulnerable from coercion, from feeling that they have
 156 the duty to die:. If we look at those countries .h where they
 157 have changed the law, they have gone down this road, .hhh
 158 we know that in Oregon one in three people (.) requesting
 159 (position) assisted suicide decide to do so (.) because they
 160 feel that they are a burden. This isn't about these people .h
 161 the physical suffering or other aspects. >It's because they
 162 feel like a burden, (find out) this coming into- into this
 163 decision from people are feeling pressurized and coerced.
 164 [.h Now if =
- 165 IR: [.h
- 166 IE3: = you ha:ve (.) a situation where people feel pressurized
 167 and coerced into asking somebody to kill them? o:r th- that
 168 they feel that they have- t- to somehow go down the
 169 route↑ .h of asking for (at least or over) their take
 170 themselves, then we've lost the fundamental p- u:m
 171 premier on which our society (.) .h is based, and that we
 172 are providing care for those who are vulnerable and we
 173 have a [duty to do so.
- 174 IR: [w-
- 175 IR: What do: you ma:ke of Ebon Harries' suggestion that we
 176 are hypocritical, that we we wink at people who've got
 177 means .h to break this law.
- 178 IE3: I don't think that we wink at people who have the means to
 179 break this law at all. >I think that we are not doing as much
 180 as we< should in society .h to make sure that we provide
 181 a:ll the care that people need. Most of the pallet care is not
 182 provide on the NHS, it's still in the charitable sector. We
 183 should be making su:re that everybody in this country .h
 184 has good pain control, has good symptom control, .h that
 185 they have nursing at home over night, if that's what they
 186 need. Not rely:ing on charities to provide nurses, .hh one or
 187 two nights a week to supplement the district nurses. [We =
 188 IR: [.hhhh

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- 189 IE3: = have a () sitting care. It isn't surpri:sing that people
190 feel .h worried about what life is ahead of them.=
- 191 IR: =Well=
- 192 IE3: =And they need to know that they will get the care that
193 they need, and they also need to be quite sure .h that when
194 they don't want to have active interventions any more .h
195 that they can say no, I don't want any active interventions
196 and they will still be supported,
197 [everything done to maintain their dignity.=
- 198 IR: [Well tha- tha- That brings us to the point that: Brian Pretty
199 made, .h which is that there is .h an issue of choice yeah?
- 200 IE3: .hh, Indeed, there is an issue of choice that people are not
201 aware that they (.) ca:n (.) refu:se to have interventions,
202 they don't have to have treatments if they don't want. An-
203 indeed at the moment .hh we have a bill going to
204 Parliament to try to make sure that people can state in
205 advance, what they would want (.) if they lo:se the capacity
206 (.) to be able to express [their wishes.
- 207 IR: [Alright, we- we- we haven't got
208 Ryan (.) long left. I'd like to put- to Ebon Harries, your
209 point, your original point, .hhh that people .hh are going to
210 feel pressured in this area if the law is cha:nged, Ebon
211 Harries.
- 212 IE2: .h Well I think we have to (.) allow people the autonomy
213 and have safeguards to ensure that isn't a case. But the
214 bizarre situation is as .h Bannis Finley has admitted, .h that
215 even if you are not terminally ill, even if you are not
216 suffering, even if your decision is rational, but you have th-
217 capacity to make the decision. You can refuse treatment, .h
218 and therefore (.) die, but you can't request help. If you are
219 terminally ill, suffering, .h and making a rational decision,
220 tha- the gap is too wide .h between the active and the
221 [passive.
- 222 IR: [Lady Finley?
- 223 IE3: If you want to die, if you are terminally ill, and you want to
224 carry on living, you struggle to carry on living. And when
225 you want to let go as life, you let go as life. Those have su-
226 worked with these patients see it day and day out. People
227 who want(ed) to select let go as life .hh do so at the time as

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- 228 they are choosing. .hh Good care (.) gives people (.) the
229 power (.) to choose. Bad care is pressurizing people in
230 having a duty to die.
231 IR: Lady Finley, Ebon Harries, thanks both very much indeed.

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In British Broadcast News Interviews

[7] Monday 17 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0647 Admiral Stansfield Turner (03:17.4)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Admiral Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA.

01 IR: Charles Grainer, the American soldier convicted of
02 prisoner abuse in Ever Grave has continued to insist that he
03 was acting (.) .h under orders. He’s been sentenced to ten
04 years in jail? .hh but the case remains controversial in
05 some quarters in United States? Admiral Stansfield Turner
06 is the former director of the CIA.

07 IE: I think that Grainer (.) was in that atmosphere that was
08 corrosive a:nd (.) improper. (0.2) But I think the things that
09 Grainer did (.) were things that no: (0.3) reasonable people
10 ought to: e;h e: even consider doing regardless whether
11 he’s been told to do them (0.2) or not. He disgrace the
12 uniform? he disgrace the country? and doing things that are
13 just reprehensible

14 IR: But in terms of what you called the atmosphere in which
15 he was working, (0.2) do you believe that he would have
16 been given direct instructions (.) to be- soften the:
17 prisoners up as, some have alleged? or simply that- .h there
18 was a: feeling around the place that people can do that kind
19 of thing.

20 IE: Oh I suspect he was given direct instructions? But whether
21 he was given direct instructions to do some of the .hh very
22 terrible thing th- that he did (.) like piling .hh prisoners,
23 naked on top of each other and standing there making jokes
24 and so on. I- I can’t imagine that- .h he really .h was given
25 those instructions explicitly.

26 IR: There is no evidence though, there were no evidence that
27 has come into light of any kind of instruction from above,
28 is there?

29 IE: No e::::h there isn’t but again tha- .hhh there was just
30 permissive at- atmosphere (0.2) a:nd (.) you do have to go
31 back to the fact that any military organization if it’s going
32 to maintain discipline. (0.3) must hold people responsible
33 (0.2) for things that go wro:ng. (0.2) Sometimes those
34 things that go wrong are really done at only a very low
35 level? But sometimes they a:re done with (0.3) either the

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- 36 knowledge of superiors (0.2) o:r the superiors should have
37 known what was going on. An- when something this
38 (heinous) takes place and anyone's military cla:nd (0.2) the
39 commander has go- got to be held responsible.
- 40 IR: To what extent do you think the administration bears some
41 measure of responsibility.
- 42 IE: I think they're bear great deal of responsibility. >I think
43 the-< recently testimony of the President's .h council (0.2)
44 when he was be:ing interviewed by the: Senate for
45 possible .h confirmation as our next Attorney General our
46 Chief Law Enforcement officer in the United States? in the
47 case that (.) a:h he was sympathetic to some of the:se (.)
48 procedures. He was not (.) really (.) against torture. He
49 would (.) say he was against torture, but he: really didn- (.)
50 sound very convincing.
- 51 IR: >Do you think there's any possibility? that any of these
52 matters will be pursued further, and that th- question that
53 whether there was responsibility in higher up the chain of
54 command will be looked at again.<
- 55 IE: I don't think so. I don- I don't think this ad- administration
56 a:h is holding i- its people: responsible i:n many other
57 respects. .h a:nd (.) I don't think with any Republic and
58 majority in the Congress, there is going to be a dema:nd
59 e:h or law or something from the Congress' requiring (.) an
60 investigation. So I think we're (0.3) stuck (.) at this time.
- 61 IR: >Admiral Stansfield Turner? Thank you very much
62 indeed.<

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In British Broadcast News Interviews

[8] Monday 17 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0715 Rick Scannell (03:02.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Rick Scannell

01 IR: The ti:me i:s (.) nineteen minutes past seven. There was
02 another vote of no confidence in the system for dealing
03 with foreign .h terrorist suspects of the weekend? Second
04 lawyer who represents those the government wants to lock
05 up the Special Immigration Appeals Tribunal has
06 resi:gned? .hh A:nd Rick Scannell i:s in our radio car? for
07 his first broadcast interview? Good morning?

08 IE: Good morning?

09 IR: .hh Your colleague Ian MacDonald did this (.) couple of
10 weeks (.) ba:ck. E:m you decided not to go: at the time?
11 although you- basically a- agree with his objections. Why
12 not. Why did you delay.

13 IE: At the time I hope(d) that the government would react
14 positively, E:h an- release the men. At least in the fullness
15 of the time, when it had had the opportunity to:: e:h refect
16 on what course to take. I- i- it was a landmark decision in
17 December of last year? [.hh e:h

18 IR: [>This is the decision by the Law
19 Lords that< .h this was a- g- the decision to- hold people
20 without trial was contrary to their human rights from regis-
21 legislation.

22 IE: In- in- indeed it was contrary to their fundamental rights in
23 liberty? The rights of personal freedom has (.) very long
24 traditions in English law? dating back to the Magna Carter?
25 And indeed the right of personal freedom is- .h if you like a
26 reflexion of democratic society in the post-war era. U:hm
27 (.) unfortunately the initial optimism (.) that I had (0.2) that
28 the government .h might upon reflection .h actually (.)
29 change its mind, and not (.) seek (.) the continued (.)
30 detentions of these men, a- and release them, pro:ved to be:
31 misplaced. A:nd one saw that because e:h special advocates
32 we:re continuing e:h to receive instructions? because CIAC
33 i- is still sitting? because (0.2) reviews are due shortly to
34 take place, of thee .h continue the detention these men u- u-
35 under e:h the:se la:ws.

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- 36 IR: .hhh=
37 IE: =A:nd I wasn't prepared to: continu:e to: (0.2) be involved
38 in a:: system that sought to review↑ the legality of
39 detention. Whe:re the House of Lords has said in absolutely
40 unequivocal terms (.) that their detention (.) was contrary to
41 their human rights.=
- 42 IR: =.h There is a story in the:: Daily Telegraph this morning
43 suggesting that (.) all of you? all the special advocates met
44 (.) and decided that if the government doesn't accept the
45 House of Lords r- ruling in some shape or form, everyone
46 will go:. Is that true.
- 47 IE: I've no comments to ma:ke- about e: any other special
48 advocates. >I'm delighted to< talk about my own position,
49 but I have no comments to make about others'.
- 50 IR: I see? It is tru:e, isn't it that the government is still saying
51 that it's thinking about how to respo:nd to:: [e:h what the =
- 52 IE: [((biting lips))
- 53 IR: = House of Lords has said. >And to that extent they migh-
54 s- say what you've done is a bit pre-mature.
- 55 IE: Well (.) you kno:w (.) as I've emphasized? the: right to
56 liberty is a fundamental right. It: (.) has been (.) I think a
57 little bit over a month now, since the:: House of Lords gave
58 their eh landmark decision? emphasizing the (fundel)
59 importance? (.) of (.) the right (.) to liberty. U:h i- i- i- it is
60 in my view intolerable that the government should sit on (.)
61 a decision (.) like this. It's very simple? Their lordships'
62 decision's very clear. A:nd if- the government isn't to
63 continue to breach these people's fundamental rights, to my
64 mind, e:h the: action that it should take (.) is very very
65 simple. [It should =
- 66 IR: [r-
- 67 IE: = release them.
- 68 IE: Rick Scannell? Many thanks.

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In British Broadcast News Interviews

[9] Monday 17 Jan. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0733 Voluntary euthanasia (05:08.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Tom Butler, the Bishop of Southwark

IE0: Deborah Annetts, chief executive of the Voluntary Euthanasia Society

01 IR: Seven minutes to eight? Canon Robert Gill, who’s an
02 advisor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, .hh attracted
03 plenty of attention over the weekend by saying that there’s
04 a very strong compassionate case for voluntary euthanasia.
05 Because of its connection to Lambeth Palace? The remark
06 was interpreted as a sign of the Church of England’s
07 position on the issue is changing? The Chief Executive of
08 the voluntary eutha- Euthanasia Society? .h i:s Deborah
09 Annetts.

10 IE0: Perha:ps, one of the reasons why: the Church of England is
11 shifting its position is- is because it understa::nds that .h in
12 this day and age, assisted dying, .h as is currently dealt
13 with under the law, with fu:ll criminal sanctions is not in an
14 appropriate way. Given (.) the: very high suppo:rt (.) withi:n
15 church-goers, .h fo:r changing the law (.) o:n assisted dying
16 in this country. I’m (.) very much welcome the fact .h that
17 senior church leaders are (.) .h respo:nding to the concerns
18 o:f (.) ordinary church people.

19 IR: .hhh And the Bishop of Southwark (.) Tom Butler is here,
20 good morning.

21 IE: Good morning.=

22 IR: .hh Do you believe there is a very strong compassionate
23 case for voluntary euthanasia.

24 IE: There is a compassionate case of course because this is a
25 very difficult e:h area. E:h but- there isn’t a strong case .h
26 e:h for changing our fundamental values. E:h e:h
27 fundamental values that life is a- a gift from God? It’s to be
28 revered? It’s to be cherished? An- tho:se who become
29 vulnerable thro(ugh) illness↑ o:r old age, deserve special
30 care and protection. E:h the law: rightly gives us this
31 protection at the present time. And in no way: are we
32 striving for a change in the law. [(That is our) =

33 IR: [J-

34 IE: = compassionate position.

- 35 IR: To be absolutely clear about this, the official .hh (.)
 36 position of the Church of England remain:s (.) as it has
 37 always been, and the hints that we had over the weekend
 38 that it might be changing, a:re what just no more than
 39 hints, they are wrong.
- 40 IE: Th- the media are putting two and two together and making
 41 fi::ve. E:h the: the: eh House of Bishops↑ of the Church of
 42 England↑, and the Roman Catholic Bishops Conference .h
 43 put in a jo:int submission eh to e:h the select committee, eh
 44 stressing that we could not accept a change in the law. E:h
 45 as it happens e:h la:st week, eh the submission eh took
 46 place during a meeting of the House of Bishops in Leeds?
 47 and therefore Robin Gill e:h went to eh represent us. And
 48 eh he in eh giving his view, after giving the: official eh
 49 submission, eh said it was a gray area. E:h but he he a:lso
 50 said that he himself did not belie:ve .h in relaxing the ban
 51 on eh euthanasia. E:h he feel- he felt that it would make
 52 vulnerable people even more [vulnerable.
- 53 IR: [.hh
- 54 IR: But- if (.) the Church's position (.) hasn't changed? and it
 55 is as you have just spelled it out, is it legitimate .hh for
 56 individual priest to say the ki:nd of thi:ng? that Canon Gill
 57 (.) said.
- 58 IE: Well of course it's always legitimate for priests and and
 59 and e:h indeed lay people eh to discuss ethical issues. And
 60 and as he's said e:h this is a very difficult area and a very
 61 painful area. And a strong case can be made out. E:h e:h to-
 62 fo:r eh assisted euthanasia. But a much stronger case eh
 63 can be made out, for keeping the present eh legal and
 64 moral position intact.
- 65 IR: Do you accept the point that Deborah Annetts was making
 66 there, which is that on this particular issue, you a:re
 67 probably at odds .hh with many of your members?
- 68 IE: .hh Well I- I just don't know whether that's e:h or not. But-
 69 but obviously it's our duty as- as Bishops to think these
 70 things through (.) very clearly .h we have a lot of
 71 experience of: eh of being alongsi:de people .h eh who are
 72 v- v- very ill or dying. E:h and: we wouldn't want their
 73 position to be made more vulnerable.

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- 74 IR: But you'd also want to reflect, .hh (.) a cha:nge in the
75 moo:d of the Church as a whole, wouldn't you. >(During)<
76 that's- the Church isn- doesn't usually operate as a sort of
77 dictatorial system in which the bishops just ha:nd down
78 what they believe to be right?
79 [And (one of us) has to [(lump) it.
80 IE: [Of course (). [But- but- but bishops have a a
81 particular responsibility eh to give eh leadership and to
82 give ethical leadership. And as I say we- we have wi:de
83 experience (.) for being alongside people .h eh in this kind
84 of vulnerable position? and we don't want their position to
85 be made more vulnerable.
86 IR: Do you regret the fact that Canon Gill said what he said.
87 IE: Eh Canon Gill is- is a a rema:rkable theologian. Eh he- he
88 chairs the Archbishop's Medical Ethics Committee? Eh he
89 gives: a great deal of- eh insi:ght and advice to the Church.
90 >And I'd want< him to continue to do that.
91 IR: Yeah, but he's- he's got you in here on a Monday morning,
92 trying to sort of pouring water on the fire, hasn't he?
93 IE: Well, I- I- in- in- in- to be fai:r to him, he- he finished his
94 submission as I've sai:d, by: stressing that he didn't
95 belie:ve .h tha- that we should relax the ban on eu-
96 euthanasia? and saying precisely as I:'m saying that it will
97 make vulnerable people more vulnerable. .h As I say, I
98 think this is a .h a- a- a story that has come out of nothing.
99 IR: Tom Butler, many thanks.

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In British Broadcast News Interviews

[10] Friday 4 Feb. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0708 truancy (04:14.3)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Tim Collins, Shadow Education Secretary

01 IR: Nine minutes pa:st seven. There’s always been a hard core of
02 children who play truant. The government said it would deal
03 with them and spend hundreds of millions of pounds
04 trying. .h According to the National Audit Office, it has
05 fai:led. Tim Collins is the Shadow Education Secretary?
06 Good morning?

07 IE: Good morning.

08 IR: But failed only with this- (.) sma:ll percentage, because
09 school attendance i:s eh is (up in tile with everybody).

10 IE: Well let’s put this in context, John. This is now the thi:rd
11 devastating independent repo:rt about the government’s
12 educational record? First (the) Education Select Committee
13 (.) .h said there was no proof at all the extra money going to
14 the system .h had improved the exam performance. >Second<
15 early this year the Chief Inspector of School said .h the
16 number of failing schools was up by thirty percent in the last
17 year. This mo:rning the National Audit Office (.) .h said the
18 government had spent eight hundred and eighty five million
19 pounds on reducing truancy .h actually hasn’t fallen.
20 >Indeed< the government’s own figures, .h shows this has
21 gone up by a third since nineteen ninety seven. So (.) I’m
22 afraid you have to put this in context, the government is
23 spending an awful lot of money not getting a lot forward.
24 That’s a metaphor of their record (across) indeed.=

25 IR: =But you didn’t deal with my question about the fact that the
26 school attendance is at re[cord levels.]

27 IE: [hhh] Absolutely. What all
28 we need to look at of course is that what the government has
29 succeed(s)ed in doing which frankly is not that much an
30 achievement, is to reduce the amount of au:thorized absences.
31 >That’s< when head teachers .h say to a parent you can take
32 the child away perhaps for holiday in school time. As the
33 government have reduced that, but they’ve made no progress
34 at a:ll according to this independent report .h in reducing
35 unauthorized absence which of course is what we should be

- 36 worried about, which is truancy.=
- 37 IR: =But I can't see any evidence that it has gone up, from the
38 report that is.
- 39 IE: Eh but if you look at the government's own figures (.)
40 produced in parliamentary answers, that it shows the number
41 of children playing truancy a year (.) .h has gone up by more
42 than a thi:rd since eh nineteen ninety seven. An- and actually
43 it's now over a million for the first time.
- 44 IR: .hhh Well hh. how do you square that with them say:ing: that
45 e::hm (0.2) the ha:rd core you- as you SAY: the hard core of
46 two percent only two perCENT of six point seven million
47 pupils .h (en-ter-) almost half of the truancy. But it has
48 remained- (.) sTAbLe. That'sthe way I read the figure.
49 [() reading them wRONgly.] =
- 50 IE: [well what they're saying] =
- 51 IE: =No no no John. What the Audit Office is quite right at
52 pointing out is that the propo:rtion of young people eh who
53 are playing truancy is about the same. But of course the age
54 group has increased and therefore the numbers .hh who are
55 playing truant has gone up. That I think is why the
56 government can both claim (.) that there are more children
57 who are (.) going to school while at the same time the number
58 of children who are playing truant has also gone up, because
59 the age group is growing in the recent years. =
- 60 IR: = That hardly sounds like a devastating indictment, to use the
61 word you used at the beginning?
- 62 IE: Well I think (.) you've got to put as I say this in the context.
63 They spent eight hundred and eighty five million. They had a
64 target only TWO YEars ago, (.) that we were going to see a
65 ten percent fa:ll in the (.) amount of children playing truant.
66 And this report confirms (.) there's been no fall at all. In fact
67 they've set successive targets since nineteen ninety seven.
68 Let's actually talk positively about what should be done
69 instead, because of course we can play knock-about. [I think
- 70 IR: [Well I-
71 be- bu- just before we [do that, just for one second. =
- 72 IE: [e:hm
- 73 IR: = This is the point, isn't it, .h what they're doing (.) is they're
74 setting a target. And if you set a target and you fail it, you still

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- 75 (ha)ve made an effort. I mean (hhh) they a:re in a sense (.)
76 taking a risk, aren't they, by saying (.) you know you- judges
77 by this, if you fail to achieve that target, yeah we were a fail,
78 but at least they've set the target.
- 79 IE: Well John you're a very very generous man. You're (clearly
80 in a (ma-) [()])
- 81 IR: [Try my best.]=
82 IE: = Absolutely. Ehm (.) I do think however if they've set a
83 target and then spent a hu:ge amount of a:ll our money, that's
84 eight hundred eighty five million pounds of tax payers'
85 money, .h and failed to hit it, then it's legitimate for us (such)
86 to say (.)hang on there's something [going wrong.
- 87 IR: [Alright, what would you
88 do.=
- 89 IE: =Absolutely. Two things I think we have to recognize.
90 Truancy of course has many many different factors. And no
91 child is exactly the same as any others. But two things are
92 driving I think in particular. .h One is (field reporting)? And
93 we need to crack down ha:rd on disciplining schools, we need
94 to give here teachers the final say excluding .h eh d- eh eh
95 indisciplinary pupils and provide proper supervision for that.
96 We talked about that earlier this week. The second thing is
97 that we need to make sure that particularly for the- .h older
98 age group in secondary school where truancy is particularly
99 prevalent, fourteen and fifteen year olds. .hh There's
100 alternative vocational education. And we set up plans as ()
101 yesterday. Eh for one in three ultimately in that age group to
102 have access to two days a week outside school. Eh maybe in
103 any (question) centre if they're interested in animals. Maybe
104 in garages if they are interested in ca:rs. Actually to make
105 them (.) more interested in being engaged in education. I
106 think if you did that, you actually make them feel that
107 education wasn't boring. It was relevant. You really would get
108 rid of the roots of much of the truancy. That is the problem.
- 109 IR: Tim Collins, thank you. We'll be talking to the Education
110 Secretary herself at about ten to eight.

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[11] Friday 4 Feb. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0712 UN’s ‘Oil for Food’ Programme (04:02.1)

IR: Sarah Montague

IR0: John Humphrys

IE: Donald Anderson

IE0: Mark Malloch Brown

01 IR: The time now thirteen minutes past seven. Kofi Annan’s
02 Chief of Staff Mark Malloch Brown has admitted that there
03 are very rare questions over the management of the United
04 Nations. He was speaking after the United Nations’ own
05 investigation () the food scandal found that the UN official
06 running the program .h was guilty of unethical behavior. That
07 has seriously undermined the integrity of the organization.
08 But Mr. Mark Malloch Brown said the problem .h wasn’t just
09 with the UN, and critics should look closer to home.

10 IE0: What British politicians did know well was .h massive oil
11 smuggling, .h which they (condoned) and allow:ed and which
12 eh allowed revenues to approve to (.) Saddam Hussein,
13 which dwarfed (.) anything he ma:de (.) to the UN ‘Oil for
14 Food’ program.

15 IR: Mark Malloch Brown, whose interview you can hear at ten
16 past eight this morning. Well on the line is Mr. Donald
17 Anderson, who chairs the Foreign Select Committee. Good
18 morning.

19 IE: Good morning.

20 IR: Is Mr. Mark Malloch Brown ri:ght?

21 IE: Yes, he is partly right. But: (.) clearly the focus now: (.) is on
22 (.) the focal report what he says about the UN, and perhaps
23 said there’s an element in what he’s saying as (.) (fully
24 industing) the (either) people. I- a:nd attack as a bit of formal
25 defense.

26 IR: But he is also referring to what he is in the balk of report,
27 which is an- Paul Paul Volker sets out that- the panel said
28 there was convincing and uncontested ev- evidence that th-
29 selection process for the three UN contractors chosen at
30 nineteen ninety six, (0.2) broke Financial Competitive and
31 Bidding rules, and he’s particularly .h pointing to, = in that
32 case, the Loyds Register & Inspection Limited. The British
33 company ° law °.=

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- 34 IE: = Well, if he makes and i- if- an- obviously I have as
35 repo:rted. =
- 36 IR: = eh =
- 37 IE: = The new repo↑rt. Eh i:f eh people are mentioned, or groups
38 are mentioned. Eh I think they should be followed up. And:
39 as just as the UN, itself has been in the talk, and hopefully it
40 will take- (.) a medium on measures, and not simply (.) e:h
41 be: a- attack others. I hope that- if the cap fits, that the
42 appropriate measures will be taken, and people will be
43 exposed.
- 44 IR: Well (.) e::h how- (.) what needs to happen to in- to see
45 whether British- British involvement needs to be °(in this
46 pl[ace] °.
- 47 IE: [Well, I hope that: the government look very carefully. The
48 chapter- chapter of verse, that is that: (.) if allegations are
49 made, that they will be looked at carefully? And it is clear
50 that there wa:s (.) undoubtedly eno:rmous (suprege) (.) of oil
51 from Iraq. Eh that: clearly there was- there were- we have
52 ships of course (.) eh in the street, you can (to prevent). Eh it-
53 but we knew very well that there wa:s (.) an element to this.
54 That was there was corruption. An:d equally there was a
55 quite lot of smuggling into Turkey. (.) eh (.) And I guess- (.)
56 for th- fi- at the ti:me, .h e:h (.) there was that- certainly a
57 degree of toleration. So (.) let's- (.) yes he is right, Mark
58 Malloch Brown? Chief of Staff? (.) the UN is o:n the
59 defensive, and he was right to point out that they were not
60 alone. So: just as UN (.) needs to (.) look very carefully at
61 some measures, they are not restricted actually to (.) eh the
62 director. Because hhh clearly for the- the amount of abuse,
63 suggests that there was:: (.) quite a large team of people
64 involved eh directly or indirectly. Equally of other (.) eh
65 groups are mentioned, that they are not to be exposed.
- 66 IR: Do you think that it raises the question (.) over whether Kofie
67 Annan can stay at the United Nations?
68 (0.4)
- 69 IE: .hhh I hope he- he is able to stay. He's- (.) eh popular, he's
70 done a remarkable job and he's given- (.) a: a new focus eh a
71 new efficiency to the UN. And clearly his statue will be
72 diminished in part after this. More- mo:re I think (.) eh

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- 73 pa:rtly for his family reasons. .h But: although (.) eh his
74 statue will be diminished, e:m I would hope that he will be
75 able to remain.
- 76 IR: Kofie Annan, many thanks.
- 77 IR0: E:m Kofie Annan?
- 78 IE: [(Well I-)
- 79 IR: [Eh forgive me, Donald Anderson, hahahaha there is a man
80 we would like to speak.
- 81 [Donald Anderson. Hahahahaha?
- 82 IR0: [Absolutely. She will be one day, who knows.

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[12] Friday 4 Feb. 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0731 G7 meeting (06:57.8)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Kenneth Clarke, former Chancellor

01 IR: The time now twenty-eight minutes (.) to eight. Finance
02 Ministers of the world’s seven most powerful economies
03 meet in London today. They’ll be talking about poverty in
04 Africa, .hh and about the rise of China as a major trading
05 block. But what do: such financial meetings really achieve.
06 It’s something our economic editor Evan Davis has been
07 considering.

08 (The BBC economic editor Evan Davis’ comments omitted.)

09 IR: Evan Davis reporting. We’re now joined on the line (.) by the
10 former Conservative Chancellor Kenneth Clarke. Good
11 morning.=

12 IE: =.h Good morning.=

13 IR: =You are (.) being terribly familiar with these things in the
14 past? How valuable did you find them.

15 IE: I: didn’t think they were very useful at first. But I came to
16 realize how valuable they were. E:h Allen Greece explained
17 to me the first thing is to get to know the other ministers, you
18 may have to deal with them. You’ve got to meet them, get to
19 know them. You may have to deal with them on the phone
20 (.) .h when you’ve got a crisis? And the other thing is, you
21 are very mutually and inter-dependent. Your own success,
22 your own polity? (.) is gonna be very much affected by: (.) by
23 what’s happening in the economic count, looking at other
24 countries, by what other ministers are doing. So they are very
25 good (.) way: eh semi (.) informally getting together, trying
26 to reach your consensus which you never do, but trying to
27 understand how you gonna tackle .h problems you have in
28 common. An- and then sometimes not always (.) there is a
29 kind of circus outside which (.) often bears well the
30 resemblance to what the meeting has been like. And tha-
31 that’s one of the things which happen in this occasion. There
32 are already dra:fted communiqué which would be very
33 (analdying) we won’t save very much, (.) and when it set up
34 the ma:rket. Because otherwise you waste a lot of time (.) .h
35 arguing about the communiqué when you are having the

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- 36 meetings. An- and then ministers go up to explain their own
 37 national press if they want to. What they say is we going on
 38 inside, an- an- and everybody will (else) understand Gordon
 39 has got an election in ten weeks. .h And actually I think (.)
 40 that they will share his concerns fo:r eh Africa (.) poverty
 41 which is a legitimate subject? I'm sure they'll talk about it.
 42 And an- British Chancellor (Vick Chair) is to go to French
 43 really, (.) have already taken the lead on these public issues.
 44 It was Nigel Lawson who (.) .h was the first British
 45 Chancellor to start to kick off the whole question of debt
 46 relief and get it under way, and they eh eh the British
 47 Chairman should be usually (.) does get around these poverty
 48 issues.
- 49 IR: Well the- the poverty issue (.) make poverty history is the
 50 challenge. We talk about hu:ge challenge (.) is sort of (.)
 51 almost setting up for failure.
- 52 IE: .hh i- it is I think the most challenge is facing the world
 53 today:. I would risk of upsetting the Americans there by
 54 saying actually .h it's a greater single global problem, = is
 55 more important than world terrorism. Eh eh th- th- they all
 56 know, including Gordon, (0.2) and that isn't just going to be
 57 so::lved by eh putting more money in eh o:r just by debt
 58 relief. Eh although I think that they all agree:↑ (.) that it is
 59 important that more money (.) is required. Th- th- the real
 60 challenge in Africa is how: to challenge this money in, in a
 61 way which actually eh is combi:ned with better government,
 62 with less corruption, creating the conditions (rambling)
 63 investment, starting developments of some tra::de. Eh so (.)
 64 al- al- although ou- outside interviews will be about how
 65 much money of each country agree was now gonna be
 66 requi:red. I mean it's no good making political speeches to
 67 finance ministers. [Eh the real problem th(h)at they're =
 68 IR: [.hhh
 69 IE: = faced with [their central bank of governance .h
 70 IR: [em
 71 IE: =is how to tu:ne this in something eh that might eh get Africa
 72 to surge ahead of us. Parts of Asia have been surging ahead
 73 of us [about the last ten years.=
 74 IR: [.hhh

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- 75 IR: =well Gordon Brown has got a job convincing certain
76 countries not just the America about his proposals on how to
77 deal with it. An- and do you read anything that the fact that
78 John Snow, .h the US Secretary isn- isn't there?
- 79 IE: Well I think it's the difficulty, 'cause (.) my impression is that
80 John Snow hasn't got much to do: with American e::h
81 economic policy. I mean it sounds very curious. An- under
82 the Clinton government, I was alongside a very distinguished
83 Treasury Secretary, a guy called Bob Ruben, who really was
84 the most powerful finance minister in the world, 'cause he's
85 pressured to let them running. They agreed. (.) But Bob
86 Ruben really did, (the Labor) really- really did contribute.
87 Snow gives me the impression of just being out there to
88 advertise the case for tax cuts. .h So (.) I don't think his a- his
89 absence will- will matter very much. Eh eh th- the American
90 e::h th- (affair), eh the American [Treasury people are =
91 IR: [em
92 IE: = extremely important. They will argue with Gordon about
93 how he is suggesting to raise this money. Eh what I think
94 they have really in the private conversation have agreed
95 upon? .h is the difficulty of .h how to challenge yet more
96 financial assistance, channel them in- into eh eh Africa? (.) in
97 the way of producing some la:(h)sting economic growth and
98 recovery.
99 IE: Kenneth Clarke, many thanks.

[13] Monday 7 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0709 black youngsters (04:13:2)

IR: Caroline Queen

IE: Charie Marlic, chairman of the Labor’s Ethnic Minority Forum

01 IR: Nine minutes past seven. .hhh According to Trevor Philips
 02 the chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, black
 03 boys may have to be taught apart from other children in
 04 some subjects. (0.2) .hh to improve their grades. .hhh He
 05 believes it’s necessary because so many black youngsters are
 06 failing to get good GCSEs. .hh He also wants tougher
 07 actions against black fathers who don’t take their parenting
 08 responsibilities seriously enough hhh. Charie Marlic, from
 09 Labor’s national executive committee is chairman of the
 10 party’s Ethnic Minority Forum, as well as being a former
 11 commissioner for the CRER. Eh Charie Marlic, good
 12 morning to you.

13 IE: .hh Hi good [morning.

14 IR: [eh Do you agree with Trevor Philips?

15 IE: .hhh Ehm e: it’s not a question of agreeing or disagreeing. I
 16 do think it’s: slightly out of context. (I think) Trevor was
 17 doing a: (0.2) .hh a documentary and listing a scheme in the
 18 US (.) .hh where: segregation: I think for black boys (.) in
 19 English classes- had led to dramatic- (.) results. positive
 20 results. .hh An- I think he was just asking a question that- you
 21 know after- (.) thirty years, o:f educationalists working on
 22 this issue, on the achievement of black boys↑ .hh ehm (.)
 23 should we close our minds to: other options and
 24 possibilities.=

25 IR: = But what about that question then, if i- if it’s been shown to
 26 be a success in a- hh. US school↑, should it- could it be
 27 adopted here.

28 IE: .hhh wel- I- I’ve got to say I’m eh it’s my firm belief that
 29 this is principally a debate for: the African (Caribbean)
 30 Community, .hh in order to look for th- the shortcomings of
 31 the education system as it currently: stands, but also to look
 32 at the: the causal factors which contribute to those hh. poor
 33 achievement rates. = You’ve mentioned some of it. = >I
 34 mean, .hh we looked at the disproportion of (or) lack of eh
 35 (0.2) male role modals within the: the household, .h social

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- 36 economic problems, teacher expectations, a kind of gangster
 37 rap culture. They're- you see they are very- they are very
 38 complex and sensitive issues, but- I do: thi:nk (0.2) the a lot
 39 of this isn't- .h rocky signs, .hh in a sense that- (.) we've got
 40 a very very serious problem for: for society. I think African
 41 Caribbean (.) pupils, boys in- certain areas up to eight times
 42 more likely to be: excluded. When I say it isn't rocky signs
 43 what I mean is (.) if you are more likely to be excluded, you
 44 are more likely to underachieve. [(.) If you are more likely =
- 45 IR: [And- and-
- 46 IE: = to underachieve, you are less likely to get a good job. >And
 47 if you are less likely to get a-< a- good job, then you are
 48 more likely to enga:ge in activities .hhh that the society
 49 frow:ns upon. =
- 50 IR: = wou- th- those- those figures have been quoted already
 51 about GCSE resu:lts. Ehm last year just h. thirty five point
 52 seven percent of black and Caribbean pupils in England
 53 scored at least five C grades in GCSE compared to the
 54 national average of .hh fifty one point nine percent. = >How
 55 do you< .h redress that balance then if h. you: (.) don't think
 56 that educating (.) black boys separately is the answ[er].
- 57 IE: [.hhhh
 58 well (0.3) I think- the education system is one thing (.) that
 59 we need to look at. The educationists: hh. clearly a::re trying
 60 their hardest. But (it) isn't working. We've seen gains each
 61 year, but they are ma:rginal gains. .hhh And society (.) really
 62 could do without marginal gains↑, we need significant gain↑s
 63 to ensure that this is a (level of plai:n field). .hhh Eh eh I- I
 64 notice that: a the deputy General Secretary one of the Head
 65 Teacher Associations, .hhh talked about- .h you know it has
 66 been seen as- (.) eh kind of preferential special treatment, (.)
 67 and perhaps (to) legal that the thing that: Trevor had: [.h] =
- 68 IR: [ehm]
- 69 IE: = had booked forward as possible option.=
- 70 IR: =You are referring to the comments by Martin Wa:ll the
 71 deputy General Secretary of the- .hh Secondary Heads of
 72 Associa[tion, you] say, he believes the suggestions could =
- 73 IE: [Yes, indeed.]
- 74 IR: = fall fail of .h racial equality l[aws]. Do you- =

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- 75 IE: [°Yeah°]
76 IR: = do you think that's right? =
77 IE: =No no I mean- (.) clearly that there is provision- (.) withi
78 the existing legislation and: .hhh sound of a bit like a (no)
79 now, = about one hundred pa:rts six section thirty fi:ve. .hh
80 That allow:s for positive action measures in education for
81 this survey: (.) groups. So it is clearly to be: (.) lawful. And
82 it's not about special treatment, it's about .hh rectifying a
83 problem for society. [The important thing is (£) that .hhh if =
84 IR: [(hh)
85 IE: = this works whatever this is, they won't just benefit African
86 Caribbean- (.) children. It will benefit- (.) society as a whole.
87 =
88 IR: = wu-=
89 IE: = But I think one- I think one thing that Trevor hhh. has
90 successfully done (0.2) i:s (.) initiate a debate (.) eh I- I think
91 many people within the African Caribbean Community (.) .h
92 will feel .h eh is a debate whose time has come.
93 (0.3)
94 IR: ((biting lips)) .h Charie Marlic, thank you very mu:ch.

[14] Monday 7 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0715 terrorists (03:28:7)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: David Bickford, the legal advisor to MI5

01 IR: Thirteen minutes pa:st seven. It's: a pretty frightening
 02 thou:ght if Sir John Stevens Lord Stevens the former-
 03 metropolitan and police commission is right↑ (.) and there
 04 really are at least a hundred↑ (.) probably as many as- (.) two
 05 hundred terrorists (.) connected to Alsama Ben Laden .hh
 06 walking in the streets of our cities. .hhh Some (sort of) the
 07 puzzling thought if he can be that sure (of) the figure,
 08 therefore obviously he knows who they a:re↑, why can't they
 09 be arrested. .hh David Bickford was the legal advisor to MR
 10 five and MR six for nearly ten years. He now advises foreign
 11 governments. Ehm Why Mr. Bickford, what's going on here.
 12 =

13 IE: = .hhh I don't understa:nd. If these terrorists (.) have been (.)
 14 or suspected terrorists have been walking around in France
 15 or Italy, or in Europe, .hhhh they would have been (.)
 16 arrested by now on suspicion of association with a terrorist
 17 organization or terrorism↑. .hhhh Their (.) investigation
 18 would have been supervised by an examining ju↑dge. .h
 19 A:nd once the investigation was proceeding they should be
 20 he::ld in prison detai:ned for up to four years. =

21 IR: = But we don't have that system. =

22 IE: = Eh we don't have that system. And what I don't
 23 understa:nd is why not. .hhh I think the Home Secretary
 24 wants to hang on his executive powers, .hh not give power to
 25 the ju- judiciary. .hhh And therefore: he is: .hh missing out a
 26 golden opportunity .h to really protect us, where as in fact he
 27 is giving us a (mishma:ge) mage .hh of legislation, which
 28 really terrorists can probably walk through quite easily. =

29 IR: = So there is no: offense th- that says e:hm eh connection
 30 with a terrorist organization.

31 IE: No, that's preparatory, it's sort of ehm eh offense, in- in the
 32 United Kingdom. .hh The United States also ha:s .hh eh an
 33 offense of association with terrorism↑, .h as do all the
 34 European countries. .h (coughing) And the European system
 35 or- or judicial system- (0.2) of detention for up to four years

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- 36 in these circumstances with judicial (overside) .hh has been
37 proved of by the European Court of Human Rights. .hhh
38 without any derogation: from: .h the country's obligations
39 under European convention of human rights. .hh The current
40 proposals (.) mean that this government have to go to
41 Europe, (.) and derogate from the obligations under the
42 European convention that makes this the only country in
43 Europe to do so. .hhh =
- 44 IR: = Do you think they really (.) know: who: these people are
45 () hundred two hundred whatever the figure has to be wi-
46 with- bearing in mind your connections that the part of MR
47 fi[ve MR six.] Do they know these guys?
- 48 IE: ((clearing voice))
49 (0.3)
- 50 IE: .hhh Yes if- (clear throat) if Sir John Stevens say:s (0.2)
51 that's the figure, .hh then he i:s (.) in the best position to
52 know:, .h a:nd, let's face it he's kept us safe during his
53 wa:tch, .hh and we have to respect its- wha- what he say:s.
54 [()
- 55 IR: [And presumably
56 they have bee:n watched a:ll the time. these people if they
57 know where they are, presumably there are a lot of people on
58 their case and keep an eye on them.
- 59 IE: .hh Well I would assume so, because if- if there is as a
60 da:nger as Sir John Stevens says or Lord Steven says, .hh
61 then no doubt they are being kept under surveillance. What I
62 don't understand is why they are not .hhh being detai:n↑ed at
63 this very moment under a system like a French system or
64 Italian system .hh to make us completely safe, whereas i- a-
65 at the moment, .hh they are walking in the streets.
- 66 IR: David Bickford, thanks very much?. We did: eh (.) want to
67 talk to the Home Office, about thi↑s but there was no
68 minister prepared to talk to us, and would of course very
69 much like to Sir John Stevens, Lord Stevens himself, we are
70 hoping we MIght be able to do that later in the program.

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[15] Monday 7 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0717 reform the National Curriculum (05:33:6)

IR: Caroline Queen

IE: Chris Woodhead, former Chief Inspector of Schools

01 IR: Sixteen minutes past seven. A top-to-bottom (.) review of the
02 National Curriculum’s been promised by the
03 Conservatives .hh if they win the election. Michael Howard
04 told his party’s Welsh conference over the weekend that he
05 wanted the current curriculum slim down, .hh Pupils should
06 be given more traditional teaching[↑], .hh and an end to
07 political correctness. .hh The man who is chosen for this job
08 is the former Chief Inspector of Schools[↑] Chris Woodhead,
09 who is on the line now. Good morning?

10 IE: Good morning to you.

11 IR: Mcht. Ehm you’d be put to work within a month of eh
12 Conservative government coming to power. How do you
13 view your ta:sk.

14 IE: Hhhh Yes, within a month. And I think it’s important that
15 the task is undertaken quickly, because it’s very very
16 important, and it’s urgent. So: I: would look forward to
17 doing the job, very positively indee:d. It’s important. And I
18 think I can make a contribution.=

19 IR: =And what are [the priorities then.=

20 IE: [.hhhhhhh

21 IE: = Well the priorities as Michael Howard indicated yesterday:
22 are: to: ensure that the national curriculum does focus on
23 proper[↑], if you like, traditional subject knowledge, of the
24 kind that I think most people in England expect (.) young
25 children, children to be taught at school. I mean we’ve got a
26 situation, just take history, where recent survey shows that
27 half of sixteen to twenty year-olds didn’t know that Drake
28 defeated Armada. Thirteen percent thought that Hornblower,
29 seen as far as this fictional character, ehm was the man
30 responsible. And six percent, god help us, thought it was
31 Gandalf from the Lord of Rings. [Now:] (hhh) a national=

32 IR: [(hhh)]

33 IE: = c(h)urr(h)iculum (£) order for history (£), .hh that is
34 resulting in that k- level of eh ignorance, sh- clearly can’t be
35 the ri(h)ght order (hh), can [it.

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- 36 IR: [Uhm, but what about the rising
37 success in (.) exam [statist[ics].
- 38 IE: [hhh. [Well the other str:nd actually of
39 the work that I would be asked to do: ehm assuming a
40 Conservative victory has to do with public examinations and
41 national curriculum tests. .hh And I think there again: there
42 are some very obvious challenges. .hh I mean the point of
43 examination is to ensure: the: candidates who really are most
44 dese:rving: for the particular prize being at a place as a
45 university or a job. And with escalating numbers of
46 candidates getting gra:de As, particularly in A level, the
47 exams are simply not fulfilling their basic function. .hh So I
48 think that: eh it is very very impo:rtant that we look first at
49 the curriculum as the building blocks of a child's
50 education. .h and then secondly (.) at examination system as
51 the means of establishing which children are best suited .hh
52 for: which particular prizes or goals in next stages in their
53 careers.
- 54 IR: And when you are tal[king about getting rid of political =
55 IE: [nose noise
56 IR: = correctness, what do you mean by that.
57 IE: Well:, we mea:n (.) ehm h. take Citizenship as a classic
58 example. Citizenship was eh a new national curriculum: (.)
59 subject that was introduced by David Blanket. .hhh And just
60 looking at what's called the Program of Study. Children in
61 primary schools are: to be taught to FEEl positive about
62 themselves. Not quite sure how you TEAcH that, that
63 self-esteem, but that's- a fundamental aim. .hhh Secondly,
64 they must meet and talk with people hh. ehm who contribute
65 to society through for example environmental pressure
66 groups or international aid organizations. .hhh They've got
67 to be taught respect and understanding between different
68 races and dealing with harassment. .hh Now I'm not saying
69 that any of these things aren't impo:rtant, I just think that an
70 explicit focus, the idea that they can be taught, that they
71 should be taught, to children as young as five, .hhh is
72 wro:ng. .hh That the best way, for example, to develop to
73 teach self-esteem↑ is to teach ch(hh)ildren to read and write
74 (hhh), =

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- 75 IR: = Ehm =
 76 IE: = and add up, .hh and to know something about the world.
 77 [(.) ()
 78 IR: [But the way that- k- the curriculum's been developed e::hm
 79 (0.2) they would argue, is: is reflecting changes in society,
 80 you might want to [be] stepping ba:ckwards then.=
 81 IE: [nose noise]
 82 IE: = Mcht. Well- (.) hh. you could put it like that. I mean I
 83 think that [t-
 84 IR: [But is that good.
 85 IE: Well (.) hh. I think that to learn, to read, and write, and
 86 spell, .hh and to learn to add up. .h We live in the twenty
 87 first century, but I'm not sure that those basic skills are any
 88 Different than they were in the twentieth or indeed the
 89 nineteenth century. When you come to history, surely- (.) I
 90 think- the: focus of history ought to be: the national sto:ry.
 91 And the national story hasn't cha:nged in the last decade or
 92 so. Eh: I just reject the idea that the curriculum has to
 93 be .hhh to use a jargon word that is banded about
 94 re-engineered [e:h to meet the =
 95 IR: [.hhh
 96 IE: = de(hh)man(hh)ds of the twenty first century. There are:
 97 some essential truth. It's upon those truth and skills=
 98 IR: = (alright) =
 99 IE: = that the education should focus.
 100 IR: Well the government's say:ing that Michael Howard
 101 shouldn't instead be looking at his policy of cutting at least a
 102 billion pounds they save from state schools to- .hhh
 103 subsidize private education, that he is barking up the wrong
 104 tree with this one.
 105 IE: Well I just wish:, I mean I'm not a politician, and I'm not
 106 really interested in that kind of political knockabout. I just
 107 wish that the government would look at the kind of
 108 problems that Michael Howard has identified, because these
 109 problems a:re rea:l. .hhh I mean Prime Minister, ehm quite
 110 rightly education is number one priority. .hhh He (retreat)ed
 111 it at the other day:. .hh He wants standards to rise. (.) How:
 112 ca:n standards rise when the national curriculum is wrong.
 113 IR: Eh just a- a quick one on ehm (.) the story that we were

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114 covering earlier, Trevor Philips the:: eh (0.2) .hh CRA
115 chairman saying that black boys may have to be taught
116 apart from other children in some subjects to- .hhh improve
117 their grades. Would you approve of that kind of segregation.
118 IE: Well if Trevor Philip is right, = and there is evidence from
119 America that black boys benefit from (.) this- (inadvertently
120 called) segregation, .hh the word is loaded obviously, then I
121 think we should look at the evidence. But my experience as
122 an ex-Chief Inspector, .hh is that the problems aren't
123 problems of the color of skin, they are problems of f- f-
124 failure to teach literacy to: (hhh) black boys but also white-
125 working class boys in primary schools↑, .hh a failure of
126 expectations, .h and a failure to develop appropriate
127 educational curriculum at the top end of the secondary
128 school↑. .hh So I'm not sure myself that: eh dividing up the:
129 the children teaching black boys separately is the answer. I
130 think that there are fundamental general problems that
131 should be addressed. .hhh And Michael Howard's review of
132 the national curriculum would be established towards doing
133 tha[t].
134 IR: [.hhhh

(incomplete recording, about the end, probably only the IR's 'thank-you' left out)

[16] Monday 7 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0732 referendum on the EU constitution (08:52:8)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Keith Vaz, former Europe Minister

(background interview omitted)

01 IR: .hhh That was Roger Liddle talking to Keith Vaz. Who’s on
02 the line now is the former Europe minister Keith Vaz.
03 (coughing) Did I say (.) to (.) Tim Thas. Tim Fra:nks. .hh
04 That’s because Keith Vaz was the former (.) Europe
05 minister who is on the line (hh) good morning to
06 [you (hh).

07 IE: [Good morning, John.

08 IR: Ehm: some people (.) skeptical about: m Europe will have
09 listen to that. (They say) that is: (0.2) blow the gap, that is
10 giving us away, because it does threaten our sovereignty
11 and he has acknowledged it.

12 IE: Well Mr. Roger is passionate on these issues and always
13 has been. .h And I think there’s nothing wrong with him:
14 putting his views forward. .hh Where he is right is that- e-
15 I- thi- think we’ve probably been much further along the
16 road, as far as our general agenda is concerned, .hh but for
17 the fact that we’ve had .hh other (.) foreign (office) issues:
18 ah on the foreign poli- policy decisions to be made every
19 (welcome) the wars against terror. .h That has h. (.)
20 prevented us having this (debate) with British people. The
21 second thing is everytime a minister (0.2) .h starts to talk
22 about Europe, .hh certain parts of the (US) skeptical media
23 (.) .h go (be circumstance) screaming at them. .hh But what
24 are [we-

25 IR: [Do they or do they not simply make the reasoned
26 argument that Europe does threaten our sovereignty and
27 they don’t like it.

28 IE: (biting lips) No:: ehm They don’t engage of the issues that
29 are very important as far as Europe is concerned. But I
30 think we can be optimistic about this. I think Europe will
31 be dominating our thinking over the next year. .h I think
32 there are three reasons for this. .hh First of all, of course
33 we’ve got to have a referendum. Ehm next year. Secondly
34 we are gonna have a general election. .h And I think it is

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35 important that (.) European issue should be pa:rt (.) .h of
36 our general election campaign, .h because we've achieved
37 so: much over the last (few) years. .h It's impossible to
38 ha:ve (.) .h a hu:ge domestic election (0.2) without
39 mentioning Europe. .h and without showing what we have
40 achieved eh. (.) And thirldly, (.) .h I think (in) Tony Blair
41 and Jack Store the two- (.) principal ministers respon-
42 sible for this issue. .hh You have to invest the campaign as in
43 British politics. .h And what Roger was saying (0.2) .h is
44 that we should relate much more: (.) to the British people,
45 what we've achieved. .h Where I disagree with him, (.) .h
46 is I don't think abstract notions (.) are the kinds of issues
47 that wi:ll encourage people to think about Europe. I think
48 people- (.) do: need to see Europe, (.) in terms of the jobs
49 that are being created, .h because of the list of agenda. O:r
50 the fact that we need the cooperation of our European
51 partners, .h if we are going to solve (.) .h the immigration
52 and asylum issue. .h And it's the:se kinds of domestic
53 issues .h that need to be related to our: (.) position in the
54 European U[n]ion.

55 IR: [And is that what you mean when you talk
56 about further along the road, because a lot of people would
57 interpret what you've just said, that further along the road
58 (betters) being further along the road to cr- to eh closer
59 integration h. eh with Europe political integration, and the
60 sort that makes (.) many people nervous.

61 IE: No:, it isn't that. I doesn'- I meant further along the load,
62 road, making sure .h that our agenda, which is very much
63 the formal agenda, making sure that the European Union,
64 what happens in Brussels hh. i:s (.) directly related to ou-
65 our domestic a- agenda will work. We have of course
66 played the crucial part of what's happening in Europe
67 (both) the last eight years. .h But what we need to do (.) .h
68 is to make sure that we u:se for example (.) .h the new
69 allies that we have, (0.2) after enlargement, and th- the new
70 countries that we join, .h who very much share our view
71 [(0.2) of what Europe should be doing.

72 IR: [if-

73 IR: If: eh:: when the (.) referendum has (held), assuming the

- 74 other countries including France obviously vote: in favor
 75 of the constitution. If we vote against it, .hhh ehm- (.) is
 76 that the end of us in Europe?
- 77 IE: (biting lips) .hhhh I agree with Roger. I think it would be
 78 catastrophic. That's why it's so important that we should
 79 win. That is why[:
- 80 IR: [Catastrophic, let's just be clear about
 81 what you mean by catastrophic. Catastrophic meaning
 82 we'd have effectively lead to pull out?
- 83 IE: Well we don't have to pull out, but we obviously have to
 84 go ba:ck, and talk to our colleagues (.) about what is going
 85 to happen, because everyone else ratifies: this constitution.
 86 >And< Britain is the only country (.) .h that does not do
 87 so:. Then we will be: (.) totally isolated. I think it is very
 88 important that we explain to the British people (.) .hh in the
 89 run up to the our presidency in the European Union (.) .h
 90 with the presidency that we will have in the first of July,
 91 that we are central (.) .h to the European project. If we do
 92 not win (.) that referendum, it's clearly going to be: pretty
 93 bad for Britain. .hh And that is why it's important that we
 94 should focus on these issues, (0.2) .h and explain to people
 95 (.) what a no-vote would actually mean. [(.)]=
- 96 IR: [Kea-]
- 97 IE: = To that extent, Roger was absolutely being right, we need
 98 to be:: .h campaigning (.) now:, (.) .h and for the next year.
- 99 IR: Keith Vaz, thank you.

[17] Monday 7 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0810 terrorists living in the UK (09:52:5)

IR:

IE0: Jason (Burquol), the author of (Alkido), the true story of radical (lousland)

IE1: Lord King, chairman of the terrorism and security committee

IE2: Lord Harris, former head of the metropolitan police authority.

01 IR: It's ten past eight. How scared should we be of the
02 terrorist threat in our (best). Sir John Stevens'
03 (randamentory politian) police authority until a few
04 weeks ago, and he (said) we should be: very
05 scared. .hh He wrote an article for the news of world
06 yesterday in which he said .h there are at least a
07 hundred terrorists trained by Asama Ben Laden
08 walking in Britain streets and the number is probably
09 nearer (.) .h two hundred. .hhh and that is frightening.
10 Obviously it's true. .h Skeptics will point to the
11 timing of the article. The government's trying
12 desperately to get its anti-terrorism bill through
13 Parliament in the teeth of serious opposition. .hh And
14 there is another story in the paper this morning
15 quoting a Home Office study that says only twenty
16 (.) .h terrorism suspects would be subjected to the
17 government's proposed control orders. .h So what is
18 going on here. Jason (Burquol), the author of
19 (Alkido), the true story of radical (lousland), .h he's
20 skeptical of the claims made by John Stevens.

21 Burquol: As so often, (.) Sir John (.) along with many other
22 senior figures, .h is using words like (alkidor), .h as
23 Alma Ben Laden trained, .h eh with some abandon.
24 Eh we know (.) clear indication exactly who he is
25 talking about. .h Eh he's talking (.) about the scenes
26 (.) British citizens have been trained by Alsama Ben
27 Laden. .h Now that would mean they would have to
28 be trained before two thousand one, .h eh in which
29 case one wonder is where they have been in the four
30 years and why they present such a: .h clear precedent
31 danger now. .h The threat comes from people who
32 are called clean skins, people with (.) .h no previous

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- 33 records, wh- who: are feel sufficiently angry at what
 34 they are perceived to be in justices, that they feel it's
 35 their religious duty to act. .h Ehm they may not be
 36 trained, they may be (amerstrish), but they may still
 37 perhaps if they are lucky put together .h a fairly (.)
 38 affective (.) terrorist (.) operation. .h That's where the
 39 threat comes from, not from: two hundred as Alsama
 40 Ben Laden trained militants (.) .h stalking the streets
 41 and the kind of: .h analysis in such histrionic
 42 language that we saw eh at the weekend does not
 43 help combat it.
- 44 IR: (turning pages, biting lips) .hhh That was Jason
 45 (Burquol) on the line to discuss. This is eh Tom King,
 46 Lord King who eh was a conservative defense
 47 secretary and chairs the international (ambit). .h the:
 48 ch- eh- (hh) terrorism and security committee. And
 49 Lord Toby Harris, former head of the metropolitan
 50 police authority. .hh Ehm I take that you accept
 51 what:: hhh. eh: Sir John Stevens has to say, (.) Lord
 52 Harris.
- 53 Harris: Well certainly e:hm (0.4) Sir John was party to all the
 54 intelligence. E:h he was a: oversaw the metropolitan
 55 office, eh at the time that he was tackling
 56 terrorism. .hhh I think though ehm (0.2) that one's
 57 got really to recognize (.) that there are: .h several
 58 levels of people who hh. eh may or may not be
 59 engaged in terrorism. There are those who may be the
 60 potential suicide bombers. .h Eh the potential front
 61 line, they would be those who are coordinating with
 62 those hh. (.) who will be providing support of various
 63 sorts. .hh And all different levels and ehm some much
 64 more prevalent involved than others. .hh And I think:
 65 it depends really which (.) definition you're using .hh
 66 as to precisely what sort of number one needs to talk
 67 about. =
- 68 IR: = You don't think it's a coincidence that: ehm he- he
 69 should have written that piece for the news of the
 70 world yesterday at this absolutely crucial stage in the:
 71 the progress of the bill through: Parliament.

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- 72 Harris: Well I remember him telling me before he retired that
 73 he was planning to eh an- an- and- reach an
 74 agreement with the h. eh the news of the world to
 75 write a regular column. I think this is just the first of
 76 his column. I think the idea hh. that has distinguished
 77 public servant is somehow .hh eh after his retirement
 78 in cohort with the .hh Downing Street when he is no
 79 longer hh. if you like, in the pay of the government,
 80 the answer is frankly ehm eh rather (and both)
 81 unbelievable.
- 82 IR: Now, Lord King in intelligence and security
 83 committee, as what I should have said earlier,
 84 obviously, ehm (.) what do you think.
 85 (0.4)
- 86 King .h Well ehm (0.2) I think what comes up this morning
 87 you brought that very well, .hh is the (confevable
 88 mumble) (at least) at the moment. (.) ehm If this is in
 89 the media and current threat was suddenly occurred,
 90 (0.2) a point just made by year earlier contributor.
 91 These people who came out of training camps some
 92 time before two thousand and one. .hh And what I-
 93 what I think so () those things I don't think you
 94 mentioned in the story today, .h that even if the
 95 government gets this bill through the present form, .h
 96 it's not going to introduce the more major orders
 97 immediately, .h which i- i- I think just in the sense
 98 I've never seen (.) such a model in Parliament (.)
 99 ever. But the government having true (a journey turn)
 100 its own business, 'cause it couldn't get its own
 101 members, .h in order. And (.) what I think it says is
 102 this, .h there is a serious threat, (0.2) suicide bombers
 103 in particular and the sort of (.) .hh means that there
 104 are people prepared to undertake, .h do propose
 105 serious challenges. .h But we mustn't panic or
 106 completely lose our heads. .h And so what we should
 107 do: (0.2) is either renew the order that the Law Lords
 108 said (.) .h needed to be changed but would certainly
 109 give time, .hh so government was committed to
 110 change, .h to (allow) through nuance for a short of

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- 111 period. .h O:r to carry through measure now, but may
112 counter such an incredible trains our susceptible
113 justices (.) .h has to be reviewed as in the bill of
114 Sunset Clause, .h where you get the election out of
115 the way. .hh People can arrive in a saner and calmer
116 way. .h Look at what the best way is to deal with
117 this, .h while making sure in the mean time (.) we
118 protect the security in the country.=
- 119 IR: =.hh But the government's position has been (.) all
120 along look there is a very real threat. Sir John seemed
121 to: eh confirm that yesterday, .hh eh something must
122 be done about it. We don't have the (well with all),
123 the legal (well with all) to do it at the moment.
124 Something's got to change, therefore (.) let's do it,
125 then we can lock (.) a lot of these people at board at
126 leas:t:. .hhh [restrict them.
- 127 King: [W- w- well-
- 128 King: w- he- hh. Your- your correspondent said (.) that Sir
129 John dare to re- reinforce the government's case. And
130 some could say it's a very serious attack on the
131 government. .h Here is Sir John is right, and saying
132 for the last four years, .h there have been hundreds of
133 terrorists on the loose of this country[↑], .h and now
134 suddenly the government decides they need legislate
135 to do it. What have they mean to do all the same. I- I
136 don't attack the government in that way
- IE: ((not finished, tape destroyed))

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[18] Wednesday 9 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0653 Dr. Mitchell Reiss (02:30.8)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Dr. Mitchell Reiss, American special envoy to Northern Ireland

01 IR: Five to seven. There’s been an angry response to the Irish
02 statement about the killing Robert McCartney on both sides
03 of the Atlantic? The American special envoy to Northern
04 Ireland .h Dr. Mitchell Reiss gives me his response.

05 IE: My initial reaction i:s that it’s: not quite the appropriate step?
06 The appropriate step is to: ha:ve the: (.) guilty parties? and
07 those who have the information about the case? to report to
08 the police? (.) And let the Court (assistance e:h) process the
09 case as he said. =

10 IR: = It’s pretty shocking really, isn’t it? that the first instinct of
11 the IA was to say we’ll shoot these people.
12 (0.2)

13 IE: Thinka: I agree completely with that.

14 IR: What is an appropriate (.) response to: from Sinn Fein to that
15 do you think? =

16 IE: = Well I think it’s respo:nsibility: of every political party (.)
17 in Northern Ireland (.) to eh not only cooperate with the
18 police? but actually encourage our citizens to cooperate with
19 the police↑. Mr. Adams made a number of very encouraging
20 statements at the: the recent conference for instance. But
21 they eh they didn’t quite come up to the (moric) in terms of
22 (.) hh. asking and question(ing) and indeed demanding thata:
23 all of his constituents eh cooperate with the police not just in
24 the McCartney case, .h but indeed with all cases, eh
25 involving criminality in Northern Ireland.

26 IR: So: let’s be clear what would you like to hear from Sinn
27 Fein: no:w. =

28 IE: = Think it’s what (.) the people of Northern Ireland would
29 like to hear or I think what people in United States would
30 like to hear? It’s time for the IA to go out of business. .h
31 A:nd it’s time for eh Sinn Fein: to be able to say that
32 explicitly without ambiguity without ambivalence that
33 criminality h. eh will not be tolerated. .h One of the
34 statements that- Jerry Adams mentioned at conference I
35 found particularly worrisome. It was that we refuse to

- 36 criminalize those who break the law, and pursuit of
37 legitimate .h political objectives. .hh And I'm not quite sure
38 wha:t (.) he mea:ns by that. You can't (.) find up for the rule
39 of the law (or the curt). Or you can't pick and choose which
40 laws you are gonna all abide by. =
- 41 IR: = David Trimble: said at the weekend that .h it was time for
42 the IA to become a purely peaceful democratic movement
43 with no: private a:rmy. Do you think the time has come f- for
44 Sinn Fein .h to distance themselves completely from the IA
45 to cut or remaining .h links between the two organizations.
- 46 IE: Well not only do I think it's time? I think it's pa:st time. I
47 mean this was (.) after all the promise of the Good Friday
48 Agreement. So: we are now going on seven years from that
49 date. .h The: the possibility the prospect of (viduanti) justice
50 (.) is something that no community in Northern Ireland has
51 to suffer (through) any more.
- 52 IR: Mitchell Reiss thank you very much indeed for talking to us.

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[19] Wednesday 9 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0715 full advice of the Attorney General (02:26.9)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Simon Thomas, the Plaid Cymru MP

01 IR: Time is a quarter past seven. Tony Blair has consistently
02 refused to publish the advice he received from the Attorney
03 General on whether the war in Iraq was legal or not. Now it
04 seems he didn't even show it to his own Cabinet and some
05 MPs are demanding that the Cabinet Secretary hold an
06 enquiry .h into whether .h that was a breach of the code of
07 conduct. Simon Thomas is the Plaid Cymru MP who's been
08 on this case. How do you know this Mr. Thomas?
09 (0.3)

10 IE: We know this now because the: Prime Minister has (.)
11 admitted (.) mcht. e:h that the: (Minister) way of Code of
12 Conduct applies to him as a minister. (0.2) A:nd looking in
13 details that a Minister way of code of conduct? you can see:
14 (.) that- (.) when: the members of Cabinet give in a summary
15 of legal advice to some of the officer? they're all supposed to
16 receive the: full copy and text of that advice. And we know
17 for plain sure that from other members of the Cabinet this
18 time that it didn't happen.

19 IR: Isn- isn't this a rather technical point?

20 IE: (.) It's not really technical, is it, because making a decision to
21 go to wa:r (0.2) e:hm is eh something we know the Attorney
22 General have some difficulties with? Eh that he had to be (.)
23 persua↑ded, and (.) eh to:ld by the Prime Minister really
24 thought that the: eh United Nations Resolution was being
25 broken by Iraq? A:nd their members of the Cabinet could not
26 actually debate this. [.h E:h

27 IR: [Well he- he denies that, doesn't he? He
28 says that there is no doubt in his mind that the war was legal,
29 and that's what he told the Prime Minister.

30 IE: Eh that's what he told the Prime Minister (.) eh a day before
31 (.) the: Cabinet meeting which was a day before the
32 important voting of House of Commons. This- this whole
33 thing went very close to the (while). (.) .h And we now know
34 that the members of Cabinet did not have the full (.) legal
35 advice before them. (Either way will be quite fool.) The

- 36 ministry correspondent know when somebody's been the
37 (misdemeaned) the code of conduct as a minister? they plainly
38 just asked him to resign like Pe- Peter Manderson or (0.2)
39 (nobody knows) what the Prime Minister now going to do? .h
40 when he knows that- has admitted to various kinds of
41 purposes that he has broken the code of conduct himself. =
42 IR: = .hh well you say he has admitted to all () he has breached
43 the code of conduct himself. You still can't actually prove
44 that.
45 IE: We can't prove it bec(h)ause we do this to answer the
46 question, (.) as to whether he did or did not (.) e:hm show
47 the full legal eh advice. He now (.) admits that the code of
48 conduct applies? (.) He- he admits eh by indication therefore
49 we should have shown the full legal advice? We were (lying)
50 for people like Clair Short unless he didn't do that. It sounds
51 technical, but- this was the legal advice of whether you go to
52 war now that we still (.) now dealing with the aftermath of
53 that decision by the Cabinet. =
54 IR: = S[o- that's-
55 IE: [That should about the legal advice.
56 IR: Simon Thomas, many thanks.

[20] Wednesday 9 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0810 Charles Clarke (14:04.9)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary

01 IR: It's te:n past eight. Another morning in the House of Lords
 02 yesterday for the government's proposals to deal with
 03 suspected terrorists even worse than the one they got the day
 04 before. .hh More concessions are on the way. But will even
 05 they be enough to rescue what remains of the bill. And how
 06 much damage is all this doing to the government. .hhh The
 07 man who's been fighting what looks increasingly like losing
 08 a battle is the Home Secretary Charles Clarke who joins me
 09 now? Good morning Mr. Clarke?

10 IE: Good morning John.=

11 IR: =Losing or lost?

12 (0.3)

13 IE: I don't think it's lost in anyway whatsoever. hh. Eh I think:
 14 we've had twelve weeks putting new legislation between
 15 the .h Law Lords' judgment just before the Christmas in the
 16 end of the current legal powers. .h Eh I'll be seeking to put
 17 forward a legislation which guarantees our national security?
 18 eh and in accordance with eh the request from the Police and
 19 Security Services, respects of liberties, and meet the Law
 20 Lords' concerns. Eh quite naturally there's been plenty of
 21 debate about that in the Commons and the Lords. Eh an- that
 22 will continue until the bill finally reaches its royal assent. Eh
 23 but: it's critically important we do get the bill agreed this
 24 week? eh in order that we can deal with the people that we
 25 have to- eh have to deal with.

26 IR: And it's looking increasingly likely that you won't get the
 27 bill this week.

28 (0.2)

29 IE: eh I don't think that at all actually. Eh- I think that's:
 30 absolutely [not the case.

31 IR: [So you're gonna make more conce[ssions then.

32 IE: [.hhh

33 IE: What I'm doing is today I'm putting down two sets of th-
 34 amendments which will try to make the concerns which have
 35 been expressed. .hh Eh the first is to: eh i- in- allow judges to

- 36 eh make the orders right through the whole eh control order
 37 regime (.) .h on the basis of application from myself. [.hhh
 38 IR: [In other
 39 words, not just the House (or the rest).
 40 IE: E:h precisely not just the: the deprivation of liberty as us-
 41 was often called House of (Rest) rights for the whole range.
 42 With the ability also where there is an emergency, .h for me
 43 to be able to ensure this order until (.) the judge can hear the
 44 case. eh An- that deals with the concerns I had on that front.
 45 Eh the second amendment that I'm putting? .h eh is that the:
 46 eh bit of the (hoge) should be renewed annually by vote of
 47 both the House and the Parliament, .h which means that in
 48 total you'll have that annual decision? .h If there is a
 49 derogation order in place that two has to be voted on
 50 annually by Parliament. That there is an annual independent
 51 review to Parliament .h where the re-operation of the Lords
 52 is currently looked at. There is a quarterly report Parliament
 53 on the control orders. An- and there is a new legislation
 54 which I'm attending eh after the election on terrorist powers.
 55 That's a very substantial degree of Parliamentary scrutiny, .h
 56 of the operation of this legislation. Hhh.
 57 IR: Why didn't you do that before?
 58 IE: Well of the: eh f- five measures I've indicated there, four are
 59 already in the bill, and they will put forward all of them in
 60 the bill from the outset. And precisely in order to secure the
 61 parliamentary scrutiny. The one that I've added, the one that
 62 I've put down in the amendment this morning, .h eh eh
 63 allowing annual review of the bill as a whole. And votes in
 64 Parliament of both of those before (.) .h is an attempt to
 65 answer the concerns which were addressed particularly in the
 66 Lords. Now that there needed to be an explicit ability for
 67 Parliament to consider the operation of the legislation by
 68 vote. Eh every year. hhh. So the four of the more original
 69 legislation, the fifth that I put in response in the concerns of
 70 the Lords. =
 71 IR: = but you:: came on this program and others a- a few weeks
 72 ago, and they all argued very strongly for your case that you
 73 as the Home Secretary should have powers that you now
 74 (constitute) must go to judges rather than to you.

- 75 IE: I did and I said when I made the first concession on that- eh
 76 particular point I thought the: .h case for the Home Secretary
 77 meaning the executive to take responsibility for these matters
 78 was right. Eh I was re-enforced to that view (.) .h by the fact
 79 that I was aware that a number of very senior judges also
 80 took that view, .h and thought it was right for the executive
 81 not the judiciary to decide what should happen, .hh but
 82 there's been a very substantial parliamentary expression of
 83 view on that. .h eh which I'm bound to listen to? And
 84 because I'm very keen to get eh as wide support as I can for
 85 the procedure in the legislation. Eh that's why I'm making a
 86 proposals as I'm today. The practical concerns that I had
 87 which I said .h both in your program and h. eh in parliament:
 88 when we talked about this earlier h., eh was whether there
 89 was eh any circumstances in which eh the delay of going to a
 90 judge might mean that somebody who might nee- need to be
 91 under a control order, eh would be able to (actually) to get
 92 free of that possibility. Eh but we found a way around that
 93 particular proposition, so that I can meet the concern which
 94 (the) Parliament has been expressing.
- 95 IR: There is another concern that is still lying there, that is the
 96 test of reasonable suspicion that the suspects involved with
 97 terrorism? Eh your critics say there should be a higher level
 98 of proof? an- the balance of probabilities? You're going to
 99 give way on [that as well?=
 100 IE: [.hhh
- 101 IE: = No I'm not. Eh I don't accept that argument. Eh we're
 102 talking about eh control orders the lower level of deprivation
 103 of liberty. .hh I'm aware there are restrictions, but the way is
 104 not the level of eh of- of eh detention in any particular place.
 105 An- and I think it is reasonable to have lower burden of
 106 proof. The reason why I'm concerned about a higher burden
 107 of proof in those cases, .hh is it could mean that certain
 108 people who are a threat to us .h eh could not be put under a
 109 control order. I think that's a risk that I'm not (gonna) prefer
 110 to take.=
- 111 IR: = As if the House of Lords or indeed the House of Commons
 112 says we are not prepared to accept that, then what happens.=
- 113 IE: =.hhh Well I'm not prepared to: go down that route, because

- 114 I think the: whole purpose of the control orders is trying (to)
 115 deal with the situations where you haven't got enough
 116 evidence to go through the prosecution in court, hh. an-
 117 where people are nevertheless real threat to the country, hh.
 118 eh and: that is the regime which was suggesting as the
 119 request of the h. eh police and security authorities h. to try
 120 control what is a very real issue. =
- 121 IR: = So if you are not prepared to go down that road? you are
 122 not prepared to give (.) on the conservative Sunset Clause
 123 either, (.) though some would argue that perhaps you've
 124 already made concession in- in that direction. But if you are
 125 not prepared to give those other eh concessions, then it may
 126 well be, indeed it's likely that you will not get this
 127 legislation. What is the: eh what is plan B?
- 128 IE: .hhh Well if the legislation will not to be passed, as I think is
 129 extremely unlikely actually, but: were the legislation not to
 130 be passed, .hh then the effect would be: that the eh current
 131 legislation would run out this weekend, .hhh and people
 132 currently in Belmash eh would go free. Now that's a
 133 completely unacceptable status for the first. That's why I'm
 134 not prepared to tolerate th- those circumstances. I- it has
 135 been suggested I would to review the current legislation. Eh
 136 and that was a device proposed by the Conservatives right at
 137 the (out of the circumstance withdrew) because they
 138 acknowledged that wasn't the right way to go. .hhh Eh A
 139 because people have the ability to- go to the European Court
 140 of Human Rights and be free on that basis. Hhh. B because
 141 the eh conditions would arise and their lawyers will put it to
 142 them. It means the current individuals would have to be
 143 freed. .hh And thirdly the existing eh legislation eh doesn't
 144 cover .h people (like the gloss) on this issue of (bomber) who
 145 admitted the other day .h that he was trying to (block) a
 146 plane. hh. And under those circumstances we need to have
 147 the powers that we have. Both the Conservative and the
 148 Liberal Democratic spokes people in the House of Lords
 149 would acknowledge we get the legislation under the statue
 150 before the end of this week? And I hope they're (onto) that. =
- 151 IR: = But you do have the fa:llback of extending the current
 152 legislation.

- 153 (.)
- 154 IE: eh well we- th- the (head) panel would have to vote on it.
- 155 But it's extremely (flawed) fallback
- 156 [to the recent (legislation).
- 157 IR: [And hardly is embarrassing for you hardly embarrassing for
- 158 the govern[ment.=
- 159 IE: [well that
- 160 IR: = That's already been declared illegal by the Lords.=
- 161 IE: =Embarrassment isn't: isn't: isn't isn't dignity. That's not
- 162 really what we're talking about. It would not be secure at the
- 163 point to say firstly, .h the individuals in Belmash could go to
- 164 the European Convention eh European Court of Human
- 165 Rights in Strasbourg. .hh Secondly (.) even within that .h eh
- 166 we think that they'll be able legally to make the case to be a
- 167 remove from detention into no control whatsoever. Hh. And
- 168 thi:rdly doesn't deal with people like the (dust issue) in
- 169 (bomber) .h eh who's made this poin- point directly. I mean
- 170 fourthly, .h it would not refl- reflect the House of Lords th-
- 171 th- the Law Lords' judgment .h eh just before Christmas. .h
- 172 eh And I- I don't want to be in that position. I think we
- 173 should respect the Law Lords' judgment which is why we
- 174 put the legislation forward. Now .hh the Conservatives
- 175 (ha)ve reached a propose try to beginning of this, .h that we
- 176 should simply renew the existing legislation. But David
- 177 Davis to his credit .h eh later made it clear that he
- 178 acknowledged that wasn't the right cause to do, so .hh he's
- 179 acknowledging that renewing the current legislation doesn't
- 180 solve the problem. .hh which is why we need the current
- 181 legislation. ((clear throat))
- 182 IR: So it isn-'t the case then that you have that as a: fallback
- 183 position.
- 184 (0.2)
- 185 IE: Oh no it's not fallback position. I mean that's clear
- 186 throughout. Eh and- eh if you take: eh any serious eh legal
- 187 opinion on it, eh they would acknowledge (the right) as what
- 188 I've said is not a f- is not a fa[ll back.
- 189 IR: [Right. So in other words, le- let
- 190 me become clear about this, in other words, if the legislation
- 191 you said you are confident it will go through >other

- 192 people ↑ are< also answer confident. But if it does not go
 193 through, then what happens, they won't free.
 194
 195
 196 IE: Correct. .hhhh hhhh.
 197 IR: But that would be highly irresponsible, surely better to renew
 198 the legislation for the time this- that's necessary.
 199 IE: No the point I [fail-
 200 IR: [If you regard them as [a danger to us [then =
 201 IE: [I- [I-
 202 IR: = it is a threat to us?
 203 IE: =I'm probably failing to: to make the point. I'm trying to
 204 explain it again. .hh If we were to see to renew and to
 205 succeed in renewing the current legislation, it would not
 206 have the effect (.) of keeping the people in Belmash currently
 207 in Belmash. Those for two reasons. Reason one, .hh because
 208 the Law Lords have struck down the existing legislation,
 209 they could go to the European Court of Human Rights that (I
 210 view), .hh and win a case they- they would have to [be ()
 211 IR: [They
 212 could be but probably wouldn't.=
 213 IE: = [Eh eh that- (.)
 214 IR: [Immediately.=
 215 IE: = W[ell-
 216 IR: [Isn't that the case?
 217 IE: = I think that's not correct at all actually. E:h but secondly eh
 218 more immediately .h eh even the fun- leave the socie- legal
 219 timetable of going to Strasbourg, .h e:h the eh tho- the
 220 lawyers are able to make the case which they have been
 221 making to sign, which is special tribunal (losing sign of)
 222 their legislation. .hhh that eh that we the- the- they would not
 223 need to stay in prison, .hh in those circumstances. Eh and we
 224 think that those succeeding those cases which are what I said
 225 into Parliament this is(n't) new to you John this morning,
 226 and not being discussed, this is what I said in the Department
 227 right at the outset, hhh. when this particular option is raised.
 228 It's why we don't think it's not () situation as well we do
 229 think you need to have ne- new legislation. [.hhh
 230 IR: [The reason that

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- 231 I used the word embarrassing is because this isn't the first
 232 time that: yo- you- your government has wanted to do things
 233 which at the end it hasn't been able to do. >And the reason<
 234 that appears to be you simply don't talk to people before you
 235 plan to [do these things.=
- 236 IE: [hhh
- 237 IE: Well I o- of- of all the criticisms that have made of me eh
 238 through this, some- some of them are very colorful. E:hm I:
 239 don't accept that in any respect whatsoever. .h I took
 240 unprecedented, and I emphasize John, unprecedented steps,
 241 hh. in talking to the opposition parties hh. both before the
 242 statement that I made in the House of Commons on the 24th
 243 of January hhh. Then the Prime Minister talked to the leaders
 244 of the opposition parties? before we h. eh published the bill.
 245 Then again before the second reading I talked to the
 246 opposition parties directly. h. At each point, seeking
 247 agreement about the best way to proceed. .hh Now: that is
 248 the position I've taken throughout, an- that is what I want to
 249 get to hh. In all those conversations, acutely aware (.) that
 250 the government does not have majority in the House of
 251 Lords, never has (it only) has about thirty five percent of the
 252 votes. So: if the opposition party's decided they wanted to
 253 defeat () the laws, then they can do so, as in fact they have
 254 done. And th- my point in all this, is that I am keen even at
 255 this stage, to legislate together with the opposition parties
 256 rather than in spite of them. But in the conversations that
 257 we've had .hh there has not been any readiness on the part of
 258 the other party to discuss these ques[tions seriously.=
- 259 IR: [Right. Let- let-
- 260 IE: =We even John that's my final point is th[is, we even have =
- 261 IR: [eh
- 262 IE: = this real example last night hh. eh of Lady Thatcher (.)
 263 going to the division lobby in the House of Lords (.)h to
 264 vote for (increase) social security for people who have
 265 suspected of being terrorists hh. It's completely surreal. [.hhh
- 266 IR: [Let
 267 me just review very briefly >if I may< to that order. You say
 268 that it's not an order down to renew, e:h the existing
 269 legislation =

- 270 IE: = [Sorry, (let me let me fun-) =
 271 IR: [()
 272 IR: = a:h =
 273 IE: = we- we we lay the order, right at the beginning.=
 274 IR: = Right.=
 275 IE: = Because we said we would right at the beginning. But we
 276 don't think it will have the effect of: keeping the people eh in
 277 Bel[mash (now for- for)
 278 IR: [So why did(n't) you lay the order down then if it's not a
 279 fallback position.
 280 IE: We laid it right at the beginning before we le- introduced the
 281 trades of legislation. Eh in an order that it should be there for
 282 people to be aware of the possibility. .hhh [Eh but it's not a =
 283 IR: [A:h-
 284 IE: = full- but it's not a fall [back position.
 285 IR: [But it remains there then it is still
 286 there.
 287 IE: .hh Yes but it- eh eh I'm really- an- I'm really not conveying
 288 of this properly eh
 289 Jo[hn I do apologize.
 290 IR: [Righ-, fairly good. I understand you [obviously bu- bu- =
 291 IE: [an- an- then- ()
 292 IR: = but either
 293 [i- if your order is there, you can't say renew.]=
 294 IE: [Wha- wha- what I- what I'm- what I'm saying-]
 295 IE: = what I'm saying is: the order if passed, and if renewed,
 296 would in our view not have the effect (.) of securing th-
 297 [the people currently in Belmash (.)] =
 298 IR: [So why did you lay this in the first place.] =
 299 IE: = should stay in Belmash hh. Because eh th- we laid it
 300 actually before we went through the whole processes of eh
 301 introducing this- this other legislation we have. And th- the
 302 cause of laying this other legislation hh. eh it is clear, that the
 303 legal judgments that have been made by th- by the court, the
 304 side court, in relation to people currently in Belmash, mean
 305 that we would rene- would not have the effect of those
 306 people hh. eh remaining eh under custody. =
 307 IR: = eh le- le- d- d- ho:w ma:ny terrorists are walking in the
 308 streets of our city in your view. You know that Sir John

- 309 Stevens former () (featurists) said in the news at the world at
 310 the weekend? .hh at least a hundred probably nearer (to) two
 311 hundred? Tony Blair himself has talked about hundreds. .hh
 312 And yet our Home Office study says only twenty terrorism
 313 suspects would be subjected .hh to these control orders, in
 314 spite of that warning from Sir John Stevens. Now (.) eh
 315 what's the true figure here, because we don't know the dan-
 316 the danger of difficulty of lots of people is .hh we simply
 317 don't have any .hhhh realistic (.) assessment. We are not able
 318 to make a realistic assessment of the threat.
- 319 IE: .hh I acknowledge the difficulty therein. That's: eh a
 320 perfectly fair point of view to make, which is why we
 321 publish at the time the bill was set out hh. Eh our assessment
 322 which we set out an- and (re)published at the department
 323 was- widely covered in the media, .h of the assents of the
 324 terrorist threat in this country, .h including the statement
 325 which I believe profoundly to be true, .hh that since 9.11
 326 there have been terrorist attempts to- make outrages happen
 327 in this country, .hh which our security services)
 328 [are ready to solve.
- 329 IR: [But how many are there (in there).=
- 330 IE: = You then come to numbers. In the discussion which you
 331 have my source as Sir John Steven's figures (on Tues) he
 332 used the other day. Eh and I'm not going to get into a
 333 number's game, but let me make one of [two things clear.
- 334 IR: [Well Tony Blair did.
 335 He said hundreds.
- 336 IE: Eh when he was asked, he- he- [he didn't- he said hundreds.
- 337 IR: [Yeah
- 338 IE: = for the same [reason as Sir John Steven[said =
- 339 IR: [s- [s-
- 340 IE: = the number in [().
- 341 IR: [W- so do you support that. As Home
 342 Secretary do you believe you should know. Are there
 343 hundreds, aren't there.
- 344 IE: There are. And the- the fact is (.) .h that you're in the
 345 situation where you've got people who are suspect to
 346 terrorist offenses. Eh we've all had since eh 9.11 .h seven
 347 hundred people, eh arrested on suspicion of terrorist charges.

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348 () about third were actually jus- between third and: a half
349 were actually charged h. eh i.e. hundreds have been cha:rged
350 of terrorist offenses, eh since 9.11. You then come to the
351 question, for those number of people who you can't go down
352 the prosecution route, for a variety of reasons, and you
353 therefore need the control order regime .h that we are talking
354 about. Eh how many are there? And the reason why we make
355 eh assessment to a much sma:ller number .h that we are
356 talking about eh in that regard, .h is because there is that
357 smaller number where you can't get down the prosecution
358 route.
359 IR: Charles Clarke, many thanks.

[21] Wednesday 9 Mar 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0830 Lord Strathclyde (03:39:0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Lord Strathclyde, the Tory leader in the Upper House

- 01 IR: Twenty four minutes to nine? A short while ago↑ (.) we
 02 heard Charles Clarke’s response to the drag in his
 03 anti-terrorism bills taken place in the House of
 04 Lords↑ .hh Lord Strathclyde is the- Tory leader in the
 05 Upper House. He joins us now? .hh eh Lord Strathclyde
 06 as we heard in the news the: two concessions that he
 07 seems to have in mind↑ are: eh giving judges a role in
 08 a:ll control orders >an< also .hh ensuring that the
 09 legislation has to come before Parliament once every
 10 year? Is that enough for you.
- 11 IE: .hh Well I’m glad the Home Secretary’s coming forward
 12 in a more (considering) manner than perhaps has been
 13 shown in the pa:st. hh. An- and all of these could be
 14 avoided if we had a very more sensible discussion right
 15 at the start of the process. I- I’m delighted that he is
 16 including judges for all control orders↑ .h and he is
 17 taking a very sma:ll step forward in the direction of the
 18 Sunset Clause. What’s being offered then, in annual
 19 review, eh really isn’t e- enough, and the reason for that
 20 i:s that what the House of Lords demonstrated (.) last
 21 night indeed in the last couple of days .hh is that this bill
 22 (.) i:s fundamentally flawed in all its aspects, and the
 23 Home Office↑ and Pa:riament needs to have a
 24 [long: think [eh before coming forward with=
 25 IR: [.hhh [.hh
 26 IE: =legislation↑ an- and that is why we: have (.) suggested
 27 that this bill (.) come to an end after eight months and its
 28 replace with really rebus legis[lation to deal with the =
 29 IR: [And-
 30 IE: = (francs facings). =
 31 IR: = And I think short of that (.) (won’t) be enough for you,
 32 you will- you will see- you will desire this bill to be
 33 killed in th- in the circumstances that he doesn’t hh. give
 34 you Sunset Clause. =
 35 IE: = I have no desire to- to kill this bill. What I: hope will

- 36 happen in the House of Commons this afternoon: eh that:
 37 from all sides at the House people will look at what
 38 happened i:n the House of Lords. We'll see that this vote
 39 that we had eh last night eh a record vote since the
 40 reforms of nineteen ninety nine eh led by former Lord
 41 Cha:ncellor↑ h. former Attorney General↑. If not a single
 42 conservative had voted last night the government would
 43 still have lost [hh. by forty five. So I- I hope the- in the =
- 44 IR: [Yea-
 45 IE: = House of Co[mmons we'll see that as- as a signal of- =
 46 IR: [well-
 47 IE: = of [what needs to be done.=
 48 IR: [but y-
 49 IR: = You- you have what he said in the program a short
 50 while ago. He was absolutely clear that will not be a
 51 Sunse- what Sunset Clause.
 52 IE: (.) .hh well like- few days ago he was absolutely clear (.)
 53 that he wouldn't give any more: (.) role to the judiciary
 54 (.) and a:hm I hope that good sense will prevail over the
 55 course of next twenty four hours. So: by the end of thist
 56 week↑ (.) we will have h. legislation to deal with what
 57 the government tells us is an (.) emergency↑ hhh. but also
 58 time for the Home Office to get its act together with
 59 Parliament h. to create rebus legislation against terrorism
 60 in eight months' time. =
 61 IR: = If you don't get an agreement, what's your
 62 understanding of what happens.
 63 (0.2)
 64 IE: .hhh i- i- if there is a no bill↑=
 65 IR: = Yeah =
 66 IE: = an- then there is no: cover for the Belmash
 67 prisoners, .hh in which we indicated all along that our
 68 initial offer (.) .h was that the current law should be
 69 extended for a short period of time, perhaps three or six
 70 months↑, .hhh an- and that of course was: eh what the
 71 government originally intended to do by laying the
 72 orders .h to extend the current legislation to do just that.=
 73 IR: = But you would have heard him say in this program a
 74 short while ago that he doesn't believe that it would

- 75 wo:rk, that the- the eh Belmash detainees will have the
76 right to: eh appeal to the European Court of Human
77 Rights↑ and get out of eh detention.
- 78 IE: Well the government clearly did think it would work. (.)
79 eh only a few [(s) ago.
- 80 IR: [But they are not now. And we are- now
81 where we are. An- (0.2) you prepare to take that ri:sk.
82 (0.3)
- 83 IE: .hhhhh well equally I'm co:nvinced that the: eh that th-
84 the British law courts, the Law Lords h. (.) would
85 understand the situation that has happened within the
86 Parliament↑ .hh would understand that it is immensely
87 undesirable for these people to be: let out of jail↑ hh. (.)
88 and would understand the Parliament had accepted .h eh
89 the case to extend the current legislation for perhaps
90 three or six months h. while we worked out what to do
91 next, and that would be the responsibility of whoever
92 within h. eh government in the next Parliament.
- 93 IR: Lord Strathclyde↑ (.) thanks very much indeed.

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[22] Monday 21 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0717 mini-manifesto on children (02:51.2)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Pam Hibbert from children’s charity Barnardo’s

01 IR: The time now eighteen minutes past seven. (.) The
02 government will set out a mini-manifesto on children
03 today. We know among other things they are supporting
04 Jimmy Oliver’s campaign to improve school
05 dinners. .hhh But what do children’s charities want. Pam
06 Hibbert is a principal policy officer at the children’s
07 charity Barnardo’s. Good morning.

08 IE: Good morning.

09 IR: What would be top of your wish list.

10 IE: I- Interestingly, Barnardo’s along with a number of other
11 children’s charities published their own children’s
12 manifesto in February this year. .hh E:h I think top of our
13 list would be:: thee eradication of child poverty. Many of
14 the other things that impact on children .h would stop if
15 we- if we did get rid of child poverty. .h With the fourth
16 richest country in the wo:rd, and yet one in four
17 children .h sti:ll live in poverty in: the UK.

18 IR: Ehm, but is that situation improving.

19 IE: ((biting lips)) .hh It has improved. >Thee< eh the
20 government’s campaign has improved it eh to some
21 extent. Ehm but there’s still a long way to go.

22 IR: What is need- what is needed then to tackle out.

23 IE: E:hm well it’s interesting. It’s estimated that as little as
24 (null) point forty eight percent of ou:r .h gross domestic
25 product would hm hm would be all that’s needed to get
26 rid of child poverty. .h We would suggest that the best
27 way: is to ensure minimum income standards for families
28 with children.

29 IR: .hhh W- what else w- did you look at in your manifesto.
30 G- I mean in one of those areas was- you say too many
31 children are being locked up. =

32 IE: = .hh We did↑ We looked at youth justice ehm i:n
33 England and Wales, >particularly< .hh we locked up
34 more children at a younger age and for lesser offenses
35 than almost- .h all other European countries. .h But we

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- 36 also looked at how we deal with children in care? and
37 how poorly they achieve? .h We looked at how we
37 protect children, eh and how we protect children from
38 sexual exploitation. .h And we looked at how we treat
39 refugee children in this coun[try].
- 40 IR [.hhh When you look at s-
41 considering all those u- u- priorities, how important then
42 is- is it to get school dinners right.
- 43 IE: [.hhh E:hm it is
44 important. Clearly nutrition is a real problem and it's
45 getting worse h.. Ehm .h we are: wh- what we would
46 like to see it's a requirement for nutrition based standards
47 in schools. .h Ehm we are: less: sure about setting up yet
48 another bureaucracy to oversee this. .h If there are
49 resources they ought to go directly to schools. =
- 50 IR = .hh Eh:m because one of the campaigns obviously by
51 Jimmy Oliver's is to raise the amount that is spent on the
52 food from thirty seven pence.
- 53 IE: (hh) It's a terrible amount, isn't it. .h I think we would
54 agree with that. >And< perhaps we have something to
55 learn from Scotland, eh Scotland are currently
56 investing: .hhh sixty three million pounds over three
57 years to improve the standard of school meals in
58 Scotland.
- 59 IR .h And they've also banned vending machines there,
60 aren't they. =
- 61 IE: = Absolutely. Ehm they- Vending machines are really
62 difficult, >because< clearly they'll make a lot of money
63 for schools, but they encourage children .h to eat fat laid
64 and sugar laid foods.
- 65 IR Pam Hab- Hibbert, many thanks.

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[23] Monday 21 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0723 prostate cancer (02:54.2)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: John Neate, chief executive of the Prostate Cancer Charity

01 IR: It's twenty four:r minutes past seven. Ten thou:sand men in
02 this country↑ die: each year .h from prostate cancer >and
03 the prostate cancer charity↑< .hh says there's still a great
04 deal of ignorance about it. >Many men< at the risk of
05 developing the disease↑ could lear:n to recognize the
06 warning signs, .h but they don't. John Neate is the charity's
07 chief executive, good morni:ng.

08 IE: Good morning t[o you.

09 IR: [e:hm

10 IR: How many (.) people (.) i:- if it's possible to say this, do
11 you think .hhh eh (circum to) prostate cancer, .h when it
12 could have been detected and dealt with at an earlier stage,
13 relatively straightforwardly.

14 IE: .hh (biting lips) It's very hard to put a number on that? >But
15 I think that given thee< profou:nd extent of ignorance of: eh
16 prostate cancer symptoms and of: what the prostate can- eh
17 the prostate gland do:es, .hhh eh that'll be: a pretty:
18 substantial proportion (that over) a number of people [who=

19 IR: [.hhh

20 IR: = get the disease every year. You said there is a great deal
21 of ignorance. Yet, people talk about it the whole time, don't
22 they.

23 (.)

24 IE: .h I don't think they do:. I mean thee uhm the evidence we
25 have is that although a- awareness is growing, .hh e:hm
26 thee the po:ll that: we: we commission(ed) from the I- from
27 ICM .hh e:h show that eh ninety perce:nt of: eh people .h
28 didn't know what the vital functional of the prostate gland
29 wa:s, eh the vital functional in a normal .h healthy sexual
30 functioning. .hhh A:nd less than fifty percent of the people
31 knew: whe:re eh the gland was. .h So I think ther- there is
32 a- a hu:ge amount of ignorance and still a lot of
33 embarrassment about talking abou:t prostate cancer.

34 IR: .hhh E:hm eh- eh- eh- isn't it the case that most GP:s:
35 would want to check men: say over fifty. E:hm as a matter

- 36 of routine.
 37 (0.3)
- 38 IE: .h I think there is a lot of: e:hm eh divided opinions among
 39 the GPs. There are certainly .h some who would take that
 40 view, but I- I think a very large: eh number of GPs would
 41 be: .h hesitant about doing that, because of: ehm .h eh the
 42 complex decision that (they) have to make about
 43 treatments. .h A:nd the Prostate Cancer Charity has a great
 44 deal of concern about the way that: hh. ehm GPs are not
 45 being as open as they might be in: eh giving good advice
 46 to- to men on- on testing and on (treat) adopt[ions].
- 47 IR [Because you
 48 think that thee rate could be cut dramatically °(if) that
 49 happened°.
- 50 IE: I think we could make a significant impact if: the whole of
 51 the NHS an:d and Information and Awareness hhh. were
 52 geared up to: get information across earlier and to g- give
 53 people goo:d inform choice. =
- 54 IR = If you: were to say to- somebody- I don't know, around
 55 fifty hh., ehm what the risk was and what they should do
 56 about it, how would you put it.
- 57 IE: .hh I- I think that('s a lot.) You ne- you need to be aware
 58 that (what) you have is a very important gland? it's
 59 important to your sexual functioning? .h Eh things can go
 60 wrong: with it? E:hm i- it goes wrong with: a lot of people.
 61 >It's the< most common cancer in men. .h now: in the
 62 United Kingdom. .hh A:nd: you have a right to go to your
 63 GP, you have a right to ask fo:r a: a blood test, you have a
 64 right to be given .h good advice on the pros and cons of that
 65 test. .hh E:h I would advice that any man to think good and
 66 ha:rd about doing that.
- 67 IR John Neate, of thee Prosta- Prostate Cancer Charity↑, thank
 68 you very much.

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[24] Monday 21 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0730 rights of travelers (08:22.3)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Dominic Grieve, the Shadow Attorney General

IE2: Lord Falconer, the Lord Chancellor

01 IR: Twenty six minutes to eight. Travelers and gypsies have
02 somehow found themselves in the middle of the election
03 campaign. .hh The Conservatives’ latest ads draw a
04 distinction between the way the planning law:s affect
05 travelers .hh a:nd (.) the rest of the population. .h And they
06 claim that the Human Rights Act is making it easier for
07 travelers to flout planning laws hh. About two and a half
08 thousands travelers have banded together .h to buy land↑
09 which is then developed without permission out of a h.
10 population of travelers and gypsies estimated variously
11 because figures are very hard to come by hh., but anyway
12 we’re between about a hundred thousand and three
13 hundred thousand. .hhh We’re joined by Dominic Grieve,
14 the Shadow Attorney General↑, and also by the Lord
15 Chancellor Lord Falconer. .h Dominic Grieve, first of all,
16 how: bi:g a problem (.) do you believe this to be.

17 IE1: Oh this is a growing problem. Eh I can see it in my own
18 constituency in Beckonfield where there a:re u- unlawful
19 encampments that have been set up on green belt lands. .h
20 Travelers have purchased land, .h and insisted on
21 remaining there, in breach of thee eh planning guidelines.
22 It’s now proving to be impossible [to remove them. =

23 IR: [.hhh

24 IR: Eh- eh- what is preferable in most people’s eyes i:s the use
25 of permanent sites provided by local authorities. .hh (.)
26 which stops the problem, to a large extent anyway, which
27 stops the problem of these h. ehm unregulated sites. Why
28 then ehm did you: as a government (.) abolish the statutory
29 duty to provide permanent sites more than ten years ag[o.

30 IE1: [.hhh

31 Well I think the view was taken ten years ago, that thee
32 dema::nds to- of- on local authorities to create permanent
33 sites, was in some cases excessively (onerous), and that
34 local authorities should have discretions to whether they

- 35 provided sites or not depending on the nature and level of
 36 the pro[blem °they have.
- 37 IR: [But you accept it that abolition has probably
 38 contributed to a problem which you now say is very
 39 serious and grow[ing.
- 40 IE1: [.hh
- 41 IE1: Well I'm not so sure about that. >You see< one of the
 42 interesting things is that the number of travelers has (risen)
 43 very greatly since nineteen ninety seven. And it seems to
 44 be rising fa:ster now:. = On the ba:ck of the travelers'
 45 perception they can get around the planning laws. =
- 46 IR: = .hh [Well- [uhm
- 47 IE1: [There is evidence that [many have come over from
 48 Ireland, .h where in fact the laws are far more rigorous, .h
 49 because they believe that they can exploit the (law powers)
 50 here. >Indeed thee < h. there are traveler websites, which
 51 actually provide advice as to how: .h travelers can act
 52 illegally to circumvent the planning laws and ensu:re that
 53 they can remain permanently on sites [which they are =
- 54 IR: [ehm
- 55 IE1: = occupying.
- 56 IR: = Eh- eh- thee eh the case that you are making argues that
 57 the Human Rights Act makes things worse. What evidence
 58 is there for that.
- 59 IE1: Well- I think it's quite clear that the Human Rights Act
 60 presents a difficulty in the manner in which it is being
 61 interpreted. =
- 62 IR: = .hh[h
- 63 IE1: [Eh the courts have he:ld that in certain circumstances
 64 hh. eh camp sites which are in (frequent) breach of
 65 planning k- permission↑ set up eh in areas without the
 66 permission of the local authority where there has been
 67 lengthy litigation can nevertheless remain there till
 68 kingdom come. .hh Eh because of the opera[ti]on=
 69 IR: [.hh
- 70 IE1: = of the Act. >Now[,] for =
- 71 IR: [ehm]
- 72 IE1: = many of my constituency, and other people around the
 73 country, eh this is an extreme offense of state of affairs.

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- 74 They a:re fettered eh by the human rights, eh by the by:
 75 planning laws. .h And they can not see:, (.) nobody wants
 76 to see travelers discriminated against, but they don't see
 77 why people [should have special privileges.
 78 IR: [Well-
 79 IR: E:hm: m- m-, but the way the Acts are fra:med, it's them
 80 and us, it's: you: a:nd the:m. Eh- eh- just let me put a- a
 81 quote from one of your Labor critics >I'd ask you to
 82 respond to it. Keith Hill < hhh. said: this is Michael
 83 Howard tapping into what is probably the deepest vein of
 84 bigotry in our society. In other words, easy target, go for
 85 the gypsy. °Look.°
 86 IE1: For the la:st three years, indeed for longer since I had been
 87 elected in my constituency, .h I have recei:ved an
 88 avalanche of complaints about the activities of travelers.
 89 who: invade other people's land† and can't be removed†,
 90 who buy land in breach and then start to develop it in
 91 breach of planning control. It's a serious and growing
 92 problem. And la:rge numbers of people in this country are
 93 very troubled by it, and it's therefore necessary (.) that
 94 government (.) and political party should address that
 95 issue.
 96 IR: Right. Thank you very much Dominic Grieve. Lord
 97 Falconer, do you accept that it is: a serious problem which
 98 upsets many people: justifiably.
 99 IE2: Eh I- accept that. Yes. And I think it's a problem that needs
 100 to be addressed. I don't criticize people for addressing .h
 101 thee issue. .h But I think what we nee:d is solutions hh. It's
 102 not cau:sed by an unexpected increase in the number of
 103 gypsies .h or travelers. It's caused by the fact that h. people
 104 a:re developing unauthorizably in breach of planning
 105 law. .h Then they- they are then u:sing the planning law:
 106 which appli:es to everybody, .h in order to try to stay: on
 107 the sites for as long: as possible. What we need to do is two
 108 things. One:, we need to make sure: planning law is
 109 properly enforced. And secondly, .h we need to make sure
 110 that there a:re sites which don't upset the settled
 111 community[. Tho:se are where the =
 IR: [.hh (th-)

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- 112 IE2: = solu[tions lies, not in the- in the- in the- the sort of talk =
- 113 IR: [ehm
- 114 IE2: = that h. e:h Mr. Grieve is making about the Human Rights
- 115 Act. That's not where [the problem °lies°.
- 116 IR: [.h Well we'd come back to the
- 117 Human Righ[ts Act =
- 118 IE2: [Yeah.
- 119 IR: = after a moment. Th- the select committee that looks at
- 120 John Prescott Department h.[,] eh one, two or three =
- 121 IE2: [Yeah]
- 122 IR: = years ago, that this was: uh a real- (.) problem. .h And
- 123 they argued, eh Dominic Grieve disagrees with that, but
- 124 they argued that the abolition of the statutory duty, (0.2)
- 125 eleven years ago, .h was partly responsible. .h Why hasn't
- 126 Mr. Prescott's department sorted it out. I mean if the[re's =
- 127 IE2: [He
- 128 has tha- ()
- 129 IR: = a modal, it's your modal.
- 130 IE2: i- i- i- i- it's not our modal. Thuh eh the- the- deputy (prime
- 131 minister's) department has taken steps and took steps some
- 132 time ago. >Let me identify< two:. First of a:ll, they've: .h
- 133 ma:de local authorities consult on identifying sites which
- 134 don't up- upset the (certain) community↑, [.h] which =
- 135 IR: [ehm]
- 136 IE2: = are pa:rt of the planning map. .h That is solution number
- 137 one. .h Solution number two: in the planning act, that's just
- 138 gone through Parliament, >(the interview some may call
- 139 that)< temporary: stop notice, which allow:s eh local
- 140 authorities to- make an immediate order, stopping
- 141 development. They came into force two weeks ago(?) .h
- 142 And the first one was granted h. in:: >just in a village near
- 143 Bristol< eh two weeks ago. The effect of it .h wa:s that eh
- 144 some travelers came, they were: they were about to
- 145 develop on an un- on an unauthorized site. .h The effect of
- 146 the temporary stop notice .h was to stop it. And that's-
- 147 whe:re the solutions [lie:.]
- 148 IR: [.hh] Everyone accepts: that most
- 149 people in this category of travelers and gypsies hh. ehm
- 150 behaves in accordance with the ru:les of development. But

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- 190 IR: = I want to come back to Dominic Grieve. >On< this
 191 question of trespass and criminality, what exactly are you
 192 proposing.
- 193 IE1: .h The proposal is the Irish modal. Wh- that doesn't make
 194 any trespass or somebody wondering into a field criminal
 195 offense at all. I've noticed that to see that happening would
 196 be absurd. .hh It makes a criminal offense where somebody
 197 goes onto a land with vehicles or plant or equipment
 198 interferes with the use and amenity of that land, or starts to
 199 damage it. .hhh We believe that [that's-
 200 IE2: [(No they do:n't?)
 201 (0.2)
 202 IE1: No:. Clearly [not (obey)-
 203 IE2: [>That is th- That's where the problems are.
 204 The problems are whe:re< .h you own the land yourself, .h
 205 and >you do want a authorize to
 206 de{velop °it°.<
 207 IE1: {Forgive me. Tha- that's I can [()
 208 IR: {() [By the way-
 209 IR: {()Anyway it's an interesting discussion. {Anyone- }=
 210 IE1: {()
 211 IE2: {() {It's very exa-}
 212 IR: = Anyone would take there was an election coming. =
 213 IE1: = Well, there a:re two separate issues here. Firstly there is-
 214 where travelers buy land and start to develop it. That has to
 215 be dev- that has to be dealt with by dealing with the
 216 development and control issues. But where they go onto
 217 with other people's land, that's where the trespass law: that
 218 we propo:se would kick in. .hh So those are two
 219 comple:tely separate issues. >It's quite wrong with Lord
 220 Falconer to muddle them up.< =
 221 IR: = Dominic Grieve, Lord Chancellor, thank you both.

[25] Wednesday 23 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0709 3 billion pounds rebate (03:25.3)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Roger Knapman, UK IP leader

01 IR: The time now nine minutes past seven. .hhh Britain is
 02 coming under more pressure to give up the three billion
 03 pound rebate it gets from Europe every year. .hhh It was
 04 secured by Margaret Thatcher twenty years ago. (.) But
 05 over the weekend, the president of the European
 06 Commission↑ .hh Josey Manwell Barusel said we have to
 07 accept that the situation now is very different. Now Roger
 08 Knapman is thee .hhhh United Kingdom Independent Party
 09 Leader, and he is here with me in the studio. Good
 10 morning.

11 IE: Good morning.

12 IR: .hh And the situation is different, (.) .h because then there
 13 were ten members, now:: there are twenty five. And those
 14 fiftee::n new:: members a:re much more in nee:d (.) than
 15 we are (.) of money.

16 IE: Thee e::h eh rebate is set in stone, there's absolutely no
 17 reason to negotiate it at all↑ .h in some two and half billion
 18 pounds a year↑. It's extraordinary to do it this time just
 19 when we are becoming .h the biggest contributor (0.2) to
 20 the EU. If we lose our rebate as well, where the British tax
 21 payers are indebted in such a rate, that I think everybody
 22 will go off the European: ehm project.

23 IR: But it- i- it seems odd to argue that with- these changes, as
 24 I say, new members who are much poorer than we are, .h
 25 that- we should be taking so much out of the system.
 26 (0.2)

27 IE: Eh well I don't think we are:: We are net contributors, the
 28 biggest net contributors. .h A::nd you have to decide, we
 29 all have to decide, whether we think the
 30 British tax payers' money should be spent for the benefit of
 31 British schools, .h British hospitals and British
 32 pensioners. .h Or whether we should ship it abroad in every
 33 increasing rates.

34 IR: But thee, eh the EU would argue:, look it's our
 35 membership of the Europe which has- provided much (of)

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- 36 the prosperity that we have gained from over the last
 37 twenty years, >the fact that< there is a single market, and
 38 tha- that is contributing to our wealth. .hh And it is time
 39 that- if this club is going to work, then the balance is
 40 cha:nged.
- 41 IE: No I think it's just thee French tail is wagging the
 42 European: dog here. .h Eh we debated in the European
 43 Parliament some two weeks ago. Thee simple Lisbon
 44 agreement, .hh eh which was a grandiose ten year affair to
 45 bring full employment h. eh eh to: Europe. In fact, we have
 46 the half way stage. A::nd unemployment in France or
 47 Germany is going up rapidly. Lots of wheelchair of tra:de,
 48 e:h the (legislation that could go on). E:h the European
 49 economy is in a dreadful state. And we shall follow them if
 50 we adopt this sort of legislation.
- 51 IR: .h Surely we have to take account of thee new member
 52 states, who are: (0.3) who are so much poorer than we are.
- 53 IE: O:h yes indee:d. Thee concerns of Labor and Liberal Party
 54 are so so keen on .h sending our money abroad. >They
 55 want< political union with Turkey (fair for sake). .h Where
 56 does it end. E:h all we say in UKIP (visibly) want British
 57 tax papers' money spent for the benefit of British people.
- 58 IR: >Is it inevitable that this is going to b< e:h re-negotiated,
 59 >isn't it<, if you have any: budget coming up and it has to
 60 be settled.
- 61 IE: .hh Eh thee inevitable thing: is thee French referendum
 62 ae:h on- on the constitutionalists driving this. It looks like a
 63 no vote. And this [suddenly () (the dining-)]
- 64 IR: [But why do y- why are you bla- why you
 65 blame France for it though, >because there a- m- this-
 66 em-< two of the arguments I'm- I'm- quoting one to you,
 67 this is th- is thee arrival of new members, but also the
 68 second argument, it's not France, but it's the Netherlands
 69 who pay .hh a disproportionately large amount into EU
 70 conference. .hh And it's those two things that Britain has
 71 been asked to take account [°of°.
- 72 IE: [hh Eh no:. Wel- w- th- as- I
 73 say whether should we give up our rebate was
 74 negotiated, .h eh to ensure that we paid a fair proportion

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75 in:to the European conference. .h We are about to become
76 the biggest single contributor, .h why should we make it
77 worse by voting them another two and half billion pounds
78 a year.
79 (.)
80 IR: Roger Knapman, thank you.
81 IE: Thank you.

[26] Wednesday 23 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0712 fraud trials (04:12.8)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Bruce Holder QC, a member of the Bar council

- 01 IR: It's thirteen minutes past seven. The collapse of the jubilant
 02 line .hh corruption trial in London after a couple of years
 03 has cost the public purse tens of millions of pounds, =
 04 >but< the director of the prosecutions, .hh and the Attorney
 05 General .hh decided that the six defendants should be
 06 fo:rmally acquitted because one juror had refused to go on
 07 and others were complaining of hardship. The jury already
 08 ros- lost two members who had to be excused for personal
 09 reasons. .h Other of those accused .h ha:d pleaded guilty.
 10 The question is whether (.) in such lo:ng and complicated
 11 cases, thus may well (.) have been the longest jury trial in
 12 British legal history, .hh there should be a jury at all.
 13 Allowing a trial in such .h serious charges but (how do) the
 14 jury (have a-) .h would be very controversial. Bruce Holder
 15 QC is a .h member of the Bar council under the Committal
 16 Bar Association. .hh A greatest argument that has been
 17 rolling on for some years about whether lo:ng and
 18 complicated cases .hhh can be handled by jurists. What do
 19 you think.
- 20 IE: Well bad cases, such as this, eh make ba:d law:. Eh there is
 21 a great temptation eh when you get a situation like this =
 22 >to throw< .h the baby out with the bath water. .h But the
 23 issue is not how::: (0.2) but how well en- and how:: lo:ng
 24 these cases take. And the concentration should be on
 25 shortening them. Eh eh a number of things have happened
 26 in fact in the last couple of days, = they haven't
 27 happened, .hh by accident. = They've been worked o:n .h
 28 not only by the judges, .h by the Law Chief Justice, and by
 29 members of profession, for some months now. Eh e two
 30 things, .hh First of a:ll, yesterday, the Law Chief Justice
 31 produced a blueprint for trying lo:ng and complicated
 32 cases. .hhh He proposed in a sixteen-page document a
 33 protocol for the conduct of these trials. .h Secondly, thee
 34 government have introduced, and the criminal justice act eh
 35 a regime eh which is now enshrined in the criminal

- 36 procedure rules, .h draft(ed) by the judges, .h to secu:re
 37 shorter trials by ac[ti]ve case management. =
- 38 IR: [w-
 39 = Well can you (guillotine) a trial.
- 40 IE: You can't (guillotine) a trial. But what you can do::: is settle
 41 so many of the issues that are played out in front of the jury.
 42 =
- 43 IR: = How can y[ou- Well i- i- [if that i- if that's possible,
 44 IE: [f- [a full (trial) ()
 45 (0.2)
- 46 IR: .h Presumably the reason that it isn't done at the moment, is
 47 because the councilors on both sides are getting huge fat
 48 fees and figures on for two years. They do rather better
 49 [(outfits.) = >Sorry I just sou:nd< skeptical. =
- 50 IE: [well- (hh)
 51 IE: = Well i- i- it's an- it's an easy observation to [make
 52 IR: [Well it's- it's
 53 a (theorem). I think a lot of people listening will want that
 54 observation to be made and hear your response [to it.
 55 IE: [Yeah.
- 56 IE: Well, first of all, it isn't entirely true any more, because the
 57 government have made very heavy ket- cutbacks into the
 58 level of fees. .hh I- I don't want to get draw:n [into fees =
 59 IR: [ehm.
- 60 IE: = issue, 'cause it's not really [()
 61 IR: [It's just a principal issue, °I°
 62 accept] [that.
- 63 IE: [No of cour°se not°. The- the- the- thee issue: i- is
 64 how long these tri:als take. An- and (0.3) cooperation at
 65 every stage of the process is now necessary. .hh There's
 66 going to be a real cultural cha:nge. First of all, the
 67 investigators are being re-trained as how to conduct sho:rt
 68 interviews. .hh The judges are involved in earlier stage with
 69 early stage with council, .h agreeing areas of evidence,
 70 areas of expert evidence. >So when< the case actually gets
 71 before the jury, .h so much of the evidence has set out in
 72 schedules, .h and doesn't have to be played out of lin[ks.
 73 IR: [Because
 74 of- of- Finally an- and briefly, it has been said by some

- 75 people in the profession, (.) for a lo:ng time, that there'i- is
76 really in the end no way rounded, that for some very
77 complicated cases, .h which are bound to go on for a very
78 long time in the interest of the accu:sed, .h you really just
79 can't have a jury, I mean this starts falling off their
80 purchase. >.h But Lord Dennis said this more than twenty
81 years ago, °didn't he°.
- 82 IE: Wel- it's true;, but I think this- these changes are going to
83 make the difference. Trials I don't think any lo:nger will be
84 anything like that long. .h Six months, I think is going to be
85 the maximum. You know, it's never been more important, to
86 have a system which allows .h o:rdinary people to stand
87 between the State and the individual. .h If you sta:rt (.)
88 (whittling) away jury trial at the top end for the really
89 serious cases, someone is going to say aren't they. Well look
90 at all the little cases at the other end that are now tried by
91 magistrates. What's left, the little rump in the middle. Let's
92 get rid of them. .hh You know, juries are an important part
93 of our participatory democracy. .h That some people might
94 say has been ero:ded by the State. We must protect and
95 prese:rve this system by sho:rtening these trials, and that
96 can be done. (.) We are quite confident.
- 97 IR: Bruce Holder QC, thank you very much.

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[27] Wednesday 23 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0730
mental health legislation (07:54.5)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Lord Carlisle, Liberal Democrat Peer

IE2: Rosie Winterton, Health Minister

01 IR: Twenty seven minutes to eight. The government’s propose
02 to change to mental health legislation a:re in .h a bit of
03 trouble >it appears<. A joint committee of Peers and MPs
04 which has been studying the bill, .hhh says it would mean
05 that too many people would be detained .h without
06 adequate reason. >Under the legislation< people could be
07 compulsorily treated, .hh who don’t necessarily pose a
08 significant (.) risk to the public. Committee says that
09 (>there<) needs to be evidence of risk, .h for treatment to
10 be imposed in this way. The government says the bill
11 would allow the small (minority of) people .hh who need
12 to be treated against their wishes to get as they put it, .h the
13 right treatment at the ri:ght time. I would talk to the Health
14 Minister in a moment. .hhh First the Liberal Democrat Peer
15 Lord- e:h Carlisle who chairs the scrutiny Committee of
16 Peers and MPs, .hh joins us now. Good morning.

17 IE1: Good morning.

18 IR: What is thee e:h problem here. What do you think the
19 outcome would be that you consider to be hh. undesirable.
20 =

21 IE1: = .hh The committee had a great deal of evidence. And we
22 fou:nd that it is extre:mely difficult to predict
23 outcomes. .hh Ehm w- w- we fear o- o- on the basis of
24 evidence that an- an awful lot of people could be locked up
25 in psychiatric hospitals .h who actually pose no: risk, of
26 course in-significant or serious harm to others. .hh We have
27 concluded therefore that people should only be forced into
28 compulsory treatment, .h if firstly they pose significant risk
29 or serious harm to others. .hh And secondly the
30 compulsory treatment must be of therapeutic benefit to
31 them.

32 IR: And who would (.) deci:de, who draws a line in these
33 cases.

34 IE1: .hh Well it all depends on whether it’s a health case or a

- 35 public order case. We- we are:- the government has given
 36 us a splendid opportunity and the Committee was up to this
 37 view, (.) to refo:rm compulsory mental health treatment
 38 laws for the first time in twenty two years. >And< we have
 39 applauded much of what's in the draft bill, .h there we've
 40 recommended many changes. >But< what we have
 41 said .hhh is that if there are people suffering from
 42 dangerous and severe personality disorder h. who eh can
 43 not be shown to pose a significant risk of serious harm to
 44 others >and there is no therapeutic benefit< then if the
 45 government want s- legislation on that, .h it has to be a
 46 different form of legislation, [providing a different form =
 47 IR: [.hhhh
 48 IE1: = of care.
 49 IR: = Do you: believe that one of the reasons f- eh for the way
 50 this provision has bee:n fra:med, .hh i:s the public concern
 51 about the number of cases, and: we have the result of a
 52 terrible modal trial only yes[terday] involving someone =
 53 IE1: [Yeah.]
 54 IR: = who has severe mental heath problems. .hh That people
 55 have- (0.2) an exaggerated idea (.) of how many people
 56 there a:re (.) .h who commit very serious crimes (.) as a
 57 result of their mental state.
 58 IE1: The answer to both of your questions is yes. Tha- we do:
 59 believe that there is an exaggerated fear. .hh Ehm we also
 60 believe this is something that is extremely difficult to get
 61 across to the public, .h that if you look at detailed evidence
 62 as we did, a hundred and twenty four witnesses, four
 63 hundred and fifty written submissions, .hh there is actually
 64 (.) no: reliable evidence to show: that one can predict these
 65 terrible outcomes. We agonized over these terrible
 66 outcomes, we heard evidence about them, .h and we have
 67 come to the conclusion (that) as so far as mental health
 68 care is concerned, .h that ha:s a health role to fulfill. The
 69 government may well wish to take other measures, and
 70 maybe able to persuade Parliament that other measures are
 71 appropriate for a small number of people, .hh but we do:
 72 fea:r the risk of mental health asperse or worse, >this is a
 73 criticism of the newspapers not the government<, .h a sort

- 74 of concentration camp mentality. =
- 75 IR: = .hhh Lord Carlisle, thanks very much. Rosie Winterton is
76 the Health Minister. She is with us. Good morning.
- 77 IE2: Good morning.
- 78 IR: .h E:hm (.) i- is this the kind of- (.) criticism, (which is
79 fairly) constructive because the Committee welcomes
80 many of the proposals you've made in the draft
81 legislation, .h that you are going to take seriously and do
82 something about it. =
- 83 IE2: =.h Well I- I do want to thank Lord Carlisle and members
84 of thee ehm Committee .h ehm who've looked at the bill.
85 We'll be looking at their detailed .h recommendations, it is
86 part of a very wi:de consultation process, .h that we have
87 he:ld .h on this extremely important .hh legislation. .hh
88 Which i:s (.) needed f- for two reasons. I mean, first of a:ll,
89 we want to see increased safeguards for thee .h small
90 number: of people, .h who are detai:ned because they
91 either (.) pose a risk to themselves (.) or to others. .h And
92 that's why every person who is detai:ned will in future e:h
93 have to ha:ve their detention approved by an
94 independent .h mental health review tribunal. .hh And they
95 will a:lso: have eh advocacy available [during =
- 96 IR: [.hhh
- 97 IE2: = that process, >they don't< have that at the moment, but
98 we are introducing that safeguard. >However<, .hh there is
99 a balance here, .h with public protection issues, .h and the
100 problem we have with thee current bill, .hh is that for
101 example ehm people who have a personality disorder, but
102 who may be:: a very serious risk to others or to
103 themselves, .hh currently are considered to be: ehm
104 untreatable. .h Now that is not the case. [There are
105 thera[pies that =
- 106 IR: [.hh
- 107 [Bu-
- 108 IE2: = are available. Secondly, .h people who perhaps have a
109 dual diagnosis of drug abuse, o:r who are pedophiles und-
110 er the current bill, .hhh the:re has been confu:sion, and
111 they haven't recei:ved [the treatment that they: nee:d,
112 because they: .h there =

- 113 IR: [.hhh
 114 IE2: = has been [confusion about whether they can be detained
 115 or not. =
 116 IR: [.hh
 117 IR: = >But even if that is< (0.2) true, I mean even if that is a
 118 fair description of one of the problems that has to be
 119 tackled, .hh isn't that also a danger and do you accept that
 120 it is a danger. .hh E:h if you have a system where people
 121 are detained compulsorily, .hh without it being
 122 demonstrated that there i:s a serious chance of them
 123 committing some act against the public.
 124 IE2: .h Well the system at the moment i:s that people are
 125 detained if they are believed to be .h either of- at risk to
 126 themselves, o:r at risk to others. What this bill does, is to
 127 update the legislation, so that where people have not been
 128 able to receive treatment, >and this isn't just about< (.) eh
 129 being a risk to others, >this is about< people actually not
 130 getting treatment. =
 131 IR: = Ehm. =
 132 IE2: = So there are people at the moment, with personality
 133 disorders, ehm with perhaps dual diagnosis between ehm
 134 drug abuse and eh mental health problems, o:r
 135 pedophiles. .h Ehm th- the- there is confu:sion as to
 136 whether they- th- whether they can be treated, >what this<
 137 do:es, is to provi:de that treatment for them, .h and to say:
 138 yes, there is an ability. >But better remember<, they have
 139 to f- fulfill fi:ve very strict conditions, .h and it has to be
 140 im- approved by an independent mental health review
 141 tribunal. =
 142 IR: = Well that argument () committee will go on. Let me
 143 very briefly raise one of the matter h. .hh Ehm Sa:ne the
 144 mental health charity i:s having to cut back its: (.) helpline
 145 may have to close it entirely, .h six thousand ca:lls a week.
 146 Because it claims that the government has (renamed) in a
 147 confect effectively into a contract .h for million pounds a
 148 year. .hh (0.2) This is going to affect some people who
 149 desperately need the service very much which won't be
 150 taken up by other h. eh government help lines. Why can't
 151 you justify that money for an organization which is helping

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- 152 six thousand [people a week, =
153 IE2: [.hhhh
154 IR: = who's in- .h who's in desperate trouble. =
155 IE2: = Well we gave the- we gave help to: eh Sa- Saneline over
156 two years. We gave two million pounds on the
157 understanding .hh that it would become self-funding after
158 that. .h What we have done, is all the mental health help
159 lines have joined together in a: partnership, .h so that they
160 can provide .h twenty four hour, cover seven days a week
161 three hundred and sixty five days a year. We ha:ve put
162 funding of five million pounds into that partnership, .h and
163 agreed with all the mental health charities tha- that is
164 where: .h funding should go. .h To single out one eh
165 organization above all the others .h would be:: unfair, and
166 the money was given on the understanding in the first
167 place .h that a:fter that two year period the organization
168 would be: self-funding. We can not .h continue to provide
169 core funding .h to one organization and not the others when
170 we have set up a very specific partnership .h to deal with
171 the whole issue of providing mental health help lines.
172 (.)
173 IR: Rosie Winterton, thanks.

[28] Friday 29 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0718 Attorney General’s role (05:35.1)

IR: John Humphrys

IE0: Alan Trench, senior research fellow

IE: Lord Thomas of Gresford

01 IR: It’s- sixteen minutes pa:st seven. >The< Attorney General’s
 02 probably the only senior figure in a government who’s
 03 deemed to be in a success of the politics never heard of
 04 him. .hh °He may be° appointed by the Prime Minister, °he
 05 may° have attended Cabinet meetings, but he’s not meant
 06 to act as other politicians °even though° many of them
 07 HAVE BEE:n politicians. .hh It’s not always easy. As Lord
 08 Goldsmith has been discovering over the Iraq war. .h Alan
 09 Trench is a senior research fellow at the constitution
 10 unit, .h at University College London.

11 (0.2)

12 IE0: The problem with Lord Go:ldsmith i:s that (.) he’s never
 13 been elected as an MP. .h He’s sat in House of Lords for
 14 quite a number of years. But that’s the limit of his political
 15 expe:rience h.. His predecessors would have been able to
 16 give .h mu:ch more authoritative legal advice. .h Becau:se
 17 they would not simply have been acting a:s lawyers, they
 18 would also have been acting as politicia:ns. .h And they
 19 would have been able to say, this is how far you can go, .h
 20 but you ca:n’t go: any further. .h Knowing that their advice
 21 would be taken (.) .h very very seriously indeed, becau:se
 22 they we:re politicians, they understood very clearly their
 23 political imperatives.

24 IR: .hh Well, is that a fair a:rgument? Let’s put it to Lord
 25 Thomas, who rules the Liberal Democrat? and their
 26 Attorney General? the: he Shadows the Attorney General?
 27 Hh. Eh (.) good morning to you?

28 IE: Good morning?

29 IR: Do you agree with that analysis?

30 IE: No I do:n’t. I- I think that there is a very good case for
 31 having an Attorney General who is independent of
 32 Pa:rlia:ment. .h E::h [eh

33 IR: [ENTIREly =

34 IE: = Well yes. I think it happens in other jurist dictions. I

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- 35 think the nearest to us is I:reland. .hh E:h you: then get the
 36 choice of the best talent from the who:le legal profession,
 37 and not just those (°who°) are going for politics. .h You'll
 38 have someone who would be independent and free of
 39 political bi:as, h. (.) and out of the ladder of political
 40 promotion, [ah-
- 41 IR: [So who would appoint h°im then°. =
- 42 IE: = E:h well the Prime Minister would appoint hi:m↑,
 43 obviously↑, for the for the period of the government.
 44 >Bu:t,< e:h it doesn't follow: that: m .h e:h he would::
 45 continue- necessarily continue with that particular
 46 government. He could run into another government, as- as
 47 the director of public prosecutions does at the
 48 moment. .hhh The ARgument against is the la:ck of
 49 accountability to Par[liament]. =
- 50 IR: [Uhm¿]
- 51 IE: = h. Bu:t: if (this) advice is a se:cret, and confine to the
 52 Prime Minister and one or two other close cro:nies, where
 53 there is no accountability at a:ll, and that (is) of course
 54 °what's happened°, .h in relation to: the issue about
 55 Iraq. .hh As for a la:ck of political awareness where: Lord
 56 Goldsmith was (plucked from the ba:r)? as your previous
 57 speaker said, an- and made Attorney General without
 58 political: h. eh without any political background. .h Eh I- I-
 59 I: think that indepe:ndence is probably h. eh a better way to
 60 proceed than ha- having somebody with a- u:m eh who
 61 spend their life eh pushing leaflets through doo:rs. =
- 62 IR: Mcht it's a: seductive idea, but isn't one of the other
 63 problems is with it that .h e- politicians, Prime Minister,
 64 would be much less likely to accept legal advice from e:::
 65 an Attorney General .h if he isn't one of the:m. I mean the
 66 Attorney General needs to ha:ve e::: a fi:ne political sense
 67 as well, >even though< he is not a politician, (yet) he has
 68 to understand the system, surely. =
- 69 IE: = Well I- I do↑n'- well obviously most lawyers understand
 70 the syste↑m because we work within it, but: [e:: e::
- 71 IR: [But (in the
 72 other) you don't work in: politics, do you. °I mean wen°-
 73 [() [You're not of politics. =

- 74 IE: [No. We'r- w- (.) Poli[tics
75 IE: = Let me- (we're) not of politics. I think this is a great
76 advantage. Ehm I think that: Lord Goldsmith and thee: eh
77 Iraq instance was sucked into the political sce:ne. .hhh He
78 was sucked into: following the American view: (.) .h of
79 how thee eh s- eh of how the Security Council's ehm eh
80 decision shou- should be rega:rded. H. E::hm i- it was (.)
81 eventually: not the Security Council not the Cabinet e not
82 the House of Commons not the Attorney General but it was
83 Tony Blair who decided that being a material breach .hh of
84 thee eh resolutions, .h relating to Iraq. [(.) And then tha-
85 IR: [= And in the end
86 surely that has to be how it is. Surely it has to be: the Prime
87 Minister, a:nd all the Cabinet together, .hh ehm who makes
88 that decision. They can take adv:ce, they can take advice
89 from a hundred different legal sources.
90 IE: Yes if y- if you want to broa:den it. Of course it is the
91 Cabinet who should take a decision h.. .hh In this particular
92 instance, it was the Prime Minister who took the decision
93 and who carries the whole responsibilities fo:r it. .h An-
94 and in relation to the Security Council:l's position of course
95 the rest of the world, apart from the United States, .h
96 inclu:ding this country, belie:ve that it was for the Security
97 Council to deci::de, =
98 IR: = ehm =
99 IE: = .h whether Iraq was in material breach of previous
100 resolutions. [.hh >And- and-< =
101 IR: [So:
102 IE: = and- and: e:h Lord Goldsmith allow:ed himself to be
103 dra:wn in to thee (.) into thee ah::: American way of
104 thinking. =
105 IR: = So: w- you:r party (.) i- i- if it were::: to: eh have the
106 option? .h would get rid of the Attorney General? .h as we
107 now know him? or her? a:nd have a completely different
108 person doing a completely different job independent of
109 Parliament, [>independent of the government<.
110 IE: [Yeah.
111 IE: Yeah, but that's not unusual. That's what happens
112 [in other government s. [°Yeah. °

- 113 IR: [But that's what you do. [That is policy. So that's [a =
- 114 IE: [No:, °it's-°
- 115 IR: = Liberal Democrat policy.
- 116 IE: = °It's° not policy? It's a matter of that's come up for
- 117 discussion. .h eh eh at this particular time because of the
- 118 very expo:sed position of this Attorney General, = >but: eh
- 119 hh. eh we: were the first to argue, for example that thee
- 120 judge(s) should be removed from the legislature, and we
- 121 will, (for) people who proposed there should be a Supreme
- 122 Court, .h separate from Parliament. .h And similarly, it
- 123 seems to me, that we should .h divo:rce the politician from
- 124 thee eh from the Attorney General's office. .h After all,
- 125 should we have a politician who's head of prosecutions in
- 126 this country. >If you'd like to think about thee< .h thee
- 127 thee e:hm thee policy behind that, that may not be a very
- 128 good thing. [>So it's SOMEthing for discussion.
- 129 IR: [°Wel-°
- 130 IE: .h E:h eh and it's been highlighted by Lord Goldsmith's
- 131 approach in this case. =
- 132 IR: = Lord Thomas, many thanks.

[29] Friday 29 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0750 legality of war (05:35.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Major General Patric Cordinly, who commanded in the first Gulf War

IE2: Louis Moony, former Labor MP, former Defense Minister

01 IR: The roar over Iraq has raised many questions about the
 02 legality of wa:r, but for the men and women who fi:ght,
 03 (.) .hh it's not a question of legal niceties? = If a war↑ is
 04 found NOT to be legal, they: can find themselves in the dock
 05 literally. .h In the words of General Sir Michael Jackson,
 06 head of the ARmy, “I have no intention of ending up in a sail
 07 next to Milosovige”. .hh Well is this a real issue: fo:r Army
 08 officers. Eh on the li:↑ne is Major General Patric Cordinly↑,
 09 who commanded the (Desbra↑) in the first .hh Gulf War↑,
 10 a:nd Louis Moony, former Labor MP, .h eh former Defense
 11 Minister. Ehm (0.3) General (.) Codinly, what i:s .h thee
 12 issue here, because if eh a Prime Minister↑ (.) orders: you to
 13 go to war↑, you go to war.

14 IE1: .hhh If I could just (.) try:ing (0.2) paint a picture as to what
 15 it feels like when you're sitting there with all your
 16 soldiers, .h waiting to do something, = you- .h you think
 17 (what the hell) are we doing there, an- a:nd is this really
 18 worthwhile. = You need to know: (.) you are absolutely k-
 19 clear that you'll pop here, quit for the jo:b, you'll pop your
 20 supply:. = But most importantly of a:ll, .h you need to know
 21 °that° the war's just, necessary, a:nd legal. And it's very very
 22 important for soldiers when they're waiting, thinking what
 23 the hell are we going-, what the hell are we doing this fo:r.
 24 They need to know that it IS legal, and it is ju:st.

25 IR: When you say they need to know, how fa:r down does this
 26 go:. Because it's hard to imagine that- you know th- th- the
 27 bloke who's driving .hh a food wagon or something is
 28 worrying about whether it's a legal wa:r, or or mind it be:ing
 29 just. (hh) Is- is that not true. = I mean do they all worry about
 30 it.

31 IE1: I think they'd all worry about it. >There's always plenty of
 32 time to wait and train before you're going to do: these
 33 thing↑s. And you are worried about all so:rts of things. .h
 34 And if there's any question in your mi:nd °that°, that this

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- 35 isn't necessarily something that's correct and right and
 36 legal, .h it's actually very (.) ba:d for morale. .h It's very
 37 difficult for commanders to be: .h absolutely, certainly when
 38 they're giving their orders that, that is what is, that's what we
 39 have- really meant to do: here. And i- it is- everybo- every
 40 soldier (.) thinks about these things. I promise you.
- 41 IR: And (.) knowing what you now know, what we all now
 42 know↑, about (.) the events leading up (during) th- the last
 43 Iraq war↑, .hhh ehm do you reckon it was-, it's satisfied the
 44 requirements that you'°ve°- described?
 45 (0.2)
- 46 IE1: I think it's of doubtful legality, myself. And of course the
 47 thing that I think was irritating is that you've got to trust both
 48 wa:ys here. .h You've got to tru:st, you put your trust in the
 49 government. It's sent you there eh le:gally. It's sent you there
 50 because it's a just cau:se. .h And that go:es should go the
 51 whole way down, and BACK UP trust to you, they('re
 52 gonna) beha:ve correctly. You've got a situation in Iraq. I'm
 53 aware quite rightly as this prosecution is going on, .h but
 54 a:lso people being- .h being eh f- becha:rged with- with
 55 crimes which, were perhaps accidents. And the tru:st all
 56 break do::wn. And tha- the: the Arm Forces will say well
 57 we're not getting the trust from the government, and they
 58 actually put us here .h for doubtful legal reasons. =
- 59 IR: = Ehm. D:: Louis Moony, what do you say to that.
- 60 IE2: .hhh I think tha:t: Patric Cordinly has: made a very important
 61 point about: the fact that we have to take the feelings of our
 62 soldiers before they're going into > (conflict). (Take) into<
 63 considerations that (won't) worries. .hh Eh in the light of:
 64 e:h h. eh legal situation. .h E::hm I'm not sure how far down
 65 through that (anxious) actually calculates. E:h .hh I can't see
 66 that anybody mentioned it to me that-, when I was out on the
 67 Gulf a few days before but- what's- the: nation.
- 68 IR: .hh [Well maybe >you just want to (say)< they didn't think =
- 69 IE2: [hhh Bu-
- 70 IR: = about it. Now that [they do: [ehm
- 71 IE2: [No no, absolutely. [A:nd it is: eh you
 72 know I qui- quite take my point of it that something must be
 73 very- .h like very weird. .h And frankly, when you look at the

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- 74 the: what the Attorney General di:d, .h over the period
 75 befo:re we invaded it, it's clea:r that, he was making very
 76 su:re(ness) on his mi:nd, .h eh that it WA:s legal, before he
 77 gave the government that advice. =
- 78 IR: = But General Codinly s- says it's doubtful legality
 79 [now. Now that we know everything?
- 80 IE2: [.hh NO:::.
- 81 IE2: I have to say now the generals that are lawyers, and lawyers
 82 (n[o doubt] >without being ever bothered with whether it's =
- 83 IR: [(hhh)
- 84 IE2: = legal<or NO:t. H. But::ehm (.) I think .hh I- I li:stened to
 85 Jessy Robinson QC a couple of nights ago, I don't know if
 86 you hea:rd of him, bu[t: =
- 87 IR: [Ye::s.
- 88 IE2: = he made a very eh stro:ng po:int, basically that it was very
 89 clear from the .hh narrative of what was going on, eh he used
 90 a fashionable word, eh that:: (0.2) eh the Attorney General
 91 had pr-sented the government with- what he considered to be
 92 a be:st option. .h E:h eh on the seventh of Ma:rch. .h Eh this
 93 adve:nt being discounted becau:se: very obviously it wasn't
 94 going to take pla:ce, when he could get a secondary
 95 solution. .hh He then taken from the legal advice himse:lf, eh
 96 as you know no: no lawyer (and) institution rely purely on
 97 his own skill. .hh And he'd come to the conclusion that it
 98 wa:s legal for the reasons that have been set out at the
 99 Cabinet.
- 100 IR: Eh General Codinly if- if th- this who:le thing had been
 101 debated, eh at Cab- m- in Cabinet, in the way that th- the
 102 critics of Tony Blair, say shou- it shou:ld have been debated.
 103 (0.3) Would it satisfied w- have satisfied you then.
 104 (0.2)
- 105 IE1: .hh Ye:s, I think the answer is it wou:ld have done. Ehm I
 106 think Admiral Boyce is the perfect example. Clearly he was
 107 conce:rned. .h A:nd that filtered through, that the Armed
 108 Forces is concerned about the legality and had to be
 109 persuaded that it wa:s legal. And I think- we- .h I- I wasn't
 110 servi:ng obviously but I think the people I talked to tOOk
 111 THAt as the green light that this was- this was legal and
 112 ju:st. A:nd but I think e- e- e- in hindsight now, you know

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- 113 one would have liked to have thought that the Cabinet had
114 DEinitely disCUssed this thing h. eh fully, just to make it
115 ce:rtain that Admiral Boyce was getting the
116 correct [answer.
- 117 IR: [And a very quick thought from you Louis Moony do
118 you agree with tha↑t.
- 119 IE2: Ehm I saw the Cabinet minutes as all ministers do. And:
120 there was certainly discussion took place. Not having been
121 (there I can't say) how full the discussion was, but from:
122 colleagues: eh that we have been meeting, there are very full
123 very full di- mcht. discussion indeed took place. [.hhh] =
- 124 IR: [Ok?] =
- 125 IE2: = around what was happening.
- 126 IR: Louis Moony↑, (.) Patric Codinly↑, thank you both.

[30] Monday 25 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0650 nuclear power (06:54.0)

IR-1: a correspondent in press conference

IE-1: Tony Blair, Prime Minister

IE-2: Margaret Becket, the Environment Secretary

IR0: John Humphrys

IE0: Margaret Becket, the Environment Secretary

IR1: Sarah?

IE1: Roger Halberd, BBC correspondent

IE2: Tim Yeo, Shadow Secretary of State for the Environment

01 IR: On Friday, John asked the Environment Secretary
 02 Margaret Becket, .h if Labor would build nuclear power
 03 plants. .h She raised the possibility that they would.

04 IR0: We aren't gonna [have any new nuclear power stations, =

05 IE0: [() top of that.

06 IR0: = are we can we be clear about that then.

07 IE0: What we're saying is that we ca:n't close down that
 08 option. It's possible that in the e::nd, for climate change
 09 reasons, .h we would need to reconsider tha[t. But-

10 IR0: [Right. So
 11 there is a review, or there isn't a review. I'm still puzzled,
 12 I'm afraid?

13 IE0: No you're not puzzle↑d. You've got an- we've got an
 14 energy white paper that sets out the policy [(for).

15 IR0: [That policy is,
 16 let's see if I can put it in my words and then get you to
 17 agree with i↑t. =

18 IE0: = (hh) That's always [dangerous?

19 IR0: [A:s dan↑gerous, but let's try? .h Eh
 20 th- we MAY: have more nuclear power stations at some
 21 indeterminate time in the future but we DON't know yet
 22 when that time might come or what might influence it.
 23 (0.2)

24 IE0: Yes.

25 IR: Mcht, well, clear. On Saturday, the Independent
 26 newspaper led with the story that Labor was considering
 27 introducing a nuclear program if they were re-elected. .h
 28 But at the press conference Tony Blair started to slap the
 29 story dow:n.

- 30 IE-1: Prime Minister, is there going to be a review of nuclear
31 policy?
- 32 IR-1: No. I mean that's all the story this morning. I mean, the
33 position is exactly the position we set out in our, (.) is it
34 the green paper or white pap[er].
- 35 IE-2: [°It is° thee energy white
36 paper two years ago:, where we said e::hm two things.
37 One:: that, .h of course we've got to keep open the
38 option. 'Cause there could come a time whe::n, .h ehm
39 for reasons of cutting (carbon oxygens) we need to
40 reconsider, .h ehm the use of nuclear power. .h But that if
41 we were to think that it was right to do so, there would be
42 a special white paper h. o:n this issue.
- 43 IR: Mcht well that was Margaret Becket on Saturday. I'm
44 joined now by our correspondent Roger Halbin. .hhh
45 Roger, w- where are we. What is going on
46 [with Labor policy [o(hhh)n the(h) (£) nuclear power (£).
47 IE1: [(hh) [(hhh)
48 IE1 .hh Well what's going on is general election. .h E:hm let's
49 put it in context. Two years ago they had their energy
50 white paper which put climate change at the heart of
51 energy policy. .h At that time they said they were going
52 to focus on renewables and energy efficiency for
53 delivering the savings. .hhh They put nu↑clear on the
54 backburner. .h What has happened since the:n, is that th-
55 the tu:rn-back in emissions that Mr. Blair expected ha:s
56 not happened. = In fact the emissions are still ri:sing. .h
57 And there is a lo:t of wo:rry in government about about
58 what they are going to do about this. .h They are trying to
59 lead GA↑ toward this issue. They can try to push George
60 Bu:sh. .h And their own emissions, our own emissions in
61 the UK are going in the wrong direction. [So, as =
62 IR: [eh-
63 IE1: = election is coming. They don't wanna talk about
64 nuclear. = They wanna put it on- .h leave it on the
65 backburner. But as soon as the election is over, they
66 ha:ve to start thinking about it again. =
67 IR: = And do you: have hea:rd about their plans after the
68 ele[ction]. =

- 69 IE1: [.hh = I've heard that after the election I mean th- Mr.
70 Blair said that no: there will be no: review of nuclear
71 policy. = >He said that quite clearly. And in a
72 se:nse,< .hhh he can get away with saying tha:t, ehm m-
73 because n- n- nuclear policy at the moment is left open
74 o:n the backburner. .h But a:fter the election in Ju:ne or
75 July:, befo:re GA, befo:re he meets with George
76 Bush, .hhh eh Mr. Blair has to deal with his own climate
77 change polity review:. .hh And that will raise the issue
78 about ri:sing climate change emissions and raise the
79 question of what to do about it. And he: is trying, I:'m
80 told, .h he is trying to- to- to give the answer what we are
81 going to do about it, before he meets George Bush. = So
82 that locks him in, .h before the second week in July, .h
83 and coming up with some new movement in policy.
84 IR: And just very briefly, the answer[↑], is the answer nuclear
85 power. =
86 IE1: = Thee thee answer is a lot of people in government think
87 it's nuclear power; They know they have to get it to pass
88 the skeptical public and several skeptical ministers.
89 IR: .hhh Roger Halbin, thank you. We are listening to that as
90 the Shadow Secretary of the State for Environment and
91 Transport, Tim Yeo, good mo:rning.
92 IE2: Good morning. =
93 IR: = .hh Eh we are trying to e- work out what the Labor
94 policy e- is on thi[↑]s. We don't know what the To:ry
95 policy is on this. Would you::: m- .h introduce mo:re
96 nuclear power plants.
97 IE2: Any responsible government must have two aims for
98 energy policy. The first is the security of supply:, because
99 life comes to a ho:ld if the oxygen is switched off. .h And
100 se:cond, i:s to meet our environmental commitments in
101 cutting .h carbon emission, .h so we address .h climate
102 change. >Now< .h Labor has failed on both accounts. It's
103 made Britain h. eh dependent on i- gas impo:rts from
104 Russia and Nigeria, >(and in the instance of) Russian gas
105 gets to us, .h through a pipe plant across Germany which
106 is Russia's biggest customer. So you know .hh they'll be
107 looked after if there's any employment in that industry.

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- 108 An- and it's o:nly hope of meeting our environmental
 109 commitments to cover the country's side .h with thousands
 110 and thousands of winter (binds), .h against the wishes of
 111 (Labor) communities. So we've had eight years of
 112 (dither), [and delay, and duck in the position.]
- 113 IR: [°Right, so what work° can Tories do.]
- 114 IE2: Well, we: believe that nuclear power ca:n play a role, an
 115 important ro:le in addressing this problem, provi:ded, this
 116 is very important, that it is cost competitive, and
 117 provided that it can satisfy people's concerns about waste
 118 disposal. .hhh Now the cost equation has cha:nged a lot
 119 because .h >oil is now update with fifty dollars about
 120 that's .h nearly three times what it was a few years
 121 ago:<. .h And if increasingly we ca:pture eh the
 122 environmental cost of burning fossil fields in the
 123 pr:ce, .h it's likely that those costs are gonna go even
 124 higher. = So, .h nuclear may find it easier to (become a
 125 better cost grants). .h But the most important thing really
 126 is that .h eh it already supplies over a fifth of
 127 electricity. .h Eh if- if that is not replaced as the o:ld
 128 nuclear stations run down, .h the alternative of bu:rning
 129 fossil fi:lds, h. eh will eno:rmosly increase carbon
 130 emissions. At the time they are already going up under
 131 Labor h., eh they've re:versed the decli:ne that was
 132 achieved under the Conservati↑ves. .h They are failing to
 133 meet .h eh the most urgent environmental challenge of
 134 our genera[tion].
- 135 IR: [Right. So let's tr- let's try being clear on this.
 136 Now I'm gonna do to you: what John did to Margaret
 137 Becket, which is that the Tories are saying we wi:ll bui:ld
 138 nuclear power stations.
- 139 IE2: .hhh Provided that we can show that it is cost
 140 competitive. We don't want to have a hu::ge
 141 [°subsequent (aspect)°].
- 142
- 143 IR: [But- but a:ll the arguments you've just put to me would
 144 suggest that they a:re.
- 145 IE2: Mcht well we will- we will examine this urgently. We
 146 believe this decision must be taken within twelve months

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- 147 of the general election. .h Eh I haven't [I-
148 IR: [But why not
149 befo:re. I mean people are vo:ting in a couple of weeks.
150 Surely they have a ri:::ght to know what the Tories will
151 do [on this issue.=
152 IE2: [.hh
153 IE2: = An- an- an- and what we will do is absolutely clear. If
154 thee if the costs of nuclear power are competitive, .h eh
155 the:n we are happy to see nuclear power stations built, .h
156 provided of course that the waste issues can be dealt
157 with, as [they have now been in a number of countries.
158 IR: [And given that that is unlikely to cha:nge within
159 a year, is it your argument at the moment as the costs
160 stand now: that they are.
161 IE2: .hh Well I find it very hard to see how we can address the
162 problem of carbon emissions, .h if we do not replace the
163 existing nuclear power stations .h with a new: .h
164 generation of nuclear power. I think we are gonna find
165 our climate change commitments .h impossible to
166 meet. .h And what will happen if we have another term
167 from Tony Blair, .h it will [bring forward the date on =
168 IR: [b-
169 IE2: = which Britain's lights could be switched off by
170 President Putin. .h It will delay the date on which we
171 sta:rt to tackle the threat of climate change.
172 IR: Just briefly, Mr. Yeo, why: isn't this in your manifesto.
173 IE2: .hh Well we're published a brief manifesto. We've
174 backed it up with detailed chapters as our 'action on the
175 environment' chapter, .h There's a whole range of
176 detailed documents which sets up what we would
177 actually do. .h We wanted to have a manifesto that was
178 short enough .h for the average reader and the specialist
179 reader can go behi:nd that, look on our website, .h and
180 find out the detail of our policies.
181 IR: Tim Yeo, thank you.

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[31] Monday 25 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0709 Lib Dem deputy leader Sir Menzies Campbell (05:34.0)

IR: Sarah

IE0: Barium Sally, Iraq’s outgoing deputy Prime Minister

IE: Sir Menzies Campbell, Lib Dem deputy leader

01 IR: The Liberal Democrats are repeating their call for a full
02 public enqiry into the Iraq war. Mcht .hh it follows the
03 story in the Mail on Sunday yesterday:↑, publishing a
04 leaked memo from the Attorney General’s Office, .h
05 warning Tony Blair the wa:r could be illegal. .hhh The
06 Tory leader Michael Howard has accused Tony Blair of
07 lying about i↑t, but the Prime Minister insists the war was
08 ri:ght↑ and legal. Iraq’s otgoing deputy Prime Minister
09 Barium Sally, .h says that Iraq is a better pla:ce since
10 getting rid of Saddam Hussein.

11 IE0: I understand that wa:r is a painful option. But for us here in
12 Iraq, that war wa:s necessary to overcome a brutal
13 (terrain). That war was needed (.) to remove a:: brutal
14 dictator from power↑, .h who has committed terrible
15 (atrocities) against the people of Iraq. .hhh And for those
16 who really (.) .h question the legitimacy and morality of
17 the war, .hhh they should come and see: the mass grievances,
18 and talk to the widows, .hh a::h of those who are killed by
19 Saddam. (.) And (thereafter) the war (.) ah gave us the
20 opportunity (.) to start .h a democratic process in Iraq, and
21 admittedly with a lot of difficulties. But .h it gave us the
22 cha:nce to build in a free eh- nation here (0.2) in the heart
23 of the Islamic of Middle Eas[t.

24 IR: [mcht .hh That’s eh Iraq’s
25 outgoing deputy Prime Minister Barium Sally. Well
26 Menzies Campbell. Sir Menzies Campbell is the Liberal
27 Democrat’s foreign affair spokesman. Good morning.

28 IE: Good morning. =

29 IR: = .hhh Isn’t that how: ultimately people will judge the Iraq
30 war as- pai:nful but necessary.

31 IE: No: ↑, I don’t believe so. .h I believe people will judge it
32 on the basis of which: eh on on which: the British .h
33 peo↑ple↑ and the British Parliament, .h eh were persuaded
34 to endorse it by the Prime Minister, .h relying on: .h the

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- 35 presence of weapons of mass destruction an- biological eh
 36 an- chemical weapons, .h relying upon a (legit) threat that
 37 these could be deployed in forty five minutes h. An- and in
 38 circumstances as we now: know, .h of doubtful legality,
 39 even so far as the Attorney General the principal Law
 40 officer of the government, .h was concerned, [(.) this is =
 41 IR:].h
 42 IE: = an issue. It's rather like a h. nagging tooth. .h It's an issue
 43 which simply will not go away.
 44 IR: .h But if you follow your argument, even if you do- if it
 45 was decided that the war was ille:gal and one- took steps
 46 to redress that, you will be putting Saddam Hussein back in
 47 power.
 48 IE: .hh mcht °ah::° One has to accept that if- eh there had been
 49 no war, then Saddam Hussein might still be there. I accept
 50 that. .hh But that- there's no guarantee of that? Not least
 51 because we know: that the policy of containment and
 52 (deterrence) hh. eh was having an effect on that Saddam
 53 Hussein's .hh eh regi:me, was under very severe pressure.
 54 But when we come to- conduct- (.) this balancing exercise,
 55 because that's essentially what lies behind your
 56 question, .hh I think I can do no more than to accept the
 57 logic of Sir Steven Wall the former policy advise- f-
 58 foreign policy advisor, .hh in Number Ten Downing Street,
 59 when he said, .h that there are dyade consequences of an
 60 action, .h but even more dyade consequences of departing
 61 from the rule of law.
 62 IR: Eh but it- it's a difficult argument you're making, because
 63 if the Liberal Democrats had their way, .h then there wou-
 64 we would still not even be aware of these mass grieves, the
 65 brutal a [brutal dictator would still [be in place, =
 66 IE: [Oh yes we would-]eh-
 67 IR: = and you've got somebody like the h. eh deputy Prime
 68 Minister of Iraq eh uh on i- uh outgoing Barium Sally, .h
 69 saying this: this stro:ng point about the British people
 70 should h. should feel plea: ↑ sed they were involved in this
 71 process. =
 72 IE: = eh We've been well aware of what was happening in
 73 Iraq, indeed we knew about it. h. The British government

- 74 of the ti:me extended further financial credit .h to Saddam
 75 Hussein in the weeks immediately after (he)apture), .h
 76 when five thousand eh:: curs or h. gas, by the use of- of
 77 chemical weapons. .h When it comes to the treatment of
 78 Iraq h., then ther- there is a great deal to be said about a
 79 lack of consistency, .h in the approach not only at the
 80 United Kingdom but at the United States as well. =
- 81 IR: = mcht We have already ha:d four enquiries, what could
 82 another one achieve.
- 83 IE: We've never had an enquiry into the conduct of
 84 ministers, .h the decisions which they took and the basis
 85 upon which they took them. .h That's- this form of an
 86 enquiry, which was established after the invasion of the
 87 (furculum's), .h the Franks enquiry. .h And one of the
 88 reasons why Charles Kennedy declined to nominate
 89 anyone to serve on the (battle) of enquiry↑, [.h was that =
- 90 IR: [hh
- 91 IE: = the terms of its remit did not go wide enough, .h to deal
 92 with the political judgments. This is [a political issue↑, =
- 93 IR: [why-
- 94 IE: = we're in the mid of a general election↓.hh it seems to us
 95 (.) that the British people are entitled to know what it was
 96 that ministers did, .h [not simply (what) inadequacies, =
- 97 IR: [An-
- 98 IE: = there may have been .h (in) intelligence.
- 99 IR: And yes some make its- it's an issue that hasn't really e- e-
 100 come up a great deal in the general election campaign so
 101 far↑, and somebody (will) be wondering why the Liberal
 102 Democrats haven't been jumping up and down about it =
 103 and pa:rtly, .hh the suggestion is, .h that it's because in
 104 those seats y- the seats you need to win, .h are Tory seats.
- 105 IE: No, well if I may say so:, .h there are a number of
 106 Conservatives (£) who are opposed to the (h)war(h) (£), .h
 107 although Mr. Howard ha- has that rather curious
 108 position, .h now of saying that: if he'd known (.) then what
 109 he knows now he wouldn't have voted for that motion, but
 110 he was .h still in favor of the war. That's- I think a rather h.
 111 difficult position to occupy. .h No so far as we have been
 112 concerned, this is a .h general election campaign↑, there

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- 113 are h. a number of issues, a raft of issues, .h about domestic
114 politics which we have .h spent time and effort in trying to
115 explain to the British people. . But Iraq is an issue which
116 goes right to the very heart, .h of trust and credibility so far
117 as this government is concerned. .h And indeed if we have
118 begun with the Iraq, and go on with the Iraq, .h then I
119 suspect your questions in this morning would have been
120 [.h why are you concentrating on Iraq and not on =
121 IR: [.hh
122 IE: = health o:r .h education or pensions or something o- °of
123 that kind°.
124 IR: Sir Ming Campbell, many thanks.

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[32] Monday 25 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0715 Shadow Secretary to the Treasury, George Osborne (04:20.8)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: George Osborne, Shadow Secretary to the Treasury

01 IR: Remember the days when the Conservative Party was the
02 party of business. Labor had filled sandwiches with their
03 union friends. .h The Tory’s dined of the survoy with the
04 captains of industry. .hhhh Well not any longer new Labor
05 flagged their lashes and the bosses were seduced away. The
06 Tories have been trying to woo them back ever since. =
07 And they’ll try again today by launching their business
08 manifesto. George Osborne .hh is the Shadow Chief
09 Secretary to the Treasury, good morning to you?

10 (0.2)

11 IE: Good morning.

12 IR: Bit tricky really are, 'cause they are in love with new
13 Labor, now aren't they. [You'll have an awful] lot to do =

14 (): [((noise))]

15 IR: = to get them back into your bed.

16 (0.2)

17 IE: .hh Well one of (irony) have been handsomely rewarded
18 with peerage↑s. [Eh but I say that

19 IR: [A:l] very cynical. They [must have been

20 IE: [but I say hhhh

21 IR: = rewarded because they run good companies.

22 IE: I'm sure some of them have been rewarded as well because
23 they run good companies. = But look- eh .h eh a great
24 majority of businessmen a:re an businesswomen are
25 exasperated by the increasing red tape, .h by the increases
26 in taxes that happened under h. Labor of- including the
27 national insurance rise a few years ago? .h And of course
28 they are now concerned that if Labor wins this election↑,
29 business taxation will increase? Probably national
30 insurance again. .h Eh a:nd regulation will continue to
31 mount.

32 IR: You don't think that they'll believe that economic stability
33 and a competitive tax framework have created the
34 environment for business to invest for the long term?

35 (.)

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- 36 IE: Mcht I suspect: you're quoting that [John. ()]
 37 IR: [Yeah. () (lottery).
 38 (0.2)
 39 IE: ((clear throat)) Yeah, indeed if you read on new TV talk
 40 about thirty five billion pounds of TAx cuts which I think
 41 (go and gus) probably spending cuts which eh .h I think
 42 gives us a clue as to where that letter was dra:fted. .h And
 43 indeed (if) you look at the people who si:gned that letter in
 44 the Financial Times, .h it includes people like Trevor BT
 45 who's actually ru:ning Labor's advertising campaign; .h
 46 includes some of their biggest do:nars. [I- I prefer- I- I-
 47 IR: [Shalom Fellow?
 48 chief executive of ITV?
 49 IE: Well as I say you've th- (.) the [great majority
 50 IR: [Jerry Robinson?
 51 [Allan Sugar?
 52 IE: [() (yes)
 53 IE: Well Allan Sugar has given very substantial: sums of
 54 money to Labor in the pa:st.
 55 [Eh I prefer to- I pr- HOLD ON HOLD ON hold on
 56 John]
 57 IR: [SO IN OTHER WORDS, ANYBODY who has given
 58 money] to you:r party we have to discount, do we?
 59 IE: No no I'm just saying one should treat with ske:pticism
 60 comments about eh Labor and Conservative policy from
 61 people who give money to the La:bor party. [E:h I've- I- I-
 62 IR: [Or the
 63 Conservative party, presumably on the other side of the
 64 coin.
 65 IE: Well I- indeed one should bear it in mi:nd.
 66 [Well t- I prepare to ()
 67 IR: [(Great.) I shall bear that in mind next time I ta:lk to
 68 [you then.
 69 IE: [heiheihei (£) but I would prefer to look at (£) for
 70 example .h a survey done by the former p- private business
 71 which is a h. organization h- happens to be based on my
 72 constituency↑ but represents thou:sands of businesses↑ and
 73 it is independent h. eh of any political party? An- and they:
 74 po:lled a businessmen↑, five thousand businessmen and

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- 75 businesswomen, = two thi:rds of them think, .h that a
76 Conservative government would be better for business. =
77 IR: = Right [so you (apply) cutting taxes, yeah?
78 IE: [Eh and-
79 (0.2)
80 IE: Well there're it's- it's two things. One is a a move to
81 de:regulate. = We've set out exactly how
82 [we get rid of it.=
83 IR: [Oh dear. That again-
84 IE: = (laid a) thousand pages of gui:dance, thirteen hundred
85 targets? =
86 IR: = Ehm. [Do you reMEMber LO:rd Heseltine was going =
87 IE: [but also tax-
88 IR: = to make a (bomb fire) of regulations?
89 IE: Well I do: remember actually that: under the last
90 Conservative government there was a:: climate in which
91 business e::h regulatory climates in which business had a
92 chance to succeed h.. An- and I was just saying this, if you
93 look at the wo:rd at the moment, a:ll the developed
94 countries in the world, all the countries that join us in the
95 G7 and so on, .h are a:ll moving in the direction of
96 reducing taxes and reducing regulation in order to meet the
97 challenge of India and China and those kind of emerging
98 economies. .hh [We are the o:nly- we- we-
99 IR: [Business has the lowest tax regime of any
100 other country in Europe.
101 IE: No no, we a:re heading in exactly the other direction under
102 this government. We are heading in a direction where taxes
103 are gonna continue to go up, where regulations are gonna
104 continue to mount. .h And in the end, that is gonna cost
105 British jobs, cost British investment, and damage Britibi-
106 British business as we'll make clear in our manifesto we're
107 publishing [(today on).
108 IR: [But- except what you will not be saying in that
109 manifesto is that a:ll of those inocuous taxes heaped upon
110 business by this Labor government we will repeal. I mean
111 if you could say that, that'll be very impressive, and they'd
112 no doubt say (my world) things are gonna be, = °but° of
113 course you ca:n't say that.

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- 114 IE: Well as you know we are only making promises [on tax =
115 IR: [Ehm.
116 IE: = we know we can keep. But we have set up how to:
117 reduce tax, AND of course .h eh we a:re setting aside a
118 great deal of money from the savings (if you identify) to
119 avoi:d the tax increases which are coming this way; .h if
120 Labor is elected, = and again I'll draw your attention for
121 example to reports there in the paper, .h by the Item Club,
122 eh which is a very respected independent organization
123 which says there is a considerable fes- deposit in Gordon
124 Brown's budget? .h and that taxes will go up. They're
125 which is what the issue of Fiscal Studies, another .h
126 independent organization said h. last week. The choice in
127 the election couldn't be clearer. .h High taxes under the
128 Labor, lower taxes and better value for mon(ey) un(der)
129 (the) Conservati[ves.
130 IR: [Geor↑ge Osbor↑ne, thank you.

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[33] Tuesday 19 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0653 Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy (04:35.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Paul Burster, Liberal Democrat spokesman on health

01 IR: From the po:lls consistently shows that the health service is
02 the biggest issue of the election campaign for many people, =
03 which means it's the biggest for the parties too. .h The
04 Liberal Democrats will tell us how they would cut waiting
05 times and give more freedom† to frontli:ne sta::ff. Their
06 spokesman on health is- Paul Burster. What does it mean
07 more free:dom, Mr. Burs[ter?

08 IE: [.hh

09 IE: All we're going to be announcing this morning is our pla:ns
10 to: cut the waiting times for diagnostic procedures, .h so that
11 people in NHS treatments are not delayed. >And pa:rt of that
12 is about< .h giving frontline staff the responsibility and the
13 authority to use their .h common sense and clinical judgment
14 rather than always having to look over their shou:lders, .h to
15 see whether they are ticking the boxes >that< the administrators
16 have set for them.

17 IR: Well, in other words you don't like ta:rgets, but: ehm they
18 a:re an- and I'm quoting the Kings Fund here, e::h
19 independent:t h. experts in these matters†, they'll recruit
20 instruments their acknowledge, but they haven't driven down
21 the time that people have to w[ait.

22 IE: [.hh They a:re a cru::de
23 instrument, and there they are blunt instrument, because
24 they .h can never capture the complexity of a patient's
25 journey through the N[HS.

26 IR: [Yeah, but d- they work. That's the
27 °ques[tion°.

28 IE: [Well, they don't always work. And we know from a
29 research that was published back in March by thee .h BMA
30 that: they found with thee f- forty eight with thee eh four
31 hour waiting target for A&E departments. .h It was
32 compromising people's ca:re, = >they were being< .h pushed
33 from one part of the hospital to another, often (.) as a
34 consequence picking up infections and spreading them as
35 well.

- 36 IR: Mcht so you would get rid of all this sort of thing, And
 37 you'd allow:: .h eh doctors (.) to run the
 38 hospit[al, is that what you are saying, [>because that's< =
 39 IE: [.hh [what we
 40 IR: = what used to happen long time ago, and we had a lot of
 41 problems fro[m it.
 42 IE: [What we're saying is that we would remo:ve
 43 the politically set targets that are not based on evidence, .h
 44 and have evidence based standard in the NHS, .h allow
 45 clini↑cians to use their clinical judgment, and their common
 46 sense to always treat the sickest patients the quickest. .h
 47 That's not what happens at the mo:ment. = Often, .h because
 48 of the obsession we're trying to get down the numbers of
 49 people who are waiting too lo:ng, .h e:h those that are sicker
 50 don't always get treated first, and that can not be the right
 51 way forward.
 52 IR: It sounds terribly sensible to sa:y let the clinicians deci:de,
 53 but the reality is what you're talking about then is having
 54 people who are experts in one area, .h that's to say expe:rts,
 55 (h)I- I'd want a doctor to operate on me quite frankly rather
 56 than you or anybody else I know. .hh Bu:t, when it comes to
 57 managing things, doctors are necessarily the best. That is
 58 [()
 59 IE: [An- and that's why we are no:t: mimicking the cold Tories
 60 and simply bashing managers and say we need to get rid of
 61 them. = >What we need to do is< in (paran) allow managers
 62 to be accountable .hh for the decisions they are taking with
 63 our hospitals. .h Having centrally go- central government
 64 targe↑ts gets in the way of tha↑t, gets in the way of meeting
 65 the local needs on the ground and actually making sure
 66 that .h those who are the sickest get treated the quickest. =
 67 >That's thee< .h eh objective we have here, that we want to
 68 make sure that hospitals .h can be free:r .h to get on with
 69 treating the patients, and that the managers can do their job
 70 effectively as well.
 71 IR: Mcht but you've- not acknowledged that things a:re getting
 72 better in the NHS. = >I mean wouldn't we have a-< a more
 73 ra:tional debate (.) about all this if- if eh .hh the opposition
 74 party said lo- e- e- there's a lot wrong in the NHS, there is

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- 75 always gonna be a lot wrong in the NHS, but things are
76 getting better. =
- 77 IE: = Well John ah- we certainly don't dispute the fact that there
78 have been improvements in the NHS over the last few years.
79 The extra resources that have been going in for the last three
80 year↑s, which .h Charles Kennedy called for at the last
81 general election the only party. .h To be honest with people
82 you don't get something for nothing. .h Eh yes it is making a
83 difference, but we are demonstrating today: with thee .h
84 survey that we are publishing is that .h there are over five
85 hundred thousand people in this country who are: .h on the
86 government's hidden waiting list. > These are the people< .h
87 who don't know what's wrong with them or waiting to get
88 onto the government's published waiting li↑sts, .h before
89 they even start to know how long it will be before they get
90 the treatment.
- 91 IR: But what the government is now saying is that under their
92 plan, they have this five year plan don't they, waiting times
93 will be cut to eighteen weeks FRO:m first being referred by
94 the GP. [(.) So no =
- 95 IE: [.hh
- 96 IR: = w- no hidden list there and no hidden waiting time there.
- 97 IE: Yes, but we've been pressing the government: since two
98 thousand and one, = >indeed the national audit office said in
99 two thousand and one the government should have been
100 collecting and publishing this information< .hh for all of that
101 time. The reality is, from our survey results we know that in
102 two out of fi:ve NHS hospitals in this country, .hh people are
103 waiting for over six months for an MI scan. .h That's to
104 enable them to find out whether they have a tu:mor or
105 cancer, serious heart conditions. .hh This is leaving people in
106 limbo; It's putting lives at risk. And this government hasn't
107 dealt with it.
- 108 IR: Well, you say it hasn't dealt with it, is it an increase in MI
109 scanners [eh hu:gely from what it two hundred and =
- 110 IE: [.hh Yeah, they are- Yeah-
- 111 IR: = nineteen: .h eh to two hundred nine(↑ty) >it used to be two
112 hundred and ten it's two hundred and [nineteen now.<
- 113 IE: [It's an increase in the

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114 number of scanners but they are standing idle, because they
115 are not being funded. One of the things my survey also has
116 demonstrated is that in one out of: f- four trusters across the
117 country, .h twenty five percent of their capacity for MI
118 scanning .h is not being used. .h Tax payers' money is
119 being .hh wasted in this equipment at this moment, because
120 the government has not properly funded .h the ability to
121 actually use it.
122 IR: Paul Burster↑, many thanks.

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[34] Tuesday 19 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0709 senior police officer and Tory Home Secretary (04:57.9)

IR: John Humphrys

IE-1: Sir Ian Blair, Britain’s most senior police officer, the metropolitan police commissioner

IE0: Richard Barnes, deputy chairman of the metropolitan police authority and Conservative

IE: Chris Fox, President of the Association of Police Officers

01 IR: And that are two: Blair::s in this election campaign. The
02 other one: i:s Sir Ian Blair, Britain’s most senior police
03 officer, the metropolitan police commissioner. = Also his
04 critics say he stirred things up, .hh at the weekend when he
05 told David Frost that the issue of ID cards needs to be looked
06 at seriously.

07 IE-1: I think there has to be:: further consideration of that. = I
08 mean I wasn’t particularly keen on ID ca:rd:s, until recently,
09 until I began to understa:nd .h the way in which identity set
10 is carried out. .h And the fact that what you and I and many
11 of the viewers would recognize as fo:rgery, it isn’t doesn’t
12 exist any more, there are no more printing presses in
13 basements. .h The documents that a:re being produced are
14 exactly identical: to the do- real documents. Just
15 unauthorized. And so we have to go to a place, where we do
16 know who people are. We now have the technology I think
17 through (Irish) recognition: (0.2) to go to that.

18 IR: Well, police officers aren’t supposed to be involved in
19 politics↑, and ID cards are a hot political issue. = Richard
20 Barne↑s .h is the deputy chairman of the metropolitan police
21 authority↑ and a Conservati↑ve.

22 IE0: I’m aware that he: issued a press statement yesterday to
23 explain that he- was only re:stating a position that he had
24 earlier. .h But I think it’s: e- hi:ghly inappropriate during a
25 general election that a senior police officer should make
26 political comment.

27 IR: Mcht .h well what do: other police officers think about that?
28 Chris Fox, (.) of the Association of Police Officer↑s, it’s
29 president↑, is on the line, good morning to you?

30 IE: Good morning John↑.

31 IR: Inappropriate.

- 32 IE: .hhhh We:ll I- I don't thi:nk so. I mean it's quite right we
 33 shouldn't be commenting on the hundreds of requests we get
 34 everyday t- to talk about po- policies from the different
 35 parties. .hh Bu- events in policing go on, an- and last week
 36 we saw the end of a- of a ma:JOR terrorist trial. (0.2) With
 37 many questions being asked about the result and about e- e-
 38 how it was progressed or investigated. .h And one of those
 39 issues was identification. .h So I think Sir Ian had- had-
 40 really to say something in that circumstance. .h Bu- but in
 41 general terms polit- commenting on po- party policies isn-
 42 should not be: ehm e- e- a police business at this time. We
 43 should be keeping our lower profile.
- 44 IR: Except that that who:le case did become hi:ghly politicized,
 45 didn't it. And you say Sir Ian had to say: .h something about
 46 I- ID cards. The fact is ID cards were entirely irrelevant to
 47 that particular case, wer- weren't they, because the asylum
 48 seekers h. eh wouldn't be affected by ID cards.
- 49 IE: E::hm it was about identification. The point about thee inves-
 50 that particular investigation that he was making wa:s .h to be
 51 more effective, .h for us to be better in those sorts of
 52 investigations, .h we we nee:d h. eh a be- better forms of
 53 identification. = >But,< that's not- that's not really the issue.
 54 [I suppose-
- 55 IR: [Well it is, because David Frost asked him about ID cards,
 56 didn't he.
- 57 IE: Well- well he did in tho-, but in those terms, the point I'm
 58 trying to make is that when a policing event's around, then I
 59 think it's legitimate to comment. .h When it's not legitimate
 60 to comment it's- it's: eh in th- on the general pieces of- of: eh
 61 the election campaign. >(And I mean) for exa:mple,< (0.3) .h
 62 we all belie:ve that: crime is too high. Everybody believes
 63 that↑. A:nd therefore we are obviously interested and the
 64 voters are interested .h in which party has the best policies to
 65 reduce it. It is not for us to give our opinion about which h-
 66 has the best party eh policies to reduce it. .hh
 67 [Ho- [however it may be: it may be an- it just may be,=
 68 IR: [Shou-[en
 69 IE: = ri↑ght, that i- if information that has been used is
 70 wro:ng↑, .h eh it may be eh better for us t- to make it

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- 71 accurate. But again not comment on the policy, but the
 72 context of the discussion.
- 73 IR: Well, but th- but again that's: a grey area, isn't it. If you've
 74 got a chief constable: .h describing a Tory advertisement has
 75 been misleading and stirring up h. fear of rising crime, that
 76 is entering the political debate, isn't it, because you know
 77 and I know how controversial .h how confusing some of
 78 these crime figures can be, [and how open to: interpretations
 79 IE: [.hh
 80 IR: = of all sorts they can be:.
- 81 IE: That's right. And that's why such a- you know a- a really
 82 delicate line because- (.) the word you use is very important.
 83 I mean I think what we eh wha- what we should be doing is
 84 entering the statistics and saying here you are, but the real-
 85 the real issues are .h look everybody agrees crime is too
 86 high, let's talk about how we are going to reduce it. =
- 87 IR: = Right, so we shouldn't hear Mr. Barnes saying that chief
 88 constable in this particular case saying the kind of thing he
 89 sai:d.
- 90 IE: Ehm well I- I- (.) you have to speak to Richard Barnes about
 91 [that? but- but in my opinion, we should not be getting =
 92 IR: [ehm.
- 93 IE: = into the day: today. .h I mean, th- the media a- ask hu-
 94 hundreds of questions every day. We should not be
 95 answering those on policy issues. [.h But if the debate has =
 96 IR: [Al^oright^o
 97 IE: = been wrongly eh g- steered, then perhaps we should put
 98 some accurate statistics in and .h but with no: judgment.
- 99 IR: Alright. Final quick thou:↑ght. Eh should police cards used
 100 by the Prime Minis[ter carry eh Labor Party's slogans? =
 101 IE: [.hh
 102 IE: =.hh Well you have to talk to Ian Blair abo[ut tha↑t. Ehm:: =
 103 IR: [en.
 104 IE: = (0.3) n-
 105 IR: = You're obviously doubtful about it?
 106 IE: .h Well, I don't know the reasons for it. But I know that
 107 no:rmally eh ca: rds are to in the protection: eh convoys for
 108 Prime Ministers are playing ca: rds, they are propriety
 109 ca: rds; .h Eh they are not ma: rked police cards. E:hm I don't

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- 110 know the reasoning behind it, and I'm not prepared to
111 comment.
112 IR: Mcht very good. Chris Fox, many thanks.

[35] Tuesday 19 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0832 Liam Fox (05:11.0)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Liam Fox, the Conservative party co-chairman

01 IR: (...) its leader over them to nine points. Well the
02 Conservative party co-chairman .h is Liam Fox. He is on
03 the line, good morning.

04 IE: Good mornin[g].

05 IR: [.hh Eh g- shall we get to the bottom of this
06 first of all. Was the:re were there calls made to Michael
07 Howard by senior MPs (.) .h over the weekend on Sunday
08 expressing unease about his handling with the campaign? =

09 IE: = .h No I probably talked to more people in the
10 Conservative party as a chairman than anybody else. And I
11 talked to about twenty five (.) .h of my: MP colleagues and
12 our candidates every single night. And I’m around the
13 country (.) .h pretty much all the ti:me. .h And I hear f- in
14 from our party workers .h and from voters they think this is
15 the best organized and thee .hh campaign was the most
16 resonant on the issues that really matter to people, .h that
17 we’ve had for a very lo:ng ti:me. And people actually
18 say: .h we think that your campaign on pensions, we think
19 your campaign on cleaner hospitals as school discipline, .h
20 on more police, .h on lower taxes, as well as your
21 immigration campaign are all very effecti[ve.

22 IR: [Which doesn’t
23 answer the question as to whether senior MP:s called
24 Michael Howard on Sunday to express concerns about the
25 way it’s going.

26 IE: No I’ve- been talking to a lot of my senior colleagues and
27 in fact it’s quite the reverse message.

28 [.h They are saying they can g- THEY THINK TH- THEY
29 THINK THIS-]

30 IR: [.hh Can - Can I quote to you then,
31 that]

32 you can just r- tel- tell us i- that it isn’t true. The Guardian
33 today has two: quotes. .h One:↑ from the fron- a-
34 well-placed front benchers >how they describe this
35 person↑<, .hh quotes there was a ring round on Sunday our

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36 conce:rns about asylum immigration .h have been pa:ssed
37 on to the leadership. Another quoted is saying .h we should
38 not turn into a single-issue party, there were a lot of
39 weekend phone calls, .h and our concerns have been
40 transmitted. Is that just not true.

41 IE: Well people- the individuals may have their views. But I'm
42 telling you what the view is of the vast majority .h of my
43 colleagues, becau:se .h we are talking about the issues that
44 [really matter, ()

45 IR: [So it's- so it's true: then. I'm just trying to get to the
46 botto[m on whether there were-]

47 IE: [Well w- we didn't] want it to- I don't want it
48 to: (mile contents) talk to thee .h Labor leaning papers like
49 the Guardian or the Times. >I'm telling you,< .h what the
50 viewers of the Conservative party, .h of the majority of our
51 colleagues, and of the candidates on the- or thee (activates)
52 in the party which su:rely h. is far- by far the most
53 important point. =

54 IR: = .h Eh bu- bu- with- one of their concerns is that as- as I
55 quote the:re that thee .h party is becoming- .h a single-issue
56 party and that- conce:rn might be reflected .h o- e- in the
57 story on the front page of the Evening Standard today:, .h
58 where- a: fa:ther of a policeman who was killed te:n years
59 ago referring to Michael Howard's comments about h. eh
60 Detective Contworth Steven Oak, .h says I'm appa:lled by
61 the cynical way Michael Howard is using the death of a
62 police officer by i- an illegal immigrant as a political and
63 electoral ploy:. .hh And he makes the point that ten years
64 ago his son† was murdered by an illegal immigrant†, .h
65 there was no public outcry from Mr. Howard then and at
66 that time he was Home Secretary.

67 IE: .hh But I think that this idea that we're talking about as
68 single-issue is nonsense. I spent most of the weeke:nd (.) .h
69 in the TV studios talking about MRSA, .h and cleaner
70 hospitals. = Yesterday I spent a great deal of the time .h
71 (actually) my colleague David Willets talking about
72 pensions. This is far from a single-issue election and I
73 think it's preposterous .h to portrait it as such.

74 IR: .h One of their concerns there e-e- e- it must be something

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- 75 that: e- y- y- you feel unease about, which is I know y- I'm
 76 sure you will say that the only poll that matters is tha- b-
 77 that on May the fifth. But you must be wondering why: if
 78 your strategy is wor↑king↑, the poll's not mer- m- m-
 79 moving i- i- if anything they are moving in the wrong
 80 direction.
- 81 IE: Well on Sunday we saw a number of polls, which showed
 82 everything from a one percent Conservative lead to a ten
 83 percent Labor lead. I notice you're bulleting. .h You
 84 mentioned the one poll that gave an increase Labor lead, .h
 85 but you didn't mention the poll that gave a decrease Labor
 86 lead this morning. Funny that?
- 87 IR: .h Well- hh I might (h)mention(h) another one, which is as-
 88 perhaps more specific, which is that in the Financial Times
 89 today, .h which is reflecting .h supposedly other concerns
 90 that- a- a- a lot of Conservative MPs >according to the
 91 Financial Times have↑<, .h which is- the Tory position on
 92 tax, and the suggestion .h by a number of people [sound of
 93 turning paper] that (.) actually there should be, = >well let
 94 me put it in the words of David Mellor<, the current four
 95 billion pound package is pathetic.
 96 (0.2)
- 97 IE: .hh We:ll, we would love to have ma:de (.) greater
 98 reductions in taxation. But you know we face with a big
 99 problem. .hh Gordon Brown (.) would leave us in massive
 100 ho:le in the public finances, which we think is responsible
 101 to fill. Michael Howard will not promise things that he can
 102 not deliver. We are not going to: say one thing before the
 103 election and do another afterwards. Our tax cuts, ye↑s they
 104 are modest. But you know there's a very big difference in
 105 this election? .hh We know that if the Conservatives win,
 106 the taxes will be cut in the first budget, we know that if
 107 Labor win, taxes will go up, there could not be a starker
 108 choice.
- 109 IR: .h But if- of course one of the things that seems to come
 110 from that as Financial Times suggest is that thee .h public
 111 according to this (mory) po:ll, .h shows that nearly- .h
 112 seven out of ten people believe the Conservative
 113 government would increase taxes which is clearly not the

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- 114 message you want to get acro:ss.
- 115 IE: And of course a far bigger number if you're going to be
116 balanced in your reporting actually shows that people
117 expect Labor to raise taxes if they're elected. .h E:hm yes I
118 think it's part of thee the cynicism that: public has
119 developed in recent years. .h Not least because before thee
120 la:st general election in two thousand and one, the Prime
121 Minister gave us a strongest hint possible, .h that he had no
122 intention to rai:se national insurance, and yet we'd a huge
123 hike in national insurance .h after thee two thousand and
124 one election. = And of course now: .hh we have been told
125 Labor are not again ruling out rises in national insurance.
126 We weren't born yesterday. We know exactly what Labor
127 are intending to do, .h and that's to raise tax, .h on
128 hard-working people, if (.) they should be re-elected in this
129 election.
- 130 IR: Liam Fox, many thanks.

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[36] Wednesday 20 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0724 the European issue and UKIP (03:53.6)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Dr. John Whittaker, a UKIP MEP

01 IR: The dog that hasn't barked in this election so far↑ is
02 Europe. Remember when it was thee↑ issue↑. Well now
03 this time Europe seems to be on hold until we know
04 whether the French will eh (defile) the new Constitution
05 their referendum at the end of next month. .hh So where
06 does that leave UKIP, the party whose purpose is to get us
07 to leave the European Union. .hhh Dr. John Whittaker
08 who's an MEP↑ i:s one of its candidate, actually he's
09 standing in not o:ne, but eight constituencies. .h No one,
10 we think has ever done that befo:re. He's on the line, good
11 morning to you.

12 IE: Yes, good morning. =

13 IR: = Eh which rather pro:ves how eh (0.2) seriously you- you
14 do not take these elections. Doesn't it (mean) you can't be
15 a- (£) a serious candidate in eight constituencies? (£)
16 (0.2)

17 IE: No that's not the point at all. Eh [I'm standing in more =

18 IR: [e-

19 IE: = than one. I want t- I want to give more people the chance
20 to vote UKIP, [but (.) more than there-]

21 IR: [They can't have you as their] MP? You can
22 only be an MP for one consti[tuency?

23 IE: [(Oh) absolutely, = yes. But
24 more than that, we wanna draw attention to this phony
25 election. All we hear is endless mind numbing arguments
26 about tax and spend. People are bored of this. The main
27 parties have got nothing new to say:. .h No room for
28 maneuver over the budget↑, and just tiny differences
29 between them. [.hh And all ()-

30 IR: [Well that doesn't make it unimportant, does
31 it.

32 IE: Let me just finish the point please. .h You know they're all
33 steadfastly ignoring the fact that there are real governments
34 in Brussels. And that's where most of our law comes from,
35 and why for instance, none of them can control

- 36 immigration, .h the European Union has seen to that. .hhh
 37 =
- 38 IR: = Well, and you are making a nonsense obviously by
 39 saying I'm going to stand for eight different constituencies.
 40 = >I mean what do you expect, just to get a-< .h a kind of
 41 handful votes in each or something?
 42 (0.2)
- 43 IE: In last June general election↑, thee (.) UK Independence
 44 Party polled .h nationally two points six million votes.
 45 That's about sixteen percent of the electorate. Now- (.) we
 46 were starting from absolute scratch last June in the north
 47 west↑. It's the first time that (I was) elected last: June. So
 48 th- that's the first time we've had i- representation in the
 49 north west. We've grown from strength to strength. I just
 50 want to see: .h as many of the constituencies where people
 51 lots of people voted for us last year↑, I want to give them
 52 an- opportunity to vote for us again.
- 53 IR: >Yes except but th- but th- who are they voting for. I mean
 54 clearly< they can not be voting for you, can they, because
 55 h. you: ar(h)- (£) are not going (£) to be able, if you were,
 56 sufficiently fortunate >to get elected in one of these
 57 constituencies you couldn't be elected in another. And we
 58 have a representative system (Dr.) now you stand< .h as
 59 thee United Kingdom Independence Party therefore, .h we
 60 has to assu- we have to assume that that: you approve our
 61 institutions. This is one of our most profou:nd institutions
 62 and you are making a mockery of it.
 63 (0.2)
- 64 IE: I don't se- I don't agree with that at all. .h In fact: eh
 65 althou:gh e:hm European Parliament itself is pretty
 66 irrelevant, .h given the current state of affairs where most
 67 of our law comes from Brussels↑, our own Parliament's
 68 pretty irrelevant as well. We have to start somewhere.
 69 [.h Those are people (who are-)]
- 70 IR: >[Yeah but you (stand-) Sorry, can I jus]t make the point,
 71 you say we have to start somewhere. You sta:rt surely<, .h
 72 by trying we have a democratic system, if you are serious
 73 about wanting to change, you try to get as many of you
 74 elected h. to the Westminster Parliament as possible? And

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- 75 then if you've got enough call for the referendum and get
76 us chapped out of Europe, .h that would be the
77 constitutional- .h way: of going about things, wouldn't it.
78 [>This is j-, you're just a pro:test party, aren't you.< =
79 IE: [Y- you do-
80 IE: = You- you do: make it sound ever so easy, don't you. =
81 IR: = [Of course [it's not easy. Democracy isn't easy.
82 IE: [.hhh [We (up-) we-
83 IE: We've been in th- we've been in a party for te:n years.
84 We're gonna stay until: eh this- government they- they-
85 until this country is self-governing again. We cannot eh
86 simply just go around getting more and more votes without
87 getting into the Westminster Parliament↑. = >I agree with
88 you<, .h until some of us get into Westminster, .h then
89 things will not change. = >But we have indeed< .h eh- ehm
90 quite reasonable chance of getting some people elected↑ .h
91 this time round. But at the same time we have to motivate
92 voters all around the country and that includes my party in
93 the north [west.] And I can tell you there are very =
94 IR: [Ok?]
95 IE: = strong su- there is VEry strong support, .h particularly
96 from principled old Labor people, [.h] we need to =
97 IR: [Righ-]
98 IE: = give them something to vote for.
99 IR: John Whittaker↑, many thanks.

[37] Friday 15 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0650 The UK Independence Party (03:20.0)

IR: (female)

IE: Roger Knapman, UKIP party leader

01 IR: The UK Independence Party launches its manifesto
02 today:↑, and the party leader Roger Knapman (.) joins us in
03 the studio↑, good morning to you? =

04 IE: = Go[od morning.

05 IR: [.hhhh E- e- you make it clear in your introduction
06 that while people ca:ll eh UKIP a single-issue party the
07 point is a single issue of freeing Britain from the EU
08 overrides all others, .h no other issues can be properly
09 addressed while we remain::n .h in the EU. = And you
10 po:int to: the ehm your policy on asylum seekers. .hh E- do
11 you face a problem: now: that the Conservatives have been
12 focusing so ha:rd on .h immigration and asylum. = They’re
13 basically occupying crucial UKIP grou:nd. =

14 IE: = No:, eh thee Conservatives want to stay in the European
15 Union. I was in the European Parliament thee other day↑
16 when the President (inside thee↑) we have a presiden↑t, .hh
17 was telling us that immigration is a European wide
18 proble↑m, .h and will be solved on the European wide
19 basis. Collapsed in Mr. Howard’s argument, he can not, if
20 he wish to stay in the EU, have an independent national
21 immigration policy, fu:ll stop.

22 IR: Well if you say that you are operating then separately from
23 the Conservatives, what about the threat from (various
24 task). Eh, .h you’ve lost Robert (Kil Rolsil), possibly your-
25 your best known household name.

26 IE: .h Well it is true:↑ that currently the opinion polls are
27 showing us at one to two percent. But of course that is only
28 if you ask how you are going to vote in the next election. If
29 you say how you are going to vote in the next election,
30 Conservative, Labor, Liberal, UK Independence Party↑,
31 then we are over eight percent. And we are over eight
32 percent nationally, that means our stro:ng holds in (Devnon
33 Cono), .h in- in Boston, in Harage, .h and in Thanet, eh
34 then we are probably nearer twenty percent. And we
35 strongly think we may well win (six no zeros).

- 36 IR: .h mcht whe:n ehm Nigal Thara:ge e- tells- tells us that
 37 he's hoping t- your party's hoping to get in a toe-ho:ld .h at
 38 Westminster on- on May the fifth, then ha:s .h real chances
 39 in around twenty seats. Is that how you see it? Can you be
 40 that clear?
- 41 IE: Oh yes, we've been- we came first in twenty one seats last
 42 June, we came first. And those are the seats we wi:ll (.)
 43 ta:rget. And after all, there are six hundred and fifty nine
 44 MPs. What is the main business of the House at next
 45 year; .h It will be thee eh referendum↑ on the: constitution
 46 for Europe. .h Surely out of the six hundred and fifty nine
 47 MPs we want just a few: .h who will argue unambiguously
 48 for the no campaign. =
- 49 IR: = But you- you gave a number there where you came first,
 50 but you actually had twelve MEPs elected.
 51 (.)
- 52 IE: Eh ye- yes I'm provi- the constituencies where we came
 53 fi:rst last June, (.) we got twelve elected. I'm (>talking
 54 about<) constituencies rather than regions.
- 55 IR: .hh So e- e- just finally, (.) are you (.) continuing the policy
 56 of standing against Conservatives because there a:re people
 57 for example like Antony Steen, you're going to stand
 58 against hi↑m. He's a Europe skeptic Conservative MP, why
 59 do that? =
- 60 IE: Is he the- he's not the same Europe skeptic e- MP who was
 61 organizing kind of (flags) leadership campaign, is he?
 62 (0.3)
- 63 IR: Well, so is that justification for st[anding against him. =
- 64 IE: [h
- 65 IR: = We: a:re no:t a: Conservative party in dra:g. We have a
 66 radical manifesto to unveil today? We a::re ah s- e- e- we
 67 are e- a pa:rtty, .h who are taking↑ from the Conser↑vatives,
 68 but we are also taking an- th- Labor voters the most flaky
 69 of a:ll↑, .h eh the Liberals there are a lot of Liberals who
 70 don't like thee their party's policy↑. .h And: on Europe
 71 and also there's Britain's biggest party that don't bother to
 72 vote party. Those are the people that are coming in, but as
 73 we: a:re saying votes through conviction rather (than) have
 74 it vote UKIP. =

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- 75 IE: Everybody's trying to attract the↑m. Roger Knapman,
76 thank you very much. =
77 IR: = Thank you.

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[38] Friday 15 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0654 Scottish National Party deputy leader Nicola Sturgeon (03:23.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Nicola Sturgeon, Scottish National Party deputy leader

01 IR: The second manifesto in five minutes? The SNP’s wants
02 coming out today? We are joined by thee .h Scottish
03 National Party deputy leader↑ Nicola Sturgeon? Ah good
04 morning?

05 IE: Good morni[ng.

06 IR: [.h Ehm what’s the evidence: that on your
07 principal aim of eventual independence for Scotland, .h
08 people in Scotland believe that that is thee .h the great
09 issue that should be at the forefront of their mind. = >There
10 is no evidence to support that, is there?< =

11 IE: = Well it’s interesting that you asked that question, because
12 just eh two days ago a Scotland opinion poll was published
13 that show:ed .h support for independence outstripping .h
14 tho:se who: oppose it. I think that’s very good news.
15 Everybody (.) eh a majority of people under fifty (£) five in
16 fact: (£) supported independence an- I think that’s very
17 good news for thee SNP and that’s why we are expecting to
18 do rather well on th[is election. =

19 IR: [.hhh

20 IR: = Ehm, .h what is thee essence of your campaign going to
21 be: on that independence question. If you go into the
22 streets and say, .h vote for us and in the end you’ll get an
23 ind- an independent referendum. .h Do you come clea:n
24 and cost independence (.) [for them.

25 IE: [e-

26 IE: In this election our message is just make Scotland matter.
27 All of the other par[ties in this election (campaigni-)

28 IR: [So you don’- you don’t put a cost on it
29 at all.

30 IE: If you let me- answer your question. We say make Scotland
31 matter. All of the other parties in this are campaigning
32 (composes apply) o:nly (serves at) the border. Only the
33 SNP in this election can make Scotland matter, = >and
34 make sure that the issues that are important< .h to people in
35 Scotland, .h at the top not the bottom (.) of the agenda. And

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- 36 yes, advance (.) the keys for independence. = >If you
37 look< .h eh to Norway for example a country that this
38 year .h celebrates one hundred years of being an
39 independent country. .h It's one of the richest countries (.)
40 in the world. It's got some of the best public services.
41 That's the kind of country .h Scotland should aspire to be.
42 And it's the kind of country we can be, if we were
43 independent. =
- 44 IR: = If- e- just return to the question if- if a voter asked you
45 on the doorstep, .h how much will it cost to me (.) if you
46 become independent. = >Have you got< (.) any idea what
47 the [answer is.] =
- 48 IE: [Well it] =
- 49 IE: = it won't cost anybody anything, = >it will make
50 Scotland< (our) are competitive nation. >Scotland's got the
51 lowest< .h long term economic growth (.) in the who:le of
52 Europe. If we were to ma:tch over the next ten yea:rs, the
53 economic growth rate >the average economic growth
54 rate-< of other European countries, .h then it would be an
55 additional ni:neteen billion pounds: in the Scottish
56 economy. That's four thousand .h pou:nds per head for
57 every[one in Scotland. =
- 58 IR: [.hh
- 59 IE: = Indepen[dence would be good for the Scottish =
- 60 IR: [hmhm
- 61 IE: = e(h)conomy(h), and it would be good for Scottish people.
62 =
- 63 IR: = How well are you going to do: e- e- people will know: e-
64 e- outside Scotland that: the number of seats have been
65 reduced because people are sh- a sort of new-bind reason
66 it's .h quite difficult to predict. .h What's your prediction
67 for how the SNP will do: in this election.
- 68 IE: Well we said only progress it's up to the Scottish people
69 here on May the fifth how much progress we make in
70 terms of .h how many seats we win? >But we are< .h
71 confident of winning more seats than we have, just no
72 bu[t th- one thing-]
- 73 IR: [You've got five at the moment.] =
- 74 IE: = Well we've got fou:r under the new bound at least. And

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- 75 we are con[fident of ha]ving mo:re than that eih on May =
76 IR: [Yes. Ok.]
77 IE: = the fifth, but the important thing (.) is that when the SNP
78 does well, Scotland does well, and the only way to put
79 Scotland [on the map =
80 IR: [.hh
81 IE: = in this [election is to vote SNP.]
82 IR: [What's the evidence- e-] What's the
83 evidence for that, when the S[NP does well Scotland =
84 IE: [Well, there's a- i-
85 IR: = does well.
86 IE: Well, anybody who knows anything about Scottish politics
87 knows that it was the SNP pressure that let the .h
88 establishment of the Scottish Parliament[↑]. Back in nineteen
89 ninety nine it was fea:r of the SNP .h that resulted in the .h
90 at two Glasgow shipyards being sa[↑]ved. When the SNP
91 does well, the other parties sit up and take (notice). And,
92 everybody in Scotland knows that a strong SNP .h means a
93 strong Scotlan[d].
94 IR: [Nicola Sturgeon, thanks very much.

[39] Thursday 14 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0712 British servicemen (05:10.2)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Lord Garden, Liberal Democrat PF, former deputy chief of the defense staff

IE2: Sam Younger, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission

01 IR: It seems clea:r (.) that many thousands of servicemen and
02 women won't be able to vote in the election because the
03 leaflets explaining (.) .h how they should register to vote
04 were delivered much later than it had been promised.
05 Nearly half the army at the moment are abroad, .h in places
06 from the Forclans to Iraq. And the first advisedly leaflets .h
07 arrived only about te:n days from the registration deadline.
08 That was about a month later than the government had
09 promised (it met) them. Many people didn't register. The
10 Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats .h are
11 complaining that many people in the forces have been
12 (disadvanchized) as a result. .h We are join:ed by Lord
13 Garden, Liberal Democrat PF, former d- deputy chief of
14 the defense staff. .h Also by Sam Younger who chairs the
15 Independent Electoral Commission, .h overseeing electoral
16 procedures. .h As fa:r as you can work out, Lord Garden,
17 what (0.3) was the effe:ct of the delay: in getting these
18 advisedly leaflets to forces.

19 IE1: The leaflets are only part of the story. They are very good
20 leaflets done by the Electoral Commission: that help
21 remi:nd people they have [to re-

22 IR: [Yes how you do it. =

23 IE1: = Yeah I- I- th- the real problem has been that thee the
24 system changed back in two thousand and one:, so that .h
25 instead of the old system which I served (underway) you
26 registered to vote, .h and it stay:ed on your .h eh registration
27 f- until you cha:nged it. So it's a life lo:ng registration. .h
28 You then- eh the system changed so you have to do it every
29 year. So servicemen have t- and women have to remembe
30 and their families have to remember each year: they've got
31 to re-register. Hh. A:nd e- the system for remi:nding (.)
32 them i- is a (.) pretty impe:rfect. And I was delighted that
33 the Electoral Commission (.) .h produ:ced this leaflet (.) to

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- 34 help people. Unfortunately it- it arrived a bit late. [.h
35 IR: [Well the
36 government said that it would be: out- e- in February, an- it
37 wasn't ou- (.) till a month later. And the deadline was-
38 racing up, so so[mebody (still-)
39 IE1: [Well the deadline was March the tenth in
40 North Ireland March the eleven fo:r the
41 res[t of the country.
42 IR: [Could you get an leaflet in the desert in Iraq on March
43 the second, your chances of registering by the tenth are
44 limi[ted.
45 IE1: [Yes, y- I mean you still got to d- a process to do
46 which is the registering. And then of course you also got
47 the process of voting later, so .h it's a settled hurdles which
48 is very difficult if you are on operations. =
49 IR: = How many people potentially we're talking a[bout.]
50 IE1: [.h] We:ll
51 e:h two hundred thousand in th- in the military who a:re
52 eligible for this sy↑stem. .h E:h perhaps half as many again
53 families, civilians, who support. .h I- i- it's a large
54 number of- of voters, but we- thee military defense doesn't
55 track how many of them are registered, so we don't
56 know: .h wha- what the scale of the problem is.
57 IR: Ehm, Sam Younger, you chair the Electoral Commission↑,
58 independent body which (.) looks at election procedures, .h
59 ehm- (0.3) Lord Garden's praising your leaflet, do you
60 think the government's let you down by not getting it to the
61 people who needed it.
62 IE2: Well- I'm disappointed that the leaflets that we produced
63 that were available at the beginning of February didn't get
64 much more quickly to their- to their destination if indeed
65 that's- what happens 'cause certainly we see this as an
66 important issue, we were alerted to it. hh. eh back in the
67 autumn began working closely with the Ministry of
68 Defense. The leaflet was one part of it? .h Eh an updated
69 website giving people access to dow:nload forms is
70 another.. We spend some time going on to forces
71 broadcasting, = putting thing into thee forces' newspapers
72 and magazi:nes, .h to remi:nd people of the need to register

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- 73 to vote, = >and of course it was part of a much wi:der< .h
74 campai[gn for registra:tion. So: in so far as there a:re =
75 IR: [En-
76 IE2: =.h ah large numbers of >people in the forces who haven't
77 had the opportunity to register, that's very regrettable, and
78 something we need to make sure that we h.< close off for
79 next time. =
80 IR: = Well it is: biza:rre or unfortunate, isn't it, eh Tim Garden
81 that eh there are people out there ah (.) fighting or e- e-
82 being shot at or doing difficult jobs, .hh ehm who:se views
83 on- policy on government policy on matters of war and
84 peace are extremely important to the part of the democratic
85 process. .h And they have been deni:ed or that's been made
86 rather difficult for them to express them.
87
88 IE1: Wel- i- we've got sort of paradox here, because we- we
89 also want a non-political military. Eh a::nd actually you're
90 not allowed to go in canvas on military stations, you can't
91 ho:ld meetings there. .h Ehm so we- we sort of insulate the
92 military from: the political .h eh fray: that we're all used
93 to. .h Ehm but then we are expected to go and establish
94 democracies, set up voting stations in Afghanistan and the
95 Balka:ns, in Iraq. .h Eh and we don't facilitate their own
96 voting back home, = >which I think< .h is very strange.
97 Postal voting's originally set up .h to help servicemen. And
98 it's now- they are now the one group that (£) can't regis[ter
99 ?: [hhh
100 IE1: = for it (£).
101 IR: (hhh) Just on that last point. It's not what you're here to
102 discuss in detail Sam Younger, but the who:le postal bo-
103 voting business we had thee- .h case in Birmingham the
104 other day the discovery of boxes. .h (Out of) great deal of
105 concern about this, now the Lord Chancellor was saying
106 yesterday that- there is nothing to worry about. What's
107 your view.
108 IE2: .h Wel- certainly our view: i:s and it has bee:n for the last
109 two years, that there need to be changes: to the legislative
110 underpinning for postal voting to make it more secu:re,
that's clear. [.h

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- 111 IR: [But it isn't secure at the moment.
112 IE2: It's n[ot as secure as-
113 IR: [Not as secure as it shou- =
114 IE2: = as it needs to be. And I think when you've got the
115 Birmingham e:h case that came out and people began to
116 get yet more worried about it, I think the issue that you
117 faced was that there was nothing that could be done about
118 it in legislative terms, .hh befo:re a general election. And I
119 think our view has bee:n that very large numbers of people
120 across the country h. eh use postal votes, appreciate postal
121 votes, and that you mustn't actually .h deprive them of that
122 opportunity. That said, I think there are still a number of
123 things short of legislation, .h that have been put in train in
124 order to make it more secure on this occasion including .h
125 eh working with the poli:ce for example, and a code of
126 practice for political parties in the handling of postal votes.
127 =
128 IR: = Well we'd be returning to that, before polling day
129 without any doubt. Sam Younger, Lord Gar↑den, thank you
130 both.

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[40] Monday 11 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0653 Stephen Twigg and Phil Willis (04:58.2)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Stephen Twigg, the education minister

IE2: Phil Willis, the Liberal Democrat’s education spokesman

01 IR: And you will remember Tony Blair’s three bi:g issues
02 when he first came to power, education, edu:ca:tion,
03 e:du:ca:tion. Is still that the case? And have they delivered
04 on those big promises? Well education is the big issue on
05 the campaign trail today↑, and the education minister
06 Stephen Twigg is on the li:ne↑, so is the Liberal
07 Democrat’s education spokesman Phil Willis. .h Eh Mr.
08 Twigg, eight year↑s of education, education, education
09 and we’ve got one in five el[even-year-olds who can’t =

10 IE1: [mcht

11 IR: = read and write properly. It doesn’t work, does it.

12 (0.2)

13 IE1: Mcht, education remains the absolute number one priority
14 for Labor. [We’ve seen a] big advance: i:n =

15 IR: [So what’s going wrong.]

16 IE1: = terms of the literacy and numeracy achievements of
17 children in primary schools? But of course we need to do
18 more, .h not only in primary schools but in secondary
19 schools as well. And that’s partly what we’ll be setting out
20 today in our education manifest[to.

21 IR: [Big adva:nce, when one
22 in five can’t read and write properly?

23 IE1: Well thee- the number of children who left school eh not
24 achieving their level fours at the age of eleven in primary
25 when we came into POW:er .h was around fo:rty
26 percent↑, .h that has fallen into twenty two percent.
27 Twenty two percent is too hi:gh, but I think teachers and
28 pupil should get the credit, for the very real improvement
29 there ha:s been, in primary schoo↑ls. We want to build
30 upon that.

31 IR: Big improvement, then eh Mr. Willis.

32 IE2: .hh Well well there certainly isn’t a big improvement. We
33 were told that we were going to revolu:tion our standards
34 in- in Britain schools, and what we’ve had is not

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- 35 education education educa:ʃtion, but targets targets
 36 targets in central interference from our go[vernment.
- 37 IR: [Ah but do
 38 you agree with that point that Mr. Twigg just made
 39 specifically tha- e- th- e- TWIce as many CAN read and
 40 write properly (years) years (could) before.
- 41 IE2: Well I- I- I think I dispute that.: totally. [Well you-
 42 IR: [Have you got the
 43 fa:cts.
- 44 IE2: Well th- the fact is that when you actually get to the end
 45 of children's li:fe eh school li:fe, the age of sixteen, .h
 46 what we now have is sixty percent of our young people, .h
 47 having had .h sort of eight years of English, math and
 48 science, do not reach the national standard. I actually call
 49 that failure not success.
- 50 IR: Eh Mr. Twigg?
- 51 IE1: .h mcht What we've DONE over the last years is t- is to
 52 very significantly increase investment in education.
 53 Interesti
 54 [ngly, by rather more than the Li]beral =
- 55 IR: [Well indeed. But let's not talk about what you-]
 56 IE1: = Democ(h)rats' called first to do.
- 57 IR: Ah sorry, but let's not talk about what you've put in. Let's
 58 look at what has come out of it all. That's what matters to
 59 people, isn't it, not how much has been spent, (£)but, huh
 60 thee- thee achievements that have-(£) been: .hh eh
 61 gai:ned. So: we-re- was Mr. e- v- Willis right, in his
 62 criticism that he's just made, that at the end of the school
 63 terʃm, .hh eh kids s- school yearsʃ they are not as well
 64 educated as they should be, effectively? [°()°
- 65 IE1: [It is absolutely
 66 right to say that we need to do more with respect to
 67 literacy, numeracy .h in secondary, and that was what I
 68 was saying just now. That is why we set out now fourteen
 69 to nineteen white paper [.h how we can =
- 70 IE2: [hah
 71 IE1: = encourage more young people to stay in education .h
 72 beyond si[xteen. .h] It's why we've =
- 73 IE2: [(You've just reject-)]

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- 74 IE1: = introduced education maintenance allowances (.) to give
 75 financial support to the poorest students to stay in
 76 education beyond six[teen.] I'd have thought =
- 77 IE2: [ho:h]
- 78 IE1: = that's something that Phil Willis would welcome. =
- 79 IR: = En. [() was just saying, go on Mr. Willis. =
- 80 IE2: [Listen I-
- 81 IE2: = Wel- well I've got- I- I welcome anything which
 82 actually tries to improve the lot of our children I think it
 83 will be (childish) not to do so. .h But just literally a
 84 month ago:, the government had a- the cost of one and a
 85 half million pou:nds at (Thomason) repo:rt which would
 86 have REvolutionized the way we deliver education .h
 87 from fourteen onwards to really turn young people .h onto
 88 education. And the Secretary of State, having talked to a
 89 few parents at church gates in Burry, .h decided to () get
 90 rid of that. Now I- I- I think that was a betray:al of our
 91 education system, it's a betrayal of young people, .h many
 92 of whom find the present curriculum, the present s- e
 93 school system h. totally (outputting). [(I'll say they have =
- 94 IR: [You're offer-
- 95 you're offer-
- 96 IE2: = to admit it.)
- 97 IR: You're offering lots more teachers: eh Mr. Willis, but you
 98 are not going to be able to afford it, are you. The Inland
 99 Revenue is just: h. eh revi:se dow:n the estimate ad-
 100 amount you get from your tax [increases.
- 101 IE2: [Well a- absolutely not. Eh I
 102 mean we- we accept that after any budget you are going
 103 to invite after readjust oh readjust figu↑res >and by< the
 104 time we actually r- e- produce our manifesto later this
 105 wee↑k. All those cutting will be empl:ced, but ou- b- e- b-
 106 eh class p- size pledge, .h which is to reduce classes for
 107 infant children to twenty, .h and juniors to twenty five.
 108 The lowest ever seen in Britain's in the history of
 109 education, .h is paid for by strapping the child trust
 110 fund. .h One and a half billion pounds spent to get twenty
 111 one thousand more teachers, .h in our schools. When it
 112 matters when children are starting off. If you give them

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- 113 the best sta:rt possible, .h then my goodness, you don't
114 have the problems later on of missing targets. =
- 115 IR: = Mr. Twigg, doesn't matter how many teachers you've
116 got how much money you've spent the kids a:ren't
117 prepa:red to learn if you get the kind of indiscipline that
118 we now have in so: many schools. It's not going to work,
119 >is it. What are you going to do< about that. =
- 120 IE1: = .h Well discipline will be at the heart of the education
121 manifesto that we set out today:, giving head teachers the
122 support they need, giving teachers the protection .h that
123 they rightly dese:rve. =
- 124 IR: = What's that [(mean).
- 125 IE1: [One of the issues that we'll talk about
126 today is kni:ves in schools. There [is a real concern .h =
- 127 IE2: [°ha:h°
- 128 IE1: = about the growth of knife crime, and we want to ensure:
129 that schools have the POWer .h to deal with that so that
130 we don't see knives in our schools, .h so that we don't see
131 attacks either on other pupils .h or on teachers, >an-<
132 there is no doubt that this question of bad behavior in
133 schools .h has become a much bigger issue in recent
134 years. It's got to be taken seriously, .h and we'll be setting
135 out our detailed proposals on that, .h in the education part
136 of our manifesto [today.]
- 137 IR: [S:::]t^hephen Twigg, Phil Willis, thank
138 you both.

[41] Monday 11 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0820 religious education (04:14.4)

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Marian Agran Baha, chair of the Norfolk Agreed Syllabus Conference

IE2: Nick Seaton chair of the campaign for RE education

01 IR: Norfolk Education Authority has come up with some
 02 guidelines for teaching religious education which have
 03 caused a bit of controversy in this morning’s
 04 newspapers? .h Marian Agran Baha is the chair of the
 05 Norfolk Agreed Syllabus Conference? .h She joins us as
 06 does Nick Seaton chair of the campaign for RE
 07 education. Marian Agran Baha, you can not now .h it
 08 seems say holy ghost ’cause children might think that was
 09 a bit spooky.

10 (.)

11 IE1: Hehe. Well that’s one way of putting it. Eh (h) it’s simply
 12 making it more modern as well as most of the: eh .h ehm
 13 texts in the Christians’ now refer to it as a holy spirit and
 14 that is the recommendation: . =

15 IR: = And you also ca:n’t talk about the body and blood of
 16 Jesus in communion because that might make children
 17 think that Christians are cannibals.

18 IE1: .h I think you have to be very careful with that one
 19 because you don’t want to give them the wrong
 20 impression; It was one of the early accusations leveled
 21 against the Christians that this is what they are doing. .hh
 22 Whereas in fact it’s not. It’s a representation, not th- not
 23 an actual: eh event. [.hh

24 IR: [Well we’re not getting into this
 25 theology of that. Then let’s move on [to another one. =

26 IE1: [hehe

27 IR: = Ehm, you can’t apparently ca:ll the early books of the
 28 Bible the Old Testament either.

29 IE1: E::h you don’t call the early books of the Bi:ble the Old
 30 Testament if you are referring to it within Ju:daism which
 31 is where it is in the guidelines. .hh You actually refer to
 32 that in the appropriate way but use the words Ol(d)
 33 Testament when you put it within the context of
 34 Christianity.

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- 35 IR: Nick Seaton, what do you make of all this.
 36 IE2: .h Eh we:ll, the NUG and Marian call it's modernism I:
 37 think it's something much more sinister. I think most
 38 people: are extremely hostile to this manipulation of
 39 language for the sake of political correctness in the
 40 education system? .h A:nd it's quite well known of course
 41 that if you change the language you change the culture.
 42 And I think that's what six- exactly what's happening
 43 he:re. .h Eh George Orwell provided (.) one of the best
 44 examples in: eh his book Nineteen Eighty Fou:r. .h And of
 45 course there's nothing wrong with calling a spade a spade
 46 or giving children their tradi- eh things their traditional
 47 names. Hh.
- 48 IR: What do you make of that accusation Marian Agran
 49 Baha? =
- 50 IE1: = mcht hh I- I think it's a bit spurious really. I- I mean that
 51 i- i- we are ta- simply talking about accuracy. .h We are
 52 talking about the translation of a Greek wo:rd which is
 53 now done as spirit not as gho:st.
 54 [It's an old fashioned term.]
- 55 IR: [Well: tha- in that particular case.] But I mean tak- take
 56 the question of communion. I mean the idea of body and
 57 blood of hh. ehm Christ is is as old as Christianity it's- (£)
 58 it's used in you know every Sunday in Church (£). Why-
 59 why are you trying to stop- pe(hh)ople using that. Hh.
- 60 IE1: We are not trying to stop them using it. We are trying to
 61 make sure that they don't give children a rather peculiar
 62 impression of what Christians actually a:re doing. .h And
 63 I think it's people within the Christian faith, .h who know
 64 what that mea:ns, and it's a representation. It's: ah:
 65 [you can go back to (enquire) in some theology]
- 66 IR: [The same- the same Christians use those words] use
 67 those words every Sunday, don't they. I mean their- =
- 68 IE1: = Yes, of course they do.
 69 (0.2)
- 70 IE1: And you wouldn't stop people u:sing them. You will just
 71 be careful how you express it to young people.
 72 (.)
- 73 IE1: [Ahm and young children too.

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- 74 IR: [.h
75 IR: Well I suppose that's fair enough, isn't it, Nick Seaton.
76 IE2: .h Eh well no it's not. Because: I mean there're even basic
77 concepts like right and wrong are disappearing from
78 educational language these days. So are words like
79 competition and success and failure. .h And you rare-
80 rarely [hear al-
81 IR: [Well that is- that's a slightly different point though,
82 isn't it. I mean this is a question whether the changes they
83 have made in religious education .h is are about accuracy
84 or about what you called political correctness.
85 IE2: Eh wel- well to a ce:rtain extent yes. But children on s-
86 uni- eh eh the level of university academics. It's maybe ok
87 for the- for them to discuss these sort of things, but the
88 thing is it's- it is pe:rmeating right the way through thee
89 educational system down into schools. I think that's the
90 key point. .h And anyway I mean even university people
91 shouldn't be: eh wasting their time [on this sort of thing. =
92 IR: [.h
93 IR: = There are [obvious-
94 IE2: [They'r-
95 IR: There are obvious (well-known) Agran Baha you could be
96 accused of trying to .h ehm eh u:se the teaching for
97 political purposes even if in a benign way. For example I
98 believe that you- .hhh te:ll eh teachers not to: ehm show
99 children photographs of Muslims holding: swords or
100 Kalashnikov which is presumably something with a
101 clear: .h political[: purpose.
102 IE1: [hh
103 IE1: (£) Well (£), the majority of Muslims don't.
104 IR: No [they don't. But that's not the same as] saying that you
105 =
106 IE1: [hehehe]
107 IR: = shouldn't show .h children photographs of th(h)e(h)m
108 holding swords (£).
109 IE1: .hh (.) No↑, but there again: I mean you could show them
110 pictures of Christian showing s- holding swords. Would
111 you actually want to do that. Whereas- majority of
112 Christians [would want to [be peaceable [people.

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- 113 IR: [h [w- [>Well- well you
114 would pr'sum'bly if you are doing a s- a lesson about the
115 crusades, for example.<
116 (0.2)
117 IE1: Well, that's different. And we don't do the crusades in
118 R.E. That's a history topic. =
119 IR: =>°I see. Right.° Well we'll have to leave it there. Marian
120 Agran Baha, Nicksy, thanks very much indeed.<
121 IE1: Ok. Thank you.
122 (): .hh

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[42] Tuesday 12 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0712 green party (03:39.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Keith Taylor, one of principal spokespersons of the Green Party

01 IR: Thirty minutes past ↑seven. The Green Party launches its
02 manifesto today. Keith Taylor is one of its principal .h
03 spokes:persons. He’s here. Good morning?

04 IE: Mcht. Good morning.

05 IR: Guess talk a lot about social justice as well as about the
06 environment. Is it wise to .h dilute your core message in
07 that way.

08 IE: .hh Well actually I think what people are seeing and over
09 a million people did vote Green in the last European
10 elections. >And I think< .h part of the reason for them
11 giving their- of their vote to us was they recognize h. we
12 weren’t a- a- a- a mine- o- a minority interest party in so
13 far as .h just looking at the environment. .h Eh we actually
14 are campaigning on a platform here of- .h economic, e-
15 environmental, and social justice. .h Eh which is actually
16 putting people, the planet, an- and peace at the centre of
17 our [°policy°.

18 IR: [I thought it is surprising to hear you say that
19 environment is a minority (.) [interest. I thought the whole
20 point of your party was that it sh- =

21 IE: [(hhhhh)

22 IR: = it’s something that should [concern us a:ll. =

23 IE: [°No.°

24 IE: = Of course. That was an unfortunate word to use. E:h
25 you know I think th- th- th- the thing e- e- part of the
26 reason that a big part of the reason that we are .h enjoying
27 an increase in their vote. Is that people are recognizing
28 that climate change, which is our number one (.)
29 campaign issue, .h eh i- is something which th- the major
30 parties are choosing to igno::re in this campaign so
31 fa:r. .hh An- an- and really a manifesto which we’re
32 launching ehm later on this morning, .h is all about (.)
33 regenerating (.) local capacity building. It’s all about
34 saving and conserving resources eh fo- for this generation
35 and the generations to co:me. .h And it’s about getting

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- 36 better value for money and doing more [with less. =
- 37 IR: [h
- 38 IR: = But that really brings you back to my- to my main
- 39 question. If climate change is th- thee issue you want
- 40 people to talk about, why: dress up a manifesto with all
- 41 these- other issues to do with tax, crime, and so forth,
- 42 which you know perfectly well you'll never get a chance
- 43 to implement. Doesn't that distract attention .h from what
- 44 you're trying to achieve. =
- 45 IE: = .h mcht I think what people are hungry to h- hungry to
- 46 hear in Westminster .h is thee issues that we're talking
- 47 about are being treated h. eh with the importance they
- 48 deserve. And it's not only climate chan↑ge. I mean our
- 49 second major campaign the↑me .h is all around public
- 50 services, .h is all about challenging h. ehm the
- 51 Westminster three parties h. in their un- unalloyed
- 52 enthusiasm to privatize everything that's insight. We've
- 53 got- public finance initiatives, .h foundation hospitals.
- 54 We've got a two-tier, health and educational servi↑ce.
- 55 And I think people are getting fed up .h with e- e- hearing
- 56 (.) very little difference between the major three parties.
- 57 IR: But you are not (.) °realistically going into challenge them
- 58 on those issue, are you°. = >I mean °your voice is just
- 59 gonna be lost in the debate when it comes to those
- 60 [kind of big public policy [questions°.]<
- 61 IE: [°hh° [Well I-] = actually I've been
- 62 a councilor now in Brighton for- for nearly seven years.
- 63 And what we've seen in Brighton is i- is is a growth in
- 64 our support. We- we- we poll more votes every time we
- 65 stand. .h And actually what we're doing, even though we
- 66 are a small group, we are influencing the group, we are
- 67 pushing those other [elected =
- 68 IR: [h
- 69 IE: = politicians. Because it's quite simply, if there is nobody
- 70 making a debate, and maybe making the argument, they
- 71 can get away with ignoring it, pretending it's not there.
- 72 IR: And you can f- of course got the Jamie Oliver vote I
- 73 suppo↑se because you've long: ehm held to the policy of
- 74 healthy food (of against) schools. =

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- 75 IE: = Of course.
76 (.)
77 IE: Yes. A- absolutely right. Ehm I mean you know it's- it's-
78 it's a farce to pretend that new Labor was going to do
79 anything about it, .h until we have a television program,
80 ehm exposing the shortcomings and thee- .h an- and the
81 rubbish we are actually feeding our next generation.
82 IR: Keith Taylor, many thanks.
83 IE: Thank you.

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[43] Tuesday 12 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0722 Ed Balls (05:02.6)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Ed Balls, Gordon Brown’s chief economic advisor

01 IR: Twenty: fou:r minutes past seven. LABOR says we must
02 not elect a Conservative governmen↑t because it’ll cut
03 spending so savagely our public services will be
04 destroyed. The savings will mount to the salaries of
05 every teacher and nurse and doctor in the land. We’ll
06 end up having a teacher of our own children in perform
07 open-up surgery on each other. .h Well I exaggerate a
08 little but not much. So, what’s this a La↑bor candida↑te
09 suggesting the Tories would actually spend MO:RE than
10 Labor. And not just any old candidate. Ed Balls, Gordon
11 Brown’s chief economic advisor and right hand (manor
12 to lead) decided he wanted to see it in Parliament for
13 himself. .h Mr. Balls, what is going on here.

14 IE: Good morning John. [Good morning to you.

15 IR: [Good morning.

16 IE: Ehm just on behalf of the Labor Party before we start,
17 can I just say eh congratulation to Charles Kennedy
18 [and () on the birth of =

19 IR: [Ehn.

20 IE: = their child. [Very exciting news. Just a great day w- =

21 IR: [Yep.

22 IE: = the birth of your first child. I just thin- on behalf of
23 [the everybody around] =

24 [(rings)]

25 IE: = the country just to send them best wishes.

26 IR: Indeed. Now, what about this mess you’re in.

27 IE: Eh mess? Mess I- I’m- I think the mess we tried to
28 avoid is the mess of Conservatives we’d: bring it with i-
29 if they are allowed to do a first budget among ()
30 election. [What we’re doing-

31 IR: [’cause they are spending too much A:Nd too
32 little simultaneously, a remarkable trick to pull off.

33 (.)

34 IE: What we are doing today is setting up the details. Let
35 me just go through with you just so we’re absolutely

- 36 clear. The first thing to say is the Conservatives are
 37 absolutely clear year by year (.) they want to cut public
 38 spending. Ehm a- they want to cut seven point five
 39 billion I mean two thousand and six seven the first folia
 40 of the Conservative government. .h But in all of that to
 41 thirty five point e- ehm t- to thirty five billion at thee
 42 end of thee eh Parliament. So they have .h a plan for
 43 big cuts in public spending. But [they've-] =
- 44 IR: [Right.]
- 45 IE: = but they've also come along (.) .h and made promises
 46 yesterday in their manifesto which is quite surprising.
 47 They're saying in the fi:rst year of a Conservative bu- e-
 48 e- government, .h they could a:lso reduce borrowing by
 49 a billion, .h a:nd cut taxes by four billion A::nd, on top
 50 of that spe:nd more money (.) in certain areas, seven
 51 billion in the first year, fourteen billion in the second
 52 year. (The problem they've got is,) it doesn't add up. It's
 53 not possible .h to cut taxes, a:nd spend more, a:nd
 54 borrow or let all at the same time without a black hole.
 55 And, their lo:ng-term cuts plan, which I said was seven
 56 and half billion in two thousand and six seven, just
 57 doesn't get anywhere NE:ar big enough (.) to pay for
 58 the extra commitments they've got.
 59 [So in the end, say, in the end, it will lead to- le- e-e-e-e-
 60 =
- 61 IR: [Well now I can imagine people over- i-
 62 IR: = ehm =
- 63 IE: = You asked to explain, and I have to explain. So in the
 64 end, .h in two thousand and five six, either, (.) they
 65 would have to increase borrowing by eighteen billion
 66 pounds which will end up a big higher mortgage rates of
 67 the families o:r they would have had earlier and e:ven
 68 bigger cuts than we expected the following year? .h
 69 They wanted to reduce borrowing by eight billion; cut
 70 taxes by four billion; They've got fourteen billion of
 71 spending commitments now↑. They've only got s- a
 72 cuts plan of seven and half billion i- in the second year
 73 again,
 74 [eighteen billion black hole. [The last question to] =

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- 75 IR: [Now I [Alright, I- I-]
 76 IE: = go through (.) the:se kind of figures as (join made) in
 77 nineteen ninety two. You can not go to the country, and
 78 make promises without showing [where this is going to
 79 come from.
 80 IR: [Alright, I- I did indeed ask you to explain. But I do: =
 81 IE: [I'll be explain it to you John.
 82 IR: = think [all those figures may(hhh) may(h)be(h)- =
 83 IE: [I'll be explain it to you. =
 84 IR: = [maybe jus- just a little bit too much over the =
 85 IE: = [Yea- =
 86 IR: = com[plex this morning, 'cause an awful lot of =
 87 IE: = [In the end of the day, John, it's very clear.
 88 IR: = [there of this-
 89 IE: = [(.) In a sho:rt term they are not, but no no John, no no
 90 no, let me (). You asked me to make it clear. I really
 91 want to be clear, I really want- Well I really want to be-
 92 but thee- I-
 93 IR: Well, let me ask you the question, let- no no, NO↑NO↑,
 94 NO↑NO↑, let me ask you- (I should ask the question),
 95 that's- that's the rule Of the game; That's the rule ok.
 96 I'm allowed to ask you question as well.=
 97 IR: = So let me ask you this que- very very simple question.
 98 [Preferably without nineteen different figures in the =
 99 IE: [Yep.
 100 IR: = answer.
 101 IE: = Cool. =
 102 IR: = A::RE THEY:, would a Conservative government
 103 spend more:↑ e- o:r spend less according (.) to your
 104 sums.
 105 IE: In the first year (.) of a Conservative government, they
 106 want to cut taxes by four billion and spend more by
 107 seven billion and cut borrowing
 108 [by eight billion. There is a black hole: in the first year:
 109 of eighteen] =
 110 IR: [Spend more. Right. No don't give us all of those
 111 figures all over again, please.]
 112 IE: = billion pounds, and it would end up meaning high
 113 mortgage rates of the families. =

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- 114 IR: = No no. Look, [I- I- I asked you a terribly simple =
 115 IE: [The following year-
 116 IR: = question, [an- and you give me all the =
 117 IE: [I'm answering the question.
 118 IR: = [same figures as all over again. Would] =
 119 IE: = [The first year- the first year-]
 120 IR: = a Conservative government spend more over it's
 121 period in office, or spend less [than you are =
 122 IE: [()
 123 IR: = spending on the public services.
 124 IE: That wasn't the question you asked me. In the first year,
 125 [they wanna spend more and cut taxes. That doesn't =
 126 IR: [w-
 127 IE: = [add up over time, year by year, so what's happened =
 128 IR: [.hh
 129 IE: = [is (.) all-
 130 IR: [You're not answering the question. =
 131 IE: = I- no I just exactly answered the question. [Over the =
 132 IR: [hhh
 133 hahaha
 134 IE: = period of- of the Parliament, by the end of the
 135 Parliament, they want to be spending (.) hugely less.
 136 [They want to spend less in hospitals, =
 137 IR: [They do.
 138 IE: = less in schools. But what they've done is
 139 [(.) come along and collect- but- it's ()- it's ()- tha- at
 140 the end of this-]
 141 IR: [That is less than you of course, not less. That is less
 142 than you, not less than we're spending now. That's less
 143 than you might be spending, if you have told what]
 144 you are going to spend, but you haven't told us so we
 145 don't know. =
 146 IE: = We've set- hang on, John, we've set up very clearly
 147 our budget spending books, our spending plans all the
 148 way through the next Parliament. And at the end of the
 149 period, the Conservatives will be spending thirty five
 150 billion pounds less than us. Which should be thirty five
 151 billion pounds less (.) of doctors nurses and teachers.
 152 So it's clearly the case [(.) I-

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- 153 IR: [Not less than we have now.
 154 IE: No th- w- e- bu- that's not the point. The point is
 155 [we're setting-
 156 IR: [That's the point.
 157 IE: No of course it's not. [(.) We are setting up pla:ns for =
 158 IR: [he
 159 IE: = more hospitals for more police, for more doctors, for
 160 more nurses. If the Conservatives [had thirty- but no if =
 161 IR: [()
 162 IE: = the Conservatives had thirty five billion pounds less
 163 (.) the public spending, that will be thirty five billion
 164 less [on public services. That's clear. But in the sho:rt =
 165 IR: [Alright.
 166 IE: =term, they are try:ing to claim, that they can- e- th- that
 167 they can cut taxes and raise spending in the first year. It
 168 doesn't add up. Therefore you've got the same old
 169 Conservative cocktail, .h in the long term big spending
 170 cuts, in the sho:rt term, .h a borrowing black hole which
 171 should be in high interest rates [for families.=
 172 IR: [Alright.
 173 IE: = We don't want to go back to these days John,
 174 honestly.
 175 IR: We shall return to this subject idea say Ed Ba(h)lls,
 176 many thanks(h).
 177 IE: Thanks for having me.

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[44] Tuesday 12 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0848 Vincent Cable (05:03.6)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Vincent Cable, Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman

- 01 IR: In the meantime, let's hear from Vincent ↑Cable, who is
02 the Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman↑. H. E:hm
03 it's just as well that we've got Labor policies in charge
04 at the moment. Anyway Mr. Cable enforces it at the
05 moment because .hh ehm Donald James will have a nice
06 little gift from the Treasury, won't he.
- 07 IE: .h w- well in- indeed I- of course I wished Donald well
08 that we- we- you'r- you're quite right in suggesting that
09 we are gonna get rid of one of the things that he might
10 benefit [from, which is the =
- 11 IR: [ehm.
- 12 IE: = baby-boom scheme and we think that is actually not a
13 terribly good use of government money? .hhh It will be
14 much better if it won't employ any things like cutting
15 class sizes. So yes oh- i- it's part of our tap choices an-
16 saying to people you can('t) have something for
17 nothing? .hh It is one of the things we are proposing to
18 get rid of. =
- 19 IR: = However, he will get it. Will he then have to give it
20 back onto you, do you think? = Or will he be able to
21 hold on to it.
- 22 IE: .h No, for those people who've already invested in the
23 baby-boom s↑cheme, we would ehm (win fence) and
24 protect their investments. But we would stop the scheme
25 and we wouldn't rule it out. And there is a result: .h
26 there won't be significant savings that could come back
27 into: eh- you knowing cutting class sizes another- other
28 useful priorities [that we give more emphasis to. =
- 29 IR: [h
- 30 IR: = Now you've had a news conference this mor↑ning.
31 An- and you were supposed to do to: eh eh [publish =
- 32 IE: [hh
- 33 IR: = the result from the poll, which show:s .h surprise
34 surprise I'm tempted to say that people are happy with
35 you:r increases in tax. But then, people always say that

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- 36 don't they. Before elections they say "ah no we're
 37 happy to pay extra tax for better public service↑s." .hh
 38 They don't necessarily vote that way, don- [do they.
 39 IE: [mcht
 40 IE: .hh well the poll you- quote was produced by MOP. It
 41 was independent, it was
 42 [(nothing to do with) ().]
 43 IR: [Oh sure, (I know) (that's .)]
 44 IE: E:hm, mmm I- I think what came out of it (very
 45 strongly) We're- we are not in fact proposing a general
 46 increase in general taxation. We have one tax
 47 resignation, which is on: individual earnings over a
 48 hundred thousand pound a year which affects: .hh
 49 around one percent of the population [().
 50 IR: [And you have
 51 local income tax [which will affect some other people.
 52 IE: [.hh we have local in-
 53 IR: [ehm
 54 IE: [in- indeed it will. But local income tax is a- is a tax
 55 cutting measure. We will take some of the revenue we
 56 are getting from the high rate tax about two billion and
 57 plough it into cutting local taxation. So the average
 58 family .hh will in fact be about four hundred and fifty
 59 pound a year better off (founder episosals) and
 60 pensioners in particular will benefit greatly. = A large
 61 number of them will pay little or no: local taxation. =
 62 IR: = Now, you: have a regress to make to the income from
 63 your fifty pence tax ↑rate, didn't you.
 64 IE: Mcht No::? We:: had a set of eh projections and we've:
 65 taken into account the: most recent estimates which you
 66 are: referring to, which will produce the: which produce
 67 quarterly about the inland revenue. .hh Thee inlan- the
 68 Institute of Fiscal Studies which keeps a very close eye
 69 on all of those, makes sure that our numbers do add
 70 up, .hh acknowledged eh this was an issue and
 71 acknowledged we had set aside a contingency (firmed)
 72 in order to deal with shortfalls of this kind. We've been
 73 very careful [(that our tax will-
 74 IR: [Right, so there was going to be a shortfall.

- 75 Let's- let's be clear about that. I mean you'r- you are
76 certainly brushing that aside as though .h it doesn't
77 matter. But you did get it wrong to the extent that there
78 was going to be. There would have been a shortfall on
79 the figures you originally published.
- 80 IE: Th- ther- there were certainly a reduced (estimate) to the
81 (ridiculer) year. [Certainly the last quarterly figure =
- 82 IR: [Yap.
- 83 IE: = show that thee (year as the (last) () to
84 project[ed. (That we-)
- 85 IR: [And that's because of a fairly: fun:- elementary
86 mistake really, wasn't it, that you you you assu:med .h
87 that the thresho:ld f- for the higher rate was a hundred
88 thousand taxable income. It is not of course. It's a
89 hundred thousand gross income. =
- 90 IE: = No no, tha- that's completely wrong. Now we- we-
91 there was no mistake there. We've always taken it [as =
- 92 IR: [Well-
- 93 IE: = the gross (). Thee the figure about the thee revision
94 which you are referring to simply comes to the fact that
95 every quarter the Inland Revenue produces its estimate
96 about what the future, .hh (year) it would be from the
97 high rate tax we based our (.) .h forecast on that. But we
98 were very careful to set aside ten percent as a rese:rve,
99 because of (if) these things go up and down, and they r-
100 that they may well go up in future as well as dow:n. .hh
101 And we've been therefore rather careful in what we did.
102 On the issue to the Fiscal Studies acknowledged that
103 we'd approached this in the right way, by setting aside a
104 reserve, and it didn't invalidate any of thee .h
105 commitments we've made on the back of them. =
- 106 IR: = mcht. What are you gonna do about waste. All the
107 other parties (.) .h have got their own waste things,
108 whether it's Gursions review or James review or
109 whatever. You- you're gonna shut down the DTI, but we
110 don't know how many jobs that'll: eh get rid of, do we.
- 111 IE: Mcht mcht well we- a- a- agree that you know (hh) (h)
112 waste like sin is something we all want to get rid of.
113 And we- we certainly suppo:rt thee proposals in eh Mr.

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- 114 e- tha- S- Joshua report which involve .hh more efficient
115 government procurements an- and using IT systems and
116 we are a bit skeptical about how quickly this can be
117 done, but we certainly support it. .h But our approach
118 to cutting waste is I think a good deal more realistic
119 than what- the Tories (project it) who- who just- take
120 one simple example, we want to strip out a (terror) of
121 the health service bureaucracy which is called .hhh
122 strategic health authority. The Tories want to exactly the
123 same. .h We've estimated you can save about a hundred
124 million by doing that, whereas the Tories are claiming
125 that by doing exactly the same thing they could save six
126 hundred million. Then in practice, the only way they
127 can do this, .hh is by cutting back on training. Things
128 like training a generation of nurses in the new .h
129 (surgical council) screening tests. And that- is to our
130 view, is- is somewhat dishonest? It's not waste saving.
131 [So- bu- yes, where genuine waste exists, we=
132 IR: [.h
133 IE: = we want to get rid of them.
134 IR: Mcht Vincent Cable, thank you.

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[45] Thursday 7 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0713 Vincent Cable (03:23.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Vincent Cable, Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman

01 IR: A:nd let me turn now to Vincent Cable, the Liberal
02 Democrat’s: eh spokesman on the economy? .h Ehm:::
03 Mr. Cable th- th- the fox has been shot really hasn’t it.
04 Now isn’t it the end to it?

05 IE: Mcht no I- I don’t think so. I mean certain in terms of
06 the personality we’ve- we’ve moved on, but the
07 underlying issue remains the same that economic policy
08 is the weak- (link) here. Eh what the Conservatives are
09 saying, they’r- they are simultaneously claiming .h that
10 they can spend more money, cut taxes, and maintain
11 budget discipline all the same time. And that really isn’t
12 credible. [It all-

13 IR: [Well except that they are saying they will cut
14 eh out waste. [And that is credible to many people.

15 IE: [Oh that- w- w- w-

16 IE: Well there is certainly lots of waste to cut and we are
17 very much in favor of that. But what we’ve also said is
18 that if you are going to be credible on public
19 spending, .hh and you want to spend more on priority as
20 you are gonna cut things which are not (typority). = And
21 what their proposals rest on is this so called James
22 repo:rt, .h whose plausibility (how would if) I called
23 into question because it rests on .h propositions like
24 saying we can tougher immigration control while
25 ha:lving [(h)] the administrative budgets of thee =

26 IR: [em]

27 IE: = immigration control department. They are talking
28 about cutting: inspection of local government to a
29 (greater) extent that their total budget of that activity. .h
30 Eh it’s replead with examples of nonsensical eh cuts
31 which are just not plausible. And that’s why the whole
32 package .h is going to unscram[ble].

33 IR: [But th- the broa:d
34 picture and it’s: not always the case that fine details of
35 packages get unscrambled during the (heat in an)

- 36 election campaign, and isn't it. An- the- and the broa:der
 37 picture is that we have the Conserva:ive saying .hh we::
 38 don't want to splash- slash spending, we want to spend
 39 a little less slowly than: the present- government's
 40 present- plans. .h eh And a lot of people will be
 41 sympathetic to that? Surely well as you, actually want to
 42 spend more money, .h a:nd put up taxes.
- 43 IE: .h e- Well, neither of those things are absolutely clear; =
 44 We certainly wish to spend more money on what we've
 45 got as our pro- priority activities which are pensions,
 46 particularly for older pensioners, eh as (clue) class sizes,
 47 eh eh elements within the health service, like improve
 48 diagnostic services and more police officers. But we-
 49 we suggest very clearly .h how that can be funded. We
 50 have tough choices. Quite specifically selling out some
 51 of the things that can be k- cu:t like the child trust fund,
 52 the ID card scheme, [()
- 53 IR: [And give your money from the
 54 child trust fund to:: [e- th- e- mothers, new =
- 55 IE: [e- e- e- e-
- 56 IR: = mothers.
- 57 IE: In↑deed. And there is a fu:ll package e- about five
 58 billion pounds a year, things that we would cu:t in order
 59 to fund our high priorities. And the Conservative's not
 60 been willing to do: that. They take refu::ge, .h in- in
 61 va:gue promises about cuts, in thee .h elements and
 62 detail within the James report, which are simply not
 63 plausible. And I think the more and more we discuss
 64 this, when the more they are a:sked about very specific
 65 things, .h for example they're- they are saying they can
 66 cut three billion from low priority areas of spending.
 67 When you look at the low priority areas, .h it turns out
 68 to be things like further education in universities. So
 69 there are deep cuts .h in areas of that kind that have
 70 never yet been properly de[bated.
- 71 IR: [But, you:r problem is you
 72 are- going to have to rely very heavily as you've always
 73 have done, on (.) .h a lot of middle class votes. And it's
 74 the middle ↑class who will be penalized eh under your

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- 75 polic[ies.
76 IE: [.hh eh I- I don't think that's true. Thee- we have
77 one tax raising measure as you know, and this is raising
78 th- thee marginal tax (rate)
79 [for forty to fifty percent, = which were a hundred
80 thousand pound-
81 IR: [And local income (), which will- which will hit the
82 middle classes.
83 IE: .h Well, e- e- the average family, family on average
84 income will actually pay four hundred and fifty pound a
85 year less than- than it does at the moment. So many
86 middle and low income families will do much better on
87 (cut) tax. But it's certainly true↑ that .h people of very
88 high inco↑mes can expect to pay a little bit mo:re. And
89 that's only fair and reasonable.
90 IR: Mcht Vincent Cable↑, many thanks.

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[46] Thursday 7 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0716 Stephen Twigg (03:26.2)

IR: Jim

IE: Stephen Twigg, school minister

01 IR: The government’s made a great deal in recent years
02 about the improvement of standards in primary schools
03 in England. = Yet the Cross Party Common Education
04 Committee .h says that too many eleven-year-olds, =
05 nearly twenty percent of them, .h are falling below the
06 expected standard (.) in reading. Why. Stephen Twigg is
07 the schools minister, .h joins us from West Minister.
08 Good morning, Mr. [Twigg.

09 IE: [Good morning.

10 IR: Ehm, e:::- no one is denying even: the- the Conservative
11 spokesman who:: i- is not happy with ehm .hh what is
12 revealed by these figures, no one is denying there have
13 been improvements. The question i:s eh why:: not
14 mo:re, given what’s been done, given thee: ehm::
15 emphasis on the literac- eh literacy strategy? sti:ll
16 twenty percent of eleven-year-olds not reaching the
17 expected standard. Why.

18 IE: Well let me say first of all that we welcome the report
19 that has been published today and we’ll consider it i:n
20 detail. The position now compared to when we came
21 into power, is that one in six children are leaving
22 primary school .h not achieving the expected level.
23 When we came into power, it was one in three. That’s a
24 very significant improvement. But I absolutely agree
25 with the select committee that we need to do mo:re. We
26 need a:ll the time to be examinating the evidence of what
27 wo:rks in some schools, and doesn’t work in [others. =

28 IR: [hh

29 IR: = Well e- e- e- much has been ma:de of thee- the
30 phonics experiment (that) was going on in
31 Clackmannanshire in the Scotland which e- appears to
32 have a remarksable effect, .h saying that children we
33 were taught in this way at a very early stage, eh were
34 three years ahead in reading age when they got to eh age
35 eleven. .h mcht Now, what do you think of the system.

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- 36 IE: The evidence that's highlighted in the report about
 37 Clackmannanshire I think is important. And I asked that
 38 we look at this, in the education department to see
 39 what lessons we can learn. .h I am advised that in fact
 40 there is quite a close similarity .h between what they are
 41 doing in Clackmannanshire, .h and what we've been
 42 doing through the national literacy strategy, that the key
 43 contrast is between .h Clackmannanshire and the rest of
 44 Scotland. But others tell [me that =
- 45 IR: [Ehm.
- 46 IE: = that might not be the case. We need to look at the
 47 evi[dence for =
- 48 IR: [.hh
- 49 IE: = that, more closely. One thing I would want to say
 50 about phonics, is that w[e (taste)-
- 51 IR: [(Just)- e- e- just e- for people
 52 who- may not be into the ja:rgon. I mean who are
 53 talking here about recognizing< the sounds of the
 54 alphabet.
- 55 IE: Absolutely, which: the majority of experts I think now
 56 would accept, is absolutely vital particularly in the
 57 early years: of literacy learning. And that's why we
 58 actually changed the literacy strategy early on, to place
 59 a much greater emphasis on phonics in the early years.
 60 Now some people say we've got that ↑right, and that's
 61 shown in this report. Others say no we need to go
 62 further. And I think what we need to do is to examine .h
 63 the detail of the evi[dence from Clackmannanshire to =
- 64 IR: [.hh
- 65 IE: = see if that might be the case.
- 66 IR: = >E:h one of the difficulties< I suppose is that e-
 67 different children need different kinds of teaching, eh to
 68 improve their reading standard. And presumably the-
 69 the twenty percent, whatever it is, round about that
 70 figure, .h who are not reaching the standard at age
 71 eleven, might need a different way of approaching i↑t,
 72 from those who are doing well.

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- 73 IE: Mcht .h That's a point that the report makes. I think it's
74 a- I think it's a powerful point. We should remind
75 ourselves that, some of those children, .h wi:ll by virtue
76 of their special educational needs, not be a:ble to
77 achieve at the level that we expect. Not all of them but
78 some of them. But there a:re children who in one
79 school, would be achieving the expected level, .h who
80 in a similar school down the road a:ren't. And clearly
81 that's not acceptable, because >we< want every
82 school .h [to be meeting the needs of every child. I think
83 you're making an important point there though, which is
84 that we shouldn't be totally prescriptive, from central
85 government. Very often it's the teacher who knows best
86 for their own chi:ld in their cla:ssroom. So let's ensure
87 we've got the best advi:ce on phonics. But let's also
88 enable teachers to get on with the jobs of teaching
89 [as well.
90 IR: [.hh
91 IR: Stephen Twigg, thanks.

[47] Thursday 7 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0852 anti-war Labor candidates (04:59.7)

IR0: John Humphrys

IE0: John Reed, the Health Secretary

IR: Jim Naughty

IE: Robin Cook, the former Foreign Secretary

01 IR: What do anti-wa::r Labor candidates say to their
02 supporters who are still infuriated by the invasion of
03 Iraq. It’s clearly an issue that has (convulsed) the labor
04 party↑. And in some quarters has made the Prime
05 Minister extremely unpopular. Yet it is one that
06 ministers (.) have to confront. Here’s John Reed, the
07 Health Secretary, on yesterday’s program.

08 IR0: Well let’s deal with the [Iraq first.

09 IE0: [Let’s- let’s deal with the Iraq
10 [first ↑then?

11 IR0: [Yeah.

12 IE0: .h Eh the question of eh Iraq eh touches upon the
13 question of trust. But so does the competence in running
14 the economy↑, the potential of the national health
15 service (founding) values? .h thee eh competence of a
16 government and motivation of a government in- (.)
17 trying to address the problem of immigration rather than
18 trying [to (exploit) it.

19 IR0: [I thought you are dealing with the Iraq.

20 IE0: .h Eh I- I started with the Iraq, John, but I just want to
21 make sure that you know that th- thee issue of trust go
22 to wi:der than I[raq.

23 IR0: [Indeed?

24 IR: .h mcht and that was John Reed. We are joined by
25 perhaps the most prominent oppo:nent of the Iraq war,
26 the former Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook. Morning,
27 Mr. Cook.

28 IE: Morning Jim. =

29 IR: = Ehm, just let me ask you a very straightforward
30 question about this. .h How many (.) people, whom you
31 would normally expect to support the Labor party do
32 you think will either abstain or defect because of their
33 anger at the war.

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- 34 IE: .h mcht well I- I don't do the figure Jim. [I () I- ()
- 35 IR: [No, I know
- 36 you don't do the figure. But you think it will be big.
- 37 IE: I- I spent a lot of the last few months going- round or
- 38 about twenty thirty constituencies in the quest of
- 39 colleagues, talking of those troubles. And I'll be going
- 40 around in even a larger number of them in the next four
- 41 weeks. Eh and yes there are people out there who are
- 42 troubled by what happened↑, deeply concerned by it?
- 43 And I think it's important that we .h answer those
- 44 concerns. I- I would- .h give three responses to that, first
- 45 of all, .hh it's not going to happen again. I think lessons
- 46 have been learned. I'm sure it was on your program,
- 47 that Jack Straw said it would be inconceivable that we
- 48 apply the same military solution to Iraq. And it was
- 49 really interesting, an hour ago on your program you- .h
- 50 had a senior figure in the American State Department
- 51 saying that now .h Washington actually backs the
- 52 European approach of negotiation to resolve the
- 53 problems in Iraq. [.hh] Secondly, I- I- I- it would =
- 54 IR: [°Yes. °]
- 55 IE: = be a good test in justice, (£) I said this () ago (£), if
- 56 the discontent of public over Iraq was to result in the
- 57 Conservatives benefiting because they were really tuned
- 58 for the invasion. Part of the problem in their (gust)
- 59 period in the run-ups in invasion, .h is that thee
- 60 opposition stopped behaving like an opposition. And
- 61 most of thee MPs have voted against the war were
- 62 Labor MPs. .h And lastly, Jim, I- people have to look at
- 63 it w- th- in arou:nd, thee government's record on
- 64 international affairs, and there are many positive
- 65 elements to it. .h That people who: (.) often are most
- 66 worried about the war, particularly tho:se in the
- 67 churches, are the sa:me people: most keen that we'll
- 68 make poverty history. = >Now,< .hh Britain has done
- 69 more than any other country to lift the debt [for the =
- 70 IR: [.hh ehm.
- 71 IE: = poorest nations. And we have got this commitment,
- 72 >about< two thousand and thirteen we wi:ll be on

- 73 honoring the UN target before () is in. But that's not
 74 going to happen if the Labor does not get re-elected.
- 75 IR: Well, th- the problem though, is that there are a lot of
 76 people who say that the issue of trust is central to this
 77 election. .hh And, there a:re people who say whatever
 78 the consequences, = they believe (.) .h that as a result of,
 79 = >as they would see it< having been led into war on: a
 80 false prospectus, some of them >as we know< .hh (.) a-
 81 accuse the Prime Minister of lying to the House of
 82 Co↑mmons which he's always (.) of course, vehemently
 83 denied. .h Nonetheless, they feel betray:ed, and they
 84 want to do something about it. In those circumstances
 85 aren't they right to vote against the Prime Minister's
 86 party.
- 87 IE: Well, first of all, Jim, I represent a: constituency
 88 where: .hh saw for eighteen years vulnerable people
 89 who: were damaged, and h- g- good () which is a very
 90 good severe hardship because of Conservative policies.
 91 I've seen also the way .h in which their life's been
 92 transfo:med, about the opportunity in the last eight
 93 years. .h And I want to make sure, that the people I
 94 represent continue to get a government [that can act in =
 95 IR: [°.hhh°
 96 IE: = their interest, [.h and provi:de them with the help
 97 IR: [°ehm. °
 98 IE: = that- that they need, .h make sure that we do have the
 99 minimum wage, we do have to tackle the child poverty;
 100 After all w(h)e we check a quarter of children out of
 101 child pover↑ty, .h and we are on ta:rget to hit our
 102 objective [of halving it. Now that's not gonna =
 103 IR: [.h
 104 IE: = happen if we don't get re-elected. On the question of
 105 trust, i::- tha- that is- I think- a- a big issue, not just
 106 for- .h the government, but .hh also h. for h. the bit of us
 107 generally of the decaying trust in our elected
 108 insti[tution.
- 109 IR: [Do you think the war has made that worse. The
 110 way we went to war.
- 111 IE: Mcht .hh ah i- i- it's not help, but it's only pa:rt of a

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- 112 much wider scene. I do think we need a very big change
 113 in culture, in our- political k- class hav- (the way of)
 114 approaching party politics. .h We've got to stop being (.)
 115 so negative. We've got to start talking positively what
 116 we've done, what we're going to do. .hh And I think
 117 also we've got to stop being: so shrill and so partisan. I
 118 mean (h) (£) in the papers that they- they talk about (£)
 119 Michael Howard having eh done well in the House of
 120 Commons yester↑day.
 121 [Quite h(h)onestly, they are hi:ghly partisan behavior
 122 [() war.=
 123 IR: [We:ll, he- he's not the first party leader to do that.
 124 Come on, I mean, [(.) you know that's tradition.
 125 IE: No, I'm not (suggest) (at one moment) he is.
 126 [(You need)] to be a bit fair to myself, =
 127 IR: [Yeah.]
 128 IE: = Jim I said, it's the bit of fast and hold, who will need
 129 to s- cha:nge the way in which we do politics,
 130 because .h the problem of
 131 [trust goes much wider than just [the fact that w- l- =
 132 IR: [°.h Ok. ° [h
 133 IE: = w- i- there is- maybe some doubts of a [particular =
 134 IR: [°.h Alright. °
 135 IE: = person who happens to be the Prime Minister for a
 136 long period of time.
 137 IR: That's an issue which we'll be returning to↑ in the next
 138 two weeks or so:? (.) Robin Cook, thank you.

[48] Tuesday 5 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0709 Stephen Wilkinson (04:20.0)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Stephen Wilkinson, a Labor candidate who switches side to Lib Dem

01 IR: .hh One of Labor’s election candidates has defected to the
 02 Liberal Democrats. On the very day the election is
 03 expected to be ca:ll↑ed, Stephen Wilkinson, Labor’s
 04 candidate for Ribble Valley has said, .h he’s become
 05 disillusioned with Tony Blair’s increasingly
 06 authorita:ria:n pa:rt:y. Well, Stephen Wilkinson joins us on
 07 the line. Good morning Mr. Wilkinson?

08 IE: Mcht Good morning.

09 IR: En, can you tell us more of your reasons for- eh switching
 10 to the Liberal Democrats today.

11 (0.3)

12 IE: (Oh yes) it’s not just today. It’s a case of:: I’ve been:
 13 considering joining the Liberal Democrats for quite a long
 14 period of time. (0.2) A:nd (0.2) I felt that the Labor party
 15 has become much more authoritarian that there is- (.) a- a
 16 total lack of interests, (.) in terms of (.) ehm individual
 17 ri↑ghts within the country. (.) An I- I don’t agree with
 18 identity ↑cards. That’s (with background noise) I seriously
 19 oppose them. .h Eh the idea of people being locked in
 20 their own home () proper (portrait) I think it’s
 21 ridiculous. hh. I- I- I just physically didn’t feel I can
 22 continue to be part of the Labor party. [.h While its view =

23 IR: [w- why on earth

24 become a Lab-

25 IE: = has changed (dramatic).

26 IR: Why on earth become a Labor candidate.

27 IE: .h Well- (.) things evolve as time goes on. I- I- (.) e-
 28 looked to becoming a Labor candidate quite a long time
 29 ago↑, = if you bear in mind the selection process has been
 30 going on for over a year now. .h (.)

31 [The Labor party’s () change.

32 IR: [But you were selected December I understand. You were
 33 selected in December? Would that be right? =

34 IE: = No I was actually selected in: (.) August last year.

35 (0.3)

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- 36 IR: Ri:↑ght. An- but- but since then your view:s have
 37 changed that dramatically.
- 38 IE: My- my views have- have changed over a period of time.
 39 E:hm: (.) party because of what's happened in terms of
 40 the war in I↑raq. (0.2) Partly because of the things that are
 41 changing now in terms of civil liber↑ties. .h I- I've seen
 42 what's happened within the Liberal Democrats and the
 43 positive things that they'r- that they are doing. (.) Eh I- I
 44 have to say unlike a lot of people who change in politics,
 45 this isn't a development of self-interest. I- I'm not looking
 46 at eh, standing as a candidate for th- for the- Liberal
 47 Democrats from thee- in the forthcoming election.
 48 [(.) I (says says) it feel-
- 49 IR: [But Mr. Wilkinson, what- what people are going to find
 50 very stra:nge is that you are referring to things that we
 51 have known about for an awful long ti:me. .h And you
 52 have become a Labor candidate and yet on the day: that
 53 an election is expected to be ca:lled, (.) you decide to
 54 switch sides. =
- 55 IE: = >Yeah I would (ha)ve actually left the Labor party
 56 earlier. Unfortunately a close friend of mine h.<, who was
 57 withi:n the Labor party died fairly recently. I planned to
 58 actually hand in my resignation then, (.) but didn't feel
 59 that it was appropriate. What I tri:ed to do is- is leave the
 60 people with liberal value within- th- the Labor party I
 61 have a great deal of respect for, .h trying to actually select
 62 an- an alternative candidate before the election. (.) And
 63 they have time to do that. As the majority of the press
 64 haven't actually been done yet, [so they'll be =
- 65 IR: [.h
- 66 IE: = to actually put out what they need to. =
- 67 IR: = An- when did you deci:de that you wanted to switch
 68 from the Labor to the Liberal Democrats.
 69 (0.4)
- 70 IE: I think- w- withi:n a matter of- last- the last month or so,
 71 but progressively so.
- 72 IR: But wh(h)y de(h)cide j(h)u^st today(h).
 73 (0.2)
- 74 IE: Well why not today. You have to decide some time.

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- 75 IR: It is- as you must- e- e- you must accept that the timing
 76 does seem extraordinary as I say the day that we are
 77 expecting the election to be called.
- 78 IE: Well, I mean my decision wasn't made today. (.) Thee-
 79 thee election may well be called today, and I would an-
 80 anticipate it probably ↑wi:ll be. .h My decision to leave
 81 th- the Labor party didn't actually just physically happen
 82 today. The timings might seem inappropriate for you. I- I
 83 can't actually help ↑that. (.) If I want vote Lab- Liberal
 84 Democrat, which I do::, (0.2) the:n it's appropriate that I
 85 should resign from the Labor party. Resign in the group
 86 (working) terms of county councilor 'cause (I was a)
 87 county councilor. .h A:s (.) I'm- I'm tell my electoral
 88 agent which I- which I ha:ve. But- that's- that's what I try
 89 I'm doing.[=(.) I think that's reasonable way to be he:ld. =
- 90 IR: [= There's been a suggestion that-
 91 IR: There's been a suggestion that one of the reasons you are
 92 doing this is being that you weren't re-selected for your
 93 council seat. .h And that th- this may be a result of sour
 94 grapes e- e- because of that.
 95 (.)
- 96 IE: Well I mean that was inevitably going to be something
 97 that people would say. And there's NO- no doubt I was-
 98 (.) disappointed with the local party that I wasn't
 99 re-selected and I'm not going to prete:nd: otherwise. (.)
 100 A:n-
 101 (0.2)
- 102 IR: Have you had any promises from the Liberal Democrats
 103 about your future.
- 104 IE: No I haven't. °No.° I mean I ha- at the moment I don't
 105 actually have any (.) pl:ans on re-entering politics, other
 106 than campaigning for the Liberal Democrats in the
 107 forthcoming election.
 108 (0.3)
- 109 IR: Stephen Wil[°kinson°
 110 IE: [Which- which as I have said, it isn't like an
 111 awful lot of people who: who move from one party to
 112 another. It's quite clearly I have moved from self interest.
 113 (.) And not least I wish (if) as a member that joins the

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- 114 Labor party (was it) (worrying so) ↑recently¿
115 IR: Mcht well- =
116 IE: = °No it's indignant. °
117 IR: We- I should say eh we did ask to speak to the Labor
118 party about this but haven't as yet put anybody forward.
119 Stephen Wilkinson, many thanks.

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[49] Tuesday 5 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0716 Michael Meadowcroft (03:50.8)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Michael Meadowcroft, who advises countries on how to run elections

01 IR: Mr. Ye: on says eh we should (borrow) in a major plan
02 change finally get the official lands as we are in general
03 election today. And to judge by the soaring number of
04 applications for postal ballots, .h it'll be in an election in
05 which, .h ever more of us will cast our vote by post from
06 home. .h Only yesterday there the High Court Judge
07 Richard Moray said postal voting is wide open to fraud. .h
08 He made the comments as he ruled there had been wide
09 spread fraud in six Birmingham Council seats, one by
10 Labor last year. .h And he strongly attacked the
11 government's attitude to the problem, accusing it .h of
12 being not only complacent, but in denial about the failings
13 of the system. .h The Judge said the scale of fraud in last
14 year's council elections would disgrace a (benigner)
15 republic. Well somebody knows about (benigner)
16 republic, this is Michael Meadowcroft. He advises them
17 on how to run elections properly. He used to be an MP, and
18 over the years he has led or been a member of forty seven
19 missions to thirty one countries, helping them run
20 election. .h And he joins us now from the Congolese
21 capital Conchater. .h Eh m- Mr. Meadowcroft, good
22 morning.

23 (0.3)

24 IE: Good morning to you.

25 IR: What do you make of what Richard Moray, th- the Judge
26 said yesterday about the postal voting in Birmingham. I- i-
27 is it- are they comments you recognize.

28 (0.3)

29 IE: I certainly do:, and: .h eh comments which bear out the
30 predictions that I and other made before. Thee (.) m- mad
31 dash towards postal voting which .h (resolved in) all
32 postal balance and in one third of thee .h English election
33 last year, we predicted it in detail. And it's been born now,
34 because you can not .h make absentee voting secure. It is
35 impossible. The only way you can have secure voting is to

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- 36 designate a polling place, .h which is monitored by party
37 agents and by independent observers. [>Either way you =
38 IR: [Bu-
39 IE: = can do it.< And >that is what< we recommend
40 a:|way↑s, .h in new >and emerging democracies<.
41 IR: But of course this is ehm one of the reasons m- m- postal
42 voting has been introduced, is to try to get the turn-out hi-
43 higher. And it has been show:n that it do:es increase
44 turn-out.
45 (0.3)
46 IE: But if it increase(d) turn-out of legitimate votes, or the fake
47 votes, I don't know↑, I can't tell, nobody can tell. And
48 what is more: to say that you can .h deal with th- the
49 malaise which is affecting politics in Britain elsewhere, .h
50 by tinkering with the system rather than tackling the
51 disease itself, .h seems to me to be remarkable.
52 [(.) And ()-
53 IR: [So there is absolutely no way you can make a postal vist-
54 e- e- sy- postal voting system secure.
55 (0.3)
56 IE: NO, no way at all. First answer if you only have a
57 patriarchal society for instance, that's not just a certain
58 minority that have that situation. How can you stop
59 somebody around the kitchen table think give me your
60 ballot (vote). You can't do it. Are we going to have police
61 calling door to door to check if they are doing it secretly at
62 home? You can't do it. How can you avoid .h people
63 picking up twenty envelops in the student accommodation
64 and- and using tho:se. You can't. There's no way of doing
65 it. =
66 IR: = But these wrong [things-
67 IE: [How do you stop people calling at (old)
68 people and saying do- would you like me to help you fill in
69 your postal vote. It can't be stopped.
70 IR: These we:re of course all things that were looked by: at by
71 the electoral commission.
72 IE: .hhh Well the electoral commission is held a- h. in a- in a-
73 ex:ceptionally vulnerable position. .h Again (.) arou:nd the
74 wo:rd we would never e- e:- (I say permit) to never

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75 recognize the possibility of an election being legitimate. If-
76 the electoral commission is not in cha:rge of the elections,
77 with the authority to do that. In Britain, thee electoral
78 commission has only got advisory powers. .h Now if you
79 have an electoral commission which recommends other
80 independent body against postal voting, and the
81 government overrides it, I think thee only k- thing left for
82 thee electoral commission frankly, .h is the power of their
83 embarrassment. And they really should resi:gn, .h in
84 defe:nse of Britain electoral system.

85 IR: You think Sami Yeon the head of the commission should
86 resign.

87 (0.3)

88 IE: I- I think they a:ll should- to- to say look, .h if you don't
89 give us thee authority, to be able to: insist on: proper
90 electoral practice, what is the point of its being there.

91 (0.3)

92 IR: Michael Meadowcroft, we'll leave it there, many thanks.

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[50] Tuesday 5 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0655 Lord Bichard (03:59.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Lord Bichard, chairman of the new Legal Services Commission

01 IR: The legal aid system is in a mess, that people who really
02 need it aren't getting it. And vast amounts are paid out to
03 people who could well afford to put their own bi:lls. Well,
04 that at least is what many believe. Lord Bichard says it is
05 wrong. .h He's the chairman of the new: Legal Services
06 Commission, which has just come into existence. .h And
07 he's on the line now. Good morning to you.

08 IE: Good morning John. [And it's not Lord, it's Sir. =

09 IR: [°what°-

10 IE: = ([] hehehehe. (.) (Think you might have noticed.)

11 IR: [Oh::, I apologize. I've promoted you though. I will le-
12 I do- no doubt I do beg y[our pardon. =

13 IE: [hehehehe

14 IR: = I'm so sorry about that. Sir Michel Bichard, [°(). °

15 IE: [Yeah,

16 Michael Bichard. =

17 IR: = Indeed. [R(h)ight. (hh) Ok, tell us what your job is.

18 IE: [hehe

19 IE: Eh well I'm chairman of thee: eh Legal Services
20 Commi↑ssion, [it's-

21 IR: [And what does that do:. =

22 IE: = It's- it's eh provides su↑pport for people who:: need help
23 to understand their legal ri↑ghts. It's a- .hh helps people to
24 protect their ri↑ghts. >And it's a-< helps people at risk of
25 being accused or are accused of criminal offenses. .hh

26 IR: Mcht .h now, legal aid, it is a controversial area, isn't it. =

27 IE: = Yes.

28 IR: And why.

29 IE: Mcht well I think i- it always will be a controversial area
30 because there'll always be people who think that the the
31 wrong people are getting legal aid. .h E:hm I think in a
32 civilized society, we do have responsibility to ensu:re that
33 everyone who: needs help to protect their ri↑ghts gets it.
34 And of course there will be times when unpopu:lar people
35 h. e:hm unp- unpopular at particular time, get help, and

- 36 that will be controversial.
- 37 IR: You are thinking there I take it of asylum seekers
- 38 [in () cases.
- 39 IE: [I thought you were probably going to: e- think [of =
- 40 IR: [Ehm.
- 41 IE: = asylum seekers. I mean I think that's just one exam[↑]ple. I
- 42 think there are o[↑]thers. .h E:hm bu:t: eh I- as I say I think
- 43 it's a sign of a civilized society that you suppo:rt those.
- 44 IR: .hh But if it's a highly controversial area polⁱtically and
- 45 you are spending a- as I g^uather we are about two hundred
- 46 million pounds on: legal aid for asylum seekers and people
- 47 say well, .h actually many of them shouldn't be here
- 48 anyway. So what are we doing using money for that. You
- 49 know thee argument very [well.
- 50 IE: [Yeah.
- 51 (0.2)
- 52 IE: Eh well I mean I- I think a- a number of points need to be
- 53 made about the asylum seekers. Ehm: .h I mean the
- 54 number of: eh asylum seekers is redu^cing and therefore the
- 55 legal aid that's eh provided for them will reduce probably
- 56 from two o five two o six. .h And the time that has been
- 57 taken in dealing with eh asylum seekers eh cases is reduced
- 58 dramatically. It's down about two months now whereas it
- 59 was about twenty months eh .h a few years ago. E:hm but I
- 60 wouldn't want the discussion about the legal services
- 61 commission to be dominated by: asylum seekers. I mean:
- 62 we produce we offer, .h e:hm suppo:rt to two million
- 63 people eh every year some two billion pounds of public
- 64 money. .h And the majority of that money is going to
- 65 people who need help in: in area such as domestic
- 66 violence, housing, welfare rights, .h or people who have
- 67 found themselves at risk of being accused of criminal
- 68 offenses.
- 69 IR: Doesn't the government want to cut that back. Doesn't:
- 70 Lord (Fullback) have plans to eh cutting .h two- two
- 71 hundred million [↑]p[ounds (°or something like that°).
- 72 IE: [.h Well I've never yet worked in the-
- 73 eh eh- an area of the public service whether there is a
- 74 balance to be struck between the priorities and the

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- 75 resources. I mean clearly we do need to have regards.
76 That's just how much money the public purse can- .h can
77 affo:rd for legal aid, and ensure that is going to the highest
78 priority areas. And that means the legal services
79 commission is gonna be, .h as you expect them to say:,
80 increasingly efficient in the way that it goes back to its
81 work, [and- and deliver high quality services to everyone.
82 IR: [.h
83 IR: But is there a- is there a- a- a- (fine-art) pot of money so
84 that if I happen to be unlucky, and I'm one of those who've
85 been beaten by my spouse or something I have a very very
86 strong case. .h An- and I need legal aid. But it may: just be
87 that all the money has been spent. Is that how it works.
88 IE: No. It's- there is a- a budget fo::r eh for the Legal Services
89 Commission which (be) we need to keep within. But eh .h
90 eh we seek to ensure that everyone who has a reasonable
91 eh case, .h and who nee:ds to have suppo:rt in: eh
92 protecting their rights, they get that. [And I think that's =
93 IR: [Bu-
94 IE: = generally the situation.
95 IR: But HOW can you- (.) guarantee that if you've run out of
96 money at a particular point in the year. =
97 IE: = Well it's ourselves to make sure that the priorities and the
98 resources are balanced not just .h once a year or once every
99 three years but th- on on a onging base of showing the
100 course of the year. Hh.
101 IR: Mcht Sir Michael Bichard, from again the polities
102 suppose[dly the House =
103 IE: [hehehehehe
104 IR: = of Lords, no doubt he'll come one day, many [thanks.
105 IE: [Oh, come
106 on. Thank you John.

[51] Tuesday 5 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0849 Peter Wardle (05:04.1)

IR: John Humphrys

IE: Peter Wardle, the Chief Executive of the Electoral Commission

01 IR: A:nd we were talking earlier about electoral fraud voting
02 vote fraud. A senior judge has made a most extraordinary
03 attack on the postal voting system? .h He said the
04 governmen-t should be condemned for complacency in the
05 face of frau:d which would disgrace a (benigner)
06 republic. .hh Well, the Electoral Commission is the body
07 that advises governments on eh voting ma↑tters. Peter
08 Wardle is the Chief Executive. We were concerned earlier,
09 Mr. Wardle that we had nobody from your .hh body on the
10 prog↑ram. So: e:h delighted to welcome you? What do
11 you make of all of this.

12 (.)

13 IE: Mcht .hh well thee Electoral Commission as eh must be
14 repor:ted over the last few days, made serious
15 recommendations to government last year, about tightening
16 up the law, on, postal voting. We particularly
17 recommended that there should be individual identification
18 of voters so that votes could be identified as having been
19 cast by the person entitled to it. .h And also that the
20 government should bring new offenses relating to undue
21 influence. (Personation) that’s pretending to be someone
22 you are not. And (fraugent ply) applications postal vote.
23 The government has accepted some of those
24 recommen↑dations. It said it’s considered some of the
25 others. Eh but we haven’t yet seen legislation.

26 IR: Mcht so: given that your recommendations were not
27 adopted, should we be in the position we are today where
28 everybody can have a postal vote if they wish. Should the
29 government be encouraging postal voting.

30 (.)

31 IE: Mcht .h well I think postal voting itself ehm is here to stay.
32 I mean thee thee thee evidence from all thee research
33 we’ve done over the last year or two, .h when postal voting
34 has been on thee increase is that- voters (.) like the choice
35 and convenience. And as I have said before, there is a

- 36 balance to be struck here, between voters actually wanting
 37 to vote and having a system they are prepared to engage,
 38 and keeping that system in- i- i- the- thee integrity of that
 39 system secure. .h The difficulties we've got, is that in
 40 certain places we have seen allegations of eh of frau[d].
- 41 IR: [But a
 42 lot more than allegations of fraud, we've got a court case,
 43 and we've got a judge talking about banana republics.
- 44 IE: But on thee other ha:nd, in many areas of the country, the
 45 north east is one where they've- conducted an all postal
 46 referendum last year, .h very successfully, and we haven't
 47 seen any allegations. =
- 48 IR: = Nonethe[less:-
 49 IE: [It does seem to be a- It does seem to be a
 50 difference between different experiences. [.h And-
 51 IR: [Yeah, but that
 52 proves that the system isn't working. And th- the judge said
 53 that- you- you know what the judge said of course, unless
 54 the system is changed, he said fraud will continue
 55 unabated. Well we can't have that, can we.
- 56 IE: Well the electoral commission as I've said, have made it
 57 quite clear, that we want to see changes, if postal voting is
 58 goin[g to-
- 59 IR: [Yes, but those changes haven't been made. So can we
 60 have a fair election.
- 61 IE: .hh We think that on balance we can. And the reason for
 62 that, is that, (°e- w-°) partly because of the Birmingham
 63 case, there are plenty of people out there, the police, the
 64 political parties themselves, those who run elections, the
 65 government I know has encouraged electoral eh returning
 66 officers to take further steps to check on the integrity of
 67 postal voting within the current system. .hh And, on
 68 balance, we think, that enough is-, there is enough- enough
 69 awareness of the risks, enough steps that have been taken,
 70 [(.) to make sure that the =
- 71 IR: [Well-
 72 IE: = postal voting at the moment, can be run successfully. =
- 73 IR: = But- but we'[ve got th-
 74 IE: [However, we do need to change [the =

- 75 IR: [°but-°
76 IE: = system for the future. =
77 IR: = Well indeed. (£) But I mean we've got an election
78 coming up in a matter of weeks. (£) And we've got a judge
79 delivering a one hundred and ninety two page
80 judgment, .hh in which I haven't got time to list all the
81 thing he's- he's said, but you'll know what they are. Postal
82 votes, .h applications are hopelessly insecure↑, short of
83 writing, steal (me) thee envelopes in which they have
84 ↑sent, .h ehm couldn't have been eh leh leh m- more
85 clearly identi↑fiable. >There have been< widespread theft
86 of postal ↑votes, .h and so on and so on and so on. You
87 seem, = if I may suggest it, to be just a little bit complacent
88 about ↑this.
89 IE: .hh Well at thee end of the day, thee electoral- the
90 Parliament set up thee Electoral Commission to give it
91 independent advice, on how thee electoral system should
92 run. We've given that advice. We've made clear that (there
93 are) a number of areas, and some of these areas are the
94 ones that the judge has looked at very in-
95 [in great detail in Birming↑ham, =
96 IR: [And thee advice wasn't accepted. =
97 IE: = Thee advice hasn't been acc[epted, ()-
98 IR: [So shouldn't you resign.
99 That's- that's the point that was made earlier on this
100 program. Should th- shouldn'- should not the commission-,
101 you are the chief executive, slightly different, I know, but,
102 shouldn't the commission resign, given that your
103 recommendations have not been accepted. =
104 IE: = .hh Well the commission has made a number of
105 recommendations in a number of areas. Many of them have
106 been accepted. They haven't been implemented by
107 Parliament yet. And we don't at the moment feel, that the
108 risks of the system, UK wi:de, taking it across the country
109 as a whole, not just in Birmingham, but the risks of the
110 system is such, that there is a- there is a sufficiently serious
111 problem to say that it is completely broken down. .hh Ehm:
112 yo- the judge's has made his views plai:n, in relation to
113 thee issues he's looked at in Birmingham. But I mean it is

- 114 difficult, to extrapolate from that and say that the situation
115 in Birmingham is replicated across the whole country. =
- 116 IR: = But the judge's view clearly is that the government has
117 been complacent. Is that a view that the electoral
118 commission shares. And after all you are meant to be
119 entirely independent, I have no need to remind you that, of
120 the government.
- 121 IE: We would certainly have preferred the government to take
122 an action on the- recommendations which may- we've
123 made which they have accepted, .h earlier than- than ↑now.
124 And also: to have accepted some of the recommendations
125 which at the moment they simply say they'll consider.
- 126 IE: Mcht they haven't yet taken the action we'd like them to
127 take.
- 128 IR: Mcht Peter Wardle, many thanks.

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[52] Wednesday 30 March 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0716
Britain’s biggest female prison, Holloway (03:47.5)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Sir David Ramsbottom, the previous chief inspector of prisons

01 IR: The time now quarter past seven. The chief inspector of
02 prisons, Anna Owls says Britain- Britain’s biggest
03 women’s prison Holloway is still suffering from
04 fundamental problems. .h She said that four out of seven
05 recommendations she made three years ago, .h have not
06 been carried out. She said standards of cleanliness were
07 unacceptable and that parts of the jail (.) .h have serious
08 infestations of lice, pigeons and insects. And she described
09 how prisoners use sanitary towels as in private seats on
10 filthy toilets, and using (to plant) gaps under doors to keep
11 out rats. .h Well ten years ago, the previous chief inspector
12 Sir David Ramsbottom walked out of an inspection in
13 Holloway and disgusted at the conditions. And he joins me
14 on the line now. Good morning, Sir David?

15 IE: Good morning. =

16 IR: = .h What do you make of this latest report from Anna
17 Owls.

18 IE: Well, (hh) I’m obviously- very- sad to see it, because (.) .h
19 two things about it struck me particularly. First of all I was
20 very sad to know, that yet again the Director of General, .h
21 has said, since the inspection the prison has continued to
22 move forward. .h That is exactly what his predecessor said
23 several times after all my inspections. And what his
24 predecessor has said. .h And it’s quite clear from what I
25 know as I have seen, that they have not moved forward. So
26 what (on earth) the Director of General s(h)ay(h)ing. He
27 says it after every inspection. The second thing is that in
28 nineteen ninety five, it was quite clear for me that the real
29 basic reason why nothing was moving forward, was
30 because nobody was in charge of women’s prisons. I
31 recommended that over and over and over again.
32 Eventually they put someone in charge of women’s
33 prisons. But now: they’ve removed them. And if they
34 don’t have somebody who is overall responsible for
35 moving things forward, it will not happen, because

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- 36 governors of prisons can not do what is required on their
 37 own. They require: assistance from their seniors.
- 38 IR: It has to be said that the Chief Inspector (the Account Chief
 39 Inspector of prison Anna), she: says that Holloway has
 40 undoubtedly improved, although obviously not to the
 41 extent that they had hoped.
- 42 IE: Exactly. Well I mean each time there were no doubt there
 43 were things that are improved each time when I went there.
 44 But some of the basic fundamentals, .h such as
 45 c(h)leanliness(h), ehm have not moved forward. =
- 46 IR: = What needs to be done, do you think.
- 47 IE: Well, I say, I think that you've got to put somebody in
 48 charge of women's prisons, .h who is responsible for
 49 seeing, overseeing that recommendations that have been
 50 made are implemented and are consistently maintained. .h
 51 Because each time an improvement is made under one
 52 governor, you'll find (£) how the governor comes along
 53 and they fall away: (£). And you don't get the consistent
 54 improvement that is needed.
- 55 IR: One of the things that Anna has criticized three years ago
 56 was that girls were being kept at Holloway. Now that's
 57 something you- you- (.) e- e- looked at too.
- 58 IE: Yes I did. And I was appalled that they were there, =
 59 because, .h Holloway was completely unsuitable as a place
 60 to have girls. .h And what worried me = of course when I
 61 went there was to find that very often the girls were being
 62 held, particularly the girls on remand, .h were being held
 63 in the same dorm- dormitories as, senior women who had
 64 serious criminal records. .h Now ehm what again worries
 65 me is that the question of the girls is that they are a small
 66 number of minority in there. But they do need specialist
 67 treatment, in spec- specially staff who have been trained to
 68 look after them. .h And the bit that disturbs me at this time
 69 was Ann saying that they have not been trained. .h Now
 70 the promise to get the girls out of Holloway was made by
 71 Jack Straw, it was being made by Martin Narrow in some-
 72 mis- several times. It was indeed promised by Michael
 73 Howard before Jack Straw. .h Again, we don't
 74 see: consistent progress.

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- 75 IR: [°Sir-°
76 IE: Sir David Ramsbottom, many thanks.

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 10 filthy toilets, and using (to plant) gaps under doors to keep
 11 out rats. .h Well ten years ago, the previous chief inspector
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 17 Owls.

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 20 very sad to know, that yet again the Director of General, .h
 21 has said, since thee inspection the prison has continued to
 22 move fo:ward. .h That is exactly what his predecessor said
 23 several times after all my inspec↑tions. And what his
 24 predecessor has said. .h And it’s quite clear from what I
 25 know as I have seen, that they have not moved forward. So
 26 what (on earth) the Director of General s(h)ay(h)ing. He
 27 says it after every inspection. The second thing is that in
 28 nineteen ninety five, it was quite clear for me that the real
 29 basic reason why nothing was moving forward, was
 30 because nobody was in cha:rge of women’s prisons. I
 31 recommended that over and over and over again.
 32 Eventually they put someone in cha:rge of women’s
 33 prisons. But now: they’ve remo:ved them. And if they
 34 don’t have somebody who is overall responsible for
 35 moving things forward, it wi:ll not happen, because

- 36 governors of prisons can not do what is required on their
 37 own. They require: assistance from their seniors.
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 39 Inspector of prison Anna), she: says that Holloway has
 40 undoubtedly improved, although obviously not to the
 41 extent that they had hoped.
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 43 were things that are improved each time when I went there.
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 45 c(h)leanliness(h), ehm have not moved forward. =
- 46 IR: = What needs to be done, do you think.
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 48 charge of women's prisons, .h who is responsible for
 49 seeing, overseeing that recommendations that have been
 50 made are implemented and are consistently maintained. .h
 51 Because each time an improvement is made under one
 52 governor, you'll find (£) how the governor comes along
 53 and they fall away: (£). And you don't get the consistent
 54 improvement that is needed.
- 55 IR: One of the things that Anna has criticized three years ago
 56 was that girls were being kept at Holloway. Now that's
 57 something you- you- (.) e- e- looked at too.
- 58 IE: Yes I did. And I was appalled that they were there, =
 59 because, .h Holloway was completely unsuitable as a place
 60 to have girls. .h And what worried me = of course when I
 61 went there was to find that very often the girls were being
 62 held, particularly the girls on remand, .h were being held
 63 in the same dorm- dormitories as, senior women who had
 64 serious criminal records. .h Now ehm what again worries
 65 me is that the question of the girls is that they are a small
 66 number of minority in there. But they do need specialist
 67 treatment, in spec- specially staff who have been trained to
 68 look after them. .h And the bit that disturbs me at this time
 69 was Ann saying that they have not been trained. .h Now
 70 the promise to get the girls out of Holloway was made by
 71 Jack Straw, it was being made by Martin Narrow in some-
 72 mis- several times. It was indeed promised by Michael
 73 Howard before Jack Straw. .h Again, we don't
 74 see: consistent progress.

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- 75 IR: [°Sir-°
76 IE: Sir David Ramsbottom, many thanks.

[54] Friday 25 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0751 Labor misleading election campaign leaflets (06:57.0) [interview starts from 01:30]

IR: Sarah Montague

IE-1: Professor Coho (background, public listener)

IE-2: David Cowling (background, BBC commentator)

IE1: Labor MP Steven Pound

IE2: Liberal Democrat party chairman Matthew Taylor

01 IR: Has the Labor Party been sending out deliberately
02 misleading campaign leaflets? One of our listeners in
03 Hemel Hempstead? Professor Coho contacted us about a
04 Labor leaflet, he had received through his front door.

05 IE-1: This pamphlet which is- (.) has the title of ‘lib de:ms’ in
06 their own wo: rds, h. e: nds qui- quite oftenly with th: the
07 sentence (.) I quo↑te, (.) it only takes one in fifty people to
08 switch their votes from Labor to Lib Dem h., and the
09 Tories will wi: n. Well, (.) if you look at the BBC (), that
10 appears to be totally untrue, >so I’m w- wondering what on
11 earth is going on (.) in the Labor Party↑, h. when they:
12 issue a pamphlet like that.

13 IR: Mcht, well we ask(ed) David Cowling, who is editor of
14 BBC political research, what he made of the figures.

15 IE-2: The mathematics of Hemel Hempstead’s: (.) election: n eh
16 are very simple and straightforward. >In: two thousand and
17 one, Labor’s majority of the Conservatives were three
18 thousand seven hundred and forty two. .hh So they would
19 need to lo↑::se (.) to the Liberal Democrats three thousand
20 seven hundred and forty two votes if nothing e↑lse
21 happened before they lost the seat to the Conservatives hh..
22 Now instead of (.) one in:: fifty↑, which is two percent, in
23 one in fi::ve of Labor’s voters in two thousand and one
24 would have to shift hhh. eh to the Liberal Democrats, if
25 nothing else happened before Labor lost the seat to the
26 Conservatives, >so hh. ehm some of them will do: it by the
27 mathematics of thee eh the expressive in that pamphlet.

28 IR: Well, join me here in the studio is the Labor MP Steven
29 Pou↑: nd, on the line we have the Liberal Democrat party
30 chairman Matthew Taylor? = Good morning to you both?

31 IE1: Morning.

32 IE2: [Morning.

- 33 IR: [.hh
34 IR: Steven Pound, how can you justify this claim in the Labor
35 (.) eh leaflet.
36 IE1: Well, very very easily. >I mean (the argument) you've just
37 heard is attractive and persuasive. Ehm unfortunately it is
38 also utterly and totally wro:ng. h. Ehm the two major
39 mistakes that have been ma:de, that is fi:rstly, you're
40 basing the argument on the two thousand and one figures
41 >when, .h the opinion polls have changed a lot since.
42 >(There) a:re figures are based on current polling. .hh
43 Secondly, (.) turn-out. (.) The minute you put tu:rn-out
44 i:nto the equation of mathematics school out of the
45 window. And tha:t is where the one in fifty figure, .h is not
46 only right, but absolutely correct. [And tha:t =
47 IR: [But-
48 IE1: = is the [() we're making.]
49 IR: [hold on,] hold on a second. Before we
50 go to Matthew Taylor, I just want to make a point about,
51 first of all, = on the polling there have been, .hhh according
52 to David Cowling, thir- over thi:rty po:lls since the start of
53 the election campaign, ve:ry fe:w, which show La:bor and
54 Tories level pegging.
55 [There's only o:ne that I can think of. >And you] =
56 IE1: [Ehm.Yeah.Yeah.]
57 IR: = seem to .hh use tha:t as the starting point, fro:m which
58 you then say one in fifty [voter which is extraordinary.]
59 IE1: [Now- ju- you- you-]
60 >You're< you're talking about ge:neral national po:lling.
61 What we're talking about is specific regional and
62 subregional polling. Thi:s leaflet is put out in Hemel
63 Hempstead. This leaflet has been put out in areas wher:re
64 (.) there has been a real danger (.) of the Liberal Democrats
65 letting the Tories in the ba[ck.
66 IR: [I have a- =
67 IE1: = That's what it's about.
68 IR: = I have a quote from the Labor press officer saying that
69 this is about Hemel Hempstead, but this is based on
70 national opinion polls which were out about a month ago
71 when the leaflets were published.

- 72 IE1: = (But undoubtedly I'm in agreement with thee eh Labor
73 press officer as not eh a common experience, but- (.) let's-
74 eh- (.) [I think that (mean-)]
- 75 IR: [Sorry you were-] I thought you were saying
76 that it was po:lls in Hemel Hempstead
77 [= which was suggest you were no:t in ()].
- 78 IE1: [Yeah. It's the local- no no]
- 79 IE1: It's in lo:cal areas where there is a real conce:rn. (.) >I
80 mean< th- th- what this is a:ll about is this who:le election
81 was some text about this- >whole election I think that
82 people don't seem to realize is that< .hh it's- doesn'- (you)
83 don't have to be a travelodging Hemel Hempstead, .h
84 succu:mb to the briefing counter moment with the
85 bla:ndishments .h of the Liberal Democrats. = But the
86 reality is that, if you do vote Liberal Democrat, you do hh.
87 spend the (knot) with them, you do run a real risk waking
88 up h. with a pain in the jug in a vein, h. and a black cake
89 with a blue rosé [(.)] tossed =
- 90 IE2: [.hh]
- 91 IE1: = contemptuously over the teeth made.
- 92 IR: (£) Well, listening to that, as I said is the Liberal Democrat
93 party chairman↑ Matthew Taylor. Matthew Taylor, what do
94 you make of that argument. (£) =
- 95 IE2: = i- e- well hu:h I- I think I (made to) all listeners which is
96 eh Labor being caught at not telling the truth h. Ehm the
97 simple fact is that in about a third of the country, thee battle
98 is between Labor and Liberal Democrats. There is no
99 chance the Conservatives winning h. in those Labor
100 (hardents) a::nd eh therefore Labor's claims nationally that
101 somehow .h switching through Liberal Democrats (led to
102 Tories) isn't true. .h In thee eh another third of the country
103 there are Liberal Democrat-Tory batt↑les >and
104 actually< .hh eh the best thing Labor voters can do is eh
105 switch to Liberal Democrats if they want to see cha:nge h.
106 A:nd, thee e:ven (in) those seats like eh Hemel where .h eh
107 Labor and Tories (.) are are relatively close. Eh Labor are
108 peddling completely untruth. E:h i- i- y- ask people who
109 switched the order (has it) simply doesn't lead to lots of- h.
110 Tories seats winning? Indee:d, if you look at the national

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- 111 opinion polls, the Conservatives are now averaging h. the
 112 same rate they got in the last general election, which was
 113 the (.) second worst Conservative defeat in history and led
 114 to William Hague resigning this
 115 Conservati[ve () lose.]
- 116 IR: [Go back to this-] = Is thi- thi- this u-
 117 cle:ar sta[te]ment in the Labor leaflet] = it =
- 118 IE2: [Yeah] [Yeah]
- 119 IR: = takes o:ne in fifty people >to [switch] their vote from =
- 120 IE2: [umhum]
- 121 IR: = Labor to Liberal Dem<, and the Tories will win. That is
 122 just plai:n wro:[ng].
- 123 IE1: [.h If it is said at the end i::n some areas I
 124 conce:::de that that will be more accurate. But the fact
 125 remains, i:n the context that they [lo:wer tu:rn-out]. A:nd =
- 126 IE2: [huhhuhhuh]
- 127 IE1: = in the sub-regional [areas, r[e:ally do:es
- 128 IE2: [huhhuh]
- 129 IE1: = [make a huge difference.] = And it cou:ld happen. .h =
- 130 IE2: [.hhh]
- 131 IE1: = You know, and the idea that Matthew Taylor I'm sorry I
 132 mean like Matthew as a decent () h. you ca:n't treat the
 133 electorate with the sort of contempt, that he: has. = Now
 134 we actually s[ay that we:'ll do this, =
- 135 IR: [But isn't tha:t trea=
- 136 IE1: = no we'll do [that.]
- 137 IR: = [ting thee (.) e] {lectorate ()}
- 138 IE2: {h h. }
- 139 IE1: {No:, it isn't. }
- 140 IE1: The To:ries cou:ld wi:n on May the fifth. Tha:t is a: fact.
 141 [The Liberals] ca:n't win, =
- 142 IR: [Matthew Taylor.]
- 143 IE1: = [.h] [but Liberals can let the Tories in.
- 144 IE2: [Well] [it-
- 145 IE2: Well, huh actually, if you look at the national opinion polls,
 146 there is not a jot of evidence Tories could win? Every
 147 political analyst (.) has concluded th(at) that's the case.
 148 Even [()] =
- 149 IE1: [That's a Conservative ()] =

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- 150 IE2: = [even] k-
- 151 IE1: = [isn't it.]
- 152 IE2: The simple fact is, that people don't like Michael Howard
153 aren't turning to him. In large parts of the country, people
154 aren't in the race against (.) Labor anyway, .h and in large
155 parts of the country voting Liberal Democrat will get a
156 Liberal Democrat h. MP. People are intelligent enough to
157 look at their own local area, h. work out how things are
158 that they know:, that on thirty three percent which is where
159 the Conservatives averaging at the moment .h that is as bad
160 as it was last time.
- 161 IE1: And in places like [Hemel Hempstead one in fifty is a fact.
- 162 IR: [Di-
- 163 IR: I've bibs- I- =
- 164 IE2: = It's not- it's not a fact. It's actually untrue. It's one in i- i-
165 e- o- [on a basement it would be one i]n fi:ve in Hemel =
- 166 ?: [euh euh ah huh huh]
- 167 IE2: = Hempstead and
168 [you just (the:: give analysis) {somewhere.}]
- 169 IE1: [only two thousand one {()}o:n the same time.] =
- 170 IR: {Ste- Steven Pound. Ste- }
- 171 IR: = Steven Pound, [if you] wan- if you want the public, to =
- 172 IE1: [Yeah]
- 173 IR: = trust, politicians [(.) cl]a:ims like this are not gonna
174 help. =
- 175 IE1: [uh↑um]
- 176 IE1: = Mcht well claims like this, will not help if people attack
177 them and then try:: to make a party political point out of it.
178 [(But this is) (). And (£) I'm sorry, th(h)is is the
179 m(h)athem(h)atics of i(h)t. (£)
- 180 IE2: [eh huh huh huh huh huh huh huh huh N(h)o, i(h)t
181 is(h)n't S(h)[t(h)ev↑en. D(h)on't y(h)ou] g(h)o =
- 182 IR: [uh, (where d'y pull)]
- 183 IE2: = th(h)ere. =
- 184 IE1: = [Yeah, tha- that just doesn't [lie:.
- 185 IE2: [Huh y(h) () (w(h)ell) [huh huh [huh huh °huh huh
186 huh°
- 187 IR: [(£) M(h)atthew
- 188 [Tailor, =

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- 189 IE1: [even if politicians do.] = [
- 190 IR: = a:nd S] = [t(h)e]ven Pou(h)nd, th(h)ank =
- 191 IE2: = [Oh]
- 192 IR: = y(h)ou b(h)oth. (£)
- 193 Hump = Oh, what did he just say that? Final comment, even if
- 194 hrys: polit(h)ici(h)ans d(h)o::?
- 195 IR: [S(h)ays they do. =
- 196 IE1: [I-
- 197 Hump = [Huh huh] =
- hrys:
- 198 IE1: = [°I can't hear that.°] =
- 199 IE2?: = [HUH HUH HUH huh huh

[55] Wednesday April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0649 UN refugee agency (02:10.0)

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Wendy Chambler, the UN acting High Commission of refugees

00 (background noise, cassette rolling?)

01 IR: .hh the United Nation’s acting High Commission of
02 refugee:s is in Darfur Sudan. She’s Wendy Chambl↑or and
03 she joins us on the li:ne from there. Hh. Good morning.

04 (0.3)

05 IE: Good morning.

06 IR: What have you fou:nd on your trip to: Sudan.

07 IE: Mcht. (.) well we came in yesterday >we actually what
08 we< found was the very best and the very worst. .hh eh let
09 me explain yesterday as we wer- (.) coming in our
10 helicopter h. eh into Zalingee eh which is ae- a very sma:ll
11 dusty village in the middle of eh west Darfur. .hh We saw:
12 as we looked out of the window of the helicopter eh village
13 after village that had been completely destroyed, in (as the)
14 helicopter (bed) (toward) Zalingee .hh we saw this- (.) this-
15 va:st camp of eh h. of eh e-e- ta:rps an- worthy, where the
16 displaced people who had been chased, chased running for
17 their lives frankly from these villages, .hh had collected for
18 security in in- in- town. .hh eh but we also saw the be:st. =
19 We saw (.) the African Union who were offering protection
20 and we saw h. (.) my UN colleagues from (.) UN refugee
21 agency were there, .h in a- i- i- i- in great risk to themselves
22 frank↑ly. [E:h] other engi:os and other UN agenc↑ies =

23 IR: [hh]

24 IE: = h., providing protection and assistance to these very
25 vulnerable people. =

26 IR: = You say at great risks to themselves, how da:ngerous is
27 the situation no::w there. = I mean are thee African Union
28 is- successfully managing to keep the peace?

29 (0.2)

30 IE: .hh Thee African Union is doing what they ca::n, they are
31 v:ery much respected by the people and very appreciated
32 by the people = in where they a::re, there is e:hm security.
33 But they can’t be everywhere. .hh An- an- neither can
34 we. .h Eh what we are doing to help the African Union and

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35 to help the people. .h We've got (does) sma:ll teams of
36 mobile protection officers that we dispatch .h outside of the
37 camps where people a:re basically secure h. to the villages
38 where people still a:re, .h And where there's, where they
39 are quite vulnerable to attack. .h And we are (.) are finding
40 tha- the strand of the vulnerable people, .h ah with a nine
41 one one if you will. A:h when- when they are in trouble, we
42 can call the African Union to come in, if they are in danger
43 of being atta:cked, .hh we find these ehm .h e:h groups of
44 women that- may have been raped an- and beaten = and we
45 h. provide immediate assistance an- and get them thee h.
46 ki:nd of eh eh protection (.) they need.
47 IR: Wendy Chamblor, thank you.

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[56] Friday April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0810-Charles Kennedy-EU (05:20.0 incomplete) [transcribe to 05:12.0]

IR: Jim Naughty

IE: Charles Kenny, Lib Dem leader

01 IR: Well the Liberal Democrats have had: (.) a stuttering
02 matter of lau↑nch, thanks to the model of the figures, (.)
03 their tax revenue:es? .h (They are rather) awkward for the
04 leader Charles Kennedy (°we- dip-°) be put on the
05 defensive at the end of the first week’s campaigning. .h
06 especially when, as- everyone has been pointing o↑ut h.,
07 not without some sympath↑y, .h he’s been showing some
08 si:gns, (.) of sleep deprivation that is the lo:t of any ne:w
09 father. .hh And the ne:ws isn’t exactly playing into his
10 ha:↑nds? President Chira↑c has been reporting, .h he’s
11 facing a pretty rough fight in this European referendum,
12 >which comes at the end of next month?< .hh The Liberal
13 Democrats a:re of course by fa::r, the most Euro
14 enthusiastic, of the main parti↑es. .hh Labor a:ren’t making
15 the European question a central pa:rt of their camp↑aign h..
16 Even the Conservatives are downplaying >it compared
17 with< the la:st couple of campaigns. .hh So how: upfront
18 (.) will the Liberal Democrats be: (.) .h Charles Kennedy,
19 good morning.

20 IE: Mcht. James a very good morning to [you. (.)]

21 IR: [How::] upfront will
22 you be about your enthusiasm for Europe and all its works?
23 =

24 IE: = Well: we’ve ju:st eh come from our morning press
25 conference, = today where we’ve been discussing
26 environmental poli[cy↑ where]=

27 IR: [Indeed]

28 IE: = we’ve been pointing over the:re hh. on a number of
29 fronts, policy fronts? .h Eh by definition the environment is
30 a classic example of (.) something that can’t just be the
31 subject of h. national decision making? .h E:h it doesn’t
32 rec(h)ognize (.) national-owned issue, = it need
33 international co-operation, = so .hh there’s- there is a good
34 practical example if you want mo::re .hh effective action (.)
35 on climate change and so on, globally of course you need

- 36 initiatives but my goodness, .h you certainly need eh
 37 activity (.) at a
 38 Europ[ean Union level.] =
- 39 IR: [.hh] = Ye:s, the argument isn't about (.)
 40 initiatives than about co-operation (.) eh where it's
 41 necessary indeed. B- presumably: ehm so:me legal
 42 framewo↑rk which covers different countries >because if
 43 you say↑< .hh environment doesn't respect bo:rders. Hh.
 44 The argument however is much deeper. It's whether hh.
 45 this country:: ehm ha:s control over its own policy >(it's)
 46 very important areas<. .hh (.) It's something tha(t)- (.)
 47 many people as you well know fee:l (.) extremely strong
 48 about. And they fee:l there's (.) a li:ne, .h which when it's
 49 crossed, (.) changes the nature of the country, really
 50 fundamentally. .h We're not talking here about, .h you
 51 know ma:d (zeno) folks, we're talking about .h ordinary
 52 people who think (.) it's gone too fa:r. Now how do you
 53 persuade them, .h that they are wro:ng >if that's what you
 54 believe<.
- 55 IE: Mcht we:ll on a number of fro:nts I thi↑nk. I think first of
 56 a:ll, .h you point to:: the lo:ng-term strategic self-interest of
 57 our country. .h And I fee:l that a Britain that was
 58 disengaging .h on moving away: from the top table of
 59 decision making within Eur↑ope, .h is going to be: a
 60 Britain: which politically is weaker in the wo↑rld. .h Eh
 61 and economically is probably (.) going to find itself,
 62 increasingly: (.) at a- (.) a disadvantageous result. .hh
 63 That's the first thing. The second thing is, .hh look at the
 64 history book (loui) since the end of second world wa:[r,
 65 (.)] there has been European initiative after European =
- 66 IR: [Ehm]
- 67 IE: = initiative h.. Britain (.) inevitably has tended to come
 68 rather la:te, and rather gradually to acept whatever the hh.
 69 the development of the momentum has been. .h And then
 70 was found an awful lot of entertainment British politics
 71 arguing with the fa:[ct we don't let =
- 72 IR: [°Ye°
- 73 IE: = the (groan grow[th.] = so I) hate to see is making that =
- 74 IR: [Ye:s but-]

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- 75 IE: = same mistake (here) again. =
- 76 IR: = Ok, bu:t eh there was the other side of the argument
 77 (which) say if you look at the history books h., o::h w- w-
 78 what was produced in the common market >as it was then<
 79 ca:lled >was a common< agricultural policy which has
 80 been in many respects a disaster not least incidentally .h
 81 for w- what we used to call the third-wo:rld. .hh The
 82 common fishery's policy? by common conse↑nt of many
 83 Europe MP↑s, .hh and coastline area () Britain would
 84 agree↑, .h ehm has been catastrophic for the British (.)
 85 fishing industry. = So they would say that the history .h
 86 of the way that EU has developed, .h doesn't (.) eh persuade
 87 them h. that further integration (.) is a good idea (.) or
 88 indeed other countries in Europe.
- 89 IE: Well I would say two things. = And I don't disagree. = I've
 90 made, as you know all the criticisms of the common
 91 fishery policy in the CAP myse↑lf. [()]
- 92 IR: [And ref-] reformers
 93 failed in many ways. I mean reformers are extre::mely
 94 slow and in the CAP:, .hh it only e- e- was- pulled kicking
 95 and screaming into refo:rm, because when you bring in
 96 east European countries you don't have a reform, the thing
 97 goes bankrupt. =
- 98 IE: = Well precisely so:, and it's- significant has it known
 99 that, .hh tha:nkfully h. e::hm you and I I suppose eh .h both
 100 been brought up in a world that was- dominated by the
 101 (high and cut) and the domination of those central own
 102 eastern European countries by the S[oviets.] .h We are =
- 103 IR: [.hh]
- 104 IE: = now, .h eh dealing with a world in which, that has go::ne,
 105 democracy: has been implanted an- [taken ro]ot? =
- 106 IR: [.hh]
- 107 IE: = And of course, so many of these countries are queu-
 108 queuing up to jo:in the EU. = Both the new ones that
 109 [have no:w] come in and =
- 110 IR: [.hh]
- 111 IE: = we welco↑me. .h And, many others who remain (ask for
 112 this). But I think y- you get back to this po:int, .h I mean I-
 113 I often liken it. To my own political circumstances, .h here

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- 114 I am putting myself off personally as well as the party, .hh
115 for (.) re-election to the House of Commons? I don't
116 actually instinctively agree:: with the basis of the election
117 system its[↑]self, = I'd like to see that cha[↑]nged? .hh And I
118 certainly don't agree with an awful lot of the policies, .h
119 that come out of the House of Commons under success of
120 governments. But, I still put myself forward, because I
121 want to engage and I want to a[[:]rgue the] c[a:]se (.) =
122 IR: [.hh] [bu-]
123 IE: = for a different approach from the within.
124 IR: = .h[h
125 IE: [Now that's- my view, should i- (e)xactly be the British
126 attitude towards the Europ[↑]ean ↑Un[ion.] =
127 IR: [e-] = But there's a
128 sense in which you may be seen to be
129 (interview not completely recorded)

[57] Thursday 14 April 2005: BBC radio 4 “Today Program”: 0810-Andrew Lansley and John Reid-hospital cleanliness (13:06.0)

IR: John Humphrys

IE0: Lesley Ashley, actress (background)

IE1: Andrew Lansley, Shadow Health Secretary

IE2: John Reid, Health Secretary

01 IR: Who would have thought a few years ago that clean
 02 hospitals would become an issue = a big issue, .h at a
 03 general election. It's not so very long ago↑ that we took it
 04 for granted that our hospitals are clean. Now we have not
 05 only bugs but (.) super bugs including .h the deadly MSA.
 06 Kills thousands of people a year. .h Today, a Clean
 07 Hospital's Summit will be held in London organized by the
 08 Patients' Association? .hh And attended by many of the
 09 great and the good in politics and the health service. .h I'll
 10 be talking to the politicians in a moment. .h But let's hear
 11 first, from someone. h who herself has been hit (.) by: a
 12 super bug, the actress (.) Lesley Ashley.

13 IE0: When I went into: eh the Chelsea Westminster Hospital
 14 with broken rib, .h and collapsed lung, .h and while I was
 15 there, I contracted M<SSA>. .h Eh obviously I've- I've
 16 never heard of MRSA or MSSA h.. Eh and they:- didn't
 17 know that I had it. >Eh it was only after I've been< .h ehm
 18 discharged and, (.) through the night, I- I lost the feeling
 19 of my legs h. ehm ehm got rushed into Charring Cross
 20 Hospital, .h where they took biopsy and (grew a) culture
 21 and then told me that I had a MSSA.
 22 (.)

23 IR: Which is one of the super bugs.

24 IE0: Which is one of the super bugs and luckily for me, .h if
 25 you could say luckil↑y. .h ehm that was: sensitive to
 26 anti-biotics, MRSA is: resistant.

27 IR: You'r- you're still in a bit of state. =

28 IE0: = Well the damage had already been done on my spine?
 29 Ehm (.) the pressure was twenty percent e- ehm (.) o- on
 30 my spine, .hh eh which meant th't basically I've had to:
 31 learn to walk again. =

32 IR: = .h Why did it happen to you. I mean was the hospital
 33 dirty? = [or-

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- 34 IE0: [hh Well I think- you know it's not- you can't
35 pinpoint one hospital >I think it's been ha:ppening:< (.) for
36 a whi:le. = In fact you know, .h there's been sci:entific
37 evidence of- of: eh hospital .hh e:hm bugs for- for over
38 twenty years. .h Ehm unfortunately it's just got wo:rse and
39 worse and worse >but now:: .h I mean I'm- I'm so pleased
40 th't this- this is- ehm (.) this subject of MRSA and MSSA i-
41 is ehm an election issue, be[cause-
- 42 IR: [And who do you blame.
- 43 IE0: Well, I mean it's just not completely Labor's fault because
44 unfortunately they inherited it, but'hm unfortunately (£)
45 they've d(h)one nothing about i(h) t. (£) .hh E::hm so the
46 cutbacks in the hospitals ar- really showing that: they are
47 getting filthier and filthier. .hh =
- 48 IR: = And your message behin- (b) talking to the two .hh e:h h.
49 th- the Health Secretary and its opposite at the moment, e:h
50 w- your message to them?
- 51 IE0: E:h well have to- (.) they have to put a matron back h↑ere,
52 a:nd: standards have to be brought up to what they were
53 befo:re. .h Eh these bugs into da- into our hospitals. >.h
54 E:hm it- they are so easy to catch now.
- 55 IR: Lesley Ash, many thanks and good luck.
- 56 IE0: Thank you:. =
- 57 IR: = Mcht .hh Well, as I say: we have Andrew Lansl↑ey, the
58 Shadow Health Secreta↑ry and John Reid, the Health
59 Secreta↑ry, on the line? Mr. Lansl↑ey, this isn't one where
60 you could blame the government is it, because it was you
61 that changed the system, .h when you were in power, a:nd
62 we're paying the price for it.
63 (.)
- 64 IE1: (e-) Yes, good morning. [.h E::hm] =
- 65 IR: [°(Good morning.)°]
- 66 IE1: = no: actually I think Lesley is absolutely ri:ght in what she
67 says, that of course e:h m- (metacillin) resistant e:h (stafly
68 coke) was abou:t, before nineteen ninety se↑ven. .h But as
69 you said in your introduction, .h ehm eight years ago:?, .h
70 was a much lesser problem: in hospitals than it is
71 toda[y]. The num-
- 72 IR: [Well I didn't actually say that (£) in my

73 introdu(h)ction? (£), but-, but nonetheless it existed a:nd
 74 you, and you changed the way: .hh eh hospital cleaning
 75 was- car↑ried out so therefore, you bea:red a very large
 76 part of the re[s]ponsibility.

77 IE1: [No, it doesn't. It's not that it isn't simply
 78 accurate. .h Ehm the point is and indeed if the government
 79 thought that was the ca:se, .h then a year ago↑ they
 80 wouldn't have written in the department of health's annual
 81 repo:rt, .h that in the:ir view, they will now: know hospitals
 82 with poor standards of cleanliness. .h Fact is they were
 83 utterly complacent the::n, and they've rema:ined
 84 complacent over eight yea:rs. .h A:nd unfortunately, the-
 85 the same is still true now:. .h Yesterday the government
 86 published their manifesto, and nowhere in it, .h eh was a
 87 commitment of two hundred and twent- seventy seven
 88 commitments, .h was anything:, directly related to
 89 infection control or hospital cleanliness. .h And the simple
 90 fact is, .h I can- I could give you an eno:rmous list of the
 91 thi::ngs that were recommended to be do:ne by the
 92 National Audit Office repo:rt, .h fi:ve years ago. >They<
 93 haven't been done. There's no national infection control
 94 manual, .h they havn't eh brought (bed crepancy) levels
 95 dow:n, to eighty two percent >in fact< they've go:ne up.
 96 They haven't sh- ensured the advice on hand wash↑ing, (.)
 97 eh across the NHS has been appli:ed consistently? .h They
 98 haven't invested an isolation fi- facility (in) less than a
 99 qua:rtter of thee .h hospitals across the country have the
 100 country have the

101 °i[solation facility that they should have.°]

102 IR: [Alright I- I take your point. You've got a] lot of eh a big
 103 list of things that they could have done but my point to
 104 you::, is that the ti:me and a lot of people belie:ve this the
 105 time to destroy:: .hh these super bugs was in the early
 106 nineties, w- only five percent of the bacteria: the::n were
 107 resistant to anti-biotics. .h And you didn't- the Tory
 108 government didn't even keep records about it. = What was
 109 going o:n. = And you were forcing hospitals to contract
 110 out, .h cleaning services. = That is the reality, isn't °it°. =

111 IE1: = Well there was a voluntary surveillance scheme at the

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- 112 time, otherwise how can [the country ()-]
- 113 IR: [Voluntary, yeah.]
- 114 IE1: Well, ye:s, ok:. A:nd, a:nd, as the problem got wo:↑rse, it
- 115 shifted to a mandatory surveillance scheme, that's
- 116 absolutely right. [.h The national (.) but- but fi(v)-]
- 117 IR: [And the government now does publish
- 118 statistics] so we know what is goin[g on.]
- 119 IE1: [huh] Well hang on a
- 120 min↑ute, .h they don't publish the statistics in the National
- 121 Audit Office the last four five years a↑go, which is more
- 122 comprehensive statistics, = they don't publish statistics .h
- 123 by individual:l clinica:l department. .h And as we: eh
- 124 lea:med at the weeke::nd, eh Great Omen Street as just one
- 125 example a:n- I don't br- eh say Great Omen Street ha:s any
- 126 wo:rth of problem (.) anywhere else less than many. .h Eh
- 127 but- they ha- they had repo:rted h. twenty three instances
- 128 of MRSA bloodstream infections? H. But they have
- 129 reco:rded in the hospit↑al, .h over three hundred and fifty
- 130 [instances of MRSA infection. .h And let me- =
- 131 IR: [Alright, (.) what:t (0.2) what would you do
- 132 IE1: = [sorry let me bring one point about [contra]ct cleaning =
- 133 IR: [m- [Go on.]
- 134 IE1: = because, .h frankly if you go around the country, .h there
- 135 are hospitals that have good cleaning, (.) and poor
- 136 cleaning. .h But there is absolutely no co-relation betwee:n
- 137 >whether it is contracted or in health. .h Half of the be-
- 138 hospitals with the lowest de-MRSA ra↑te, .h have
- 139 contract[ed out cleaning. .h Ha:lf of the hos]pitals =
- 140 IR: [Alright, first thing you would-]
- 141 IE1: = with the wo:rst have in health cleaning. = John Reid and
- 142 I, .h were both at the Queen Alexander Hospital in
- 143 Portsmouth? .h and there are p:roblems there and we
- 144 discussed them with the hospital both of us? .h But it isn't
- 145 about (.) contracted cleaning? 'cause
- 146 we[re having health (screening)]
- 147 IR: [Alright, (0.2) very:] very quick thought from
- 148 you then, >obviously you don't agree with Lesley
- 149 Ash(ley) 'cause she said bringing back matron< meaning
- 150 putting them in charge of the team. [() (Lesley Ash)

- 151 IE1: [I do: agree with it. =
 152 [()]
 153 IR: = [But the- (.) what is the su[-
 154 IE1: [I do- I do: agree with
 155 Lesl[ey Ash.] = And we published Michael Howard and =
 156 IR: [Alright.]
 157 IE1: = I published, .h just last week h., how we're gonna put
 158 matron in cha:↑rge and give (.) the matron the ability to
 159 have uniform's poli↑cy, the model clinic contract
 160 implemented which isn't in more than half of the
 161 hospit↑als, .h twenty-four-hour-a-day seven-day-a-week
 162 cleaning. And nu:rses themselves told the Nursing
 163 Ti:me, .h that they: don't ha:ve access to cleaning on the
 164 wards tw[enty four hours a day seven] days a week? .h =
 165 IR: [Ok? We- than(k)-]
 166 IE1: = And they don't have time to clea:n beds between
 167 patients. = F[o:r]ty =
 168 IR: [Righ(t)?]
 169 IE1: = percent of nurses, .h said they don't have ti:me (.) to
 170 clean bed between patients.
 171 = [Eight years of Labor government-]
 172 IR: = [Ok? Thank you: very much.]
 173 IE1: That's what you should ask John Re[id. Wh]y: is that true:.
 174 =
 175 IR: [I shu-]
 176 IR: = I'm: about to ask that very thing. Why is that the case,
 177 Mr. Reid?
 178 (0.2)
 179 IE2: Which of the many:: [h. () They can not make it =
 180 IR: [Well let's deal with the last ().
 181 (They don't) () [proper↑ly, you don't have a m[odel] =
 182 IE2: = right [() (0.2) [Yeah]
 183 IR: = () contract, no time- (.) to clean between patients, and
 184 so on.
 185 IE2: Lo- le- let me just make it a:bsolutely plain right from the
 186 start John. I do: not, and have never regarded this as a party
 187 political issue. This bug doesn't [()]
 188 IR: [Now it's become one.]
 189 IE2: .hh No I don't think it is. Now I think the summit tod↑ay

- 190 (.) eh has specifically gone over this way↑ = The Patients'
 191 Associaiton that is involved? h. in- in >(that)< saying
 192 Lesley Ash apply this, >that< this shouldn't be a party
 193 [() issue.
 194 IR: [>Wel- it's on the front page of the Tory party manifesto,
 195 [so it is de-}{facto, it is (.) [the (true) area] (.) eh- =
 196 IE2: [Wel- (.) {the- [there may be-
 197 ?: {ka (.) ka
 198 IR: = an issue.
 199 IE2: John there may be some people who want to make it a
 200 party political issue, but let me just te:ll you:, .h eh that I
 201 have made separately (.) untogether .h e:h off the reckon .h
 202 was both Andrew Lansley↑ the Conservative a:nd Paul
 203 Buster eh we- we- discussed this in- in an attempt .h to get
 204 what the patients actually want is to try: and get .hh ways
 205 of diminishing the growth of the super bug?, .h we have
 206 been try:ing (now) forty year we led the wo:rd? (.) .h
 207 Twenty years ago some of the Europeans killed this off
 208 when it was very: e:::h very new? ((NHS)) =
 209 IR: And you had () which is to do[: , which is why it's-] =
 210 IE2: = [.h °that's-°]
 211 IR: = a political issue, of course it's a politica[l issue. You've =
 212 IE2: [It is not-
 213 IR: = got dirty hospitals and the government that has been
 214 running those hospitals for the last eight y↑ears h. has
 215 qu↑estio↓ns to answer.
 216 IE2: John it's not a pa:rty political issue. That's the point
 217 [()
 218 IR: [Wel alright, I'll call it a political issue then, [right.
 219 IE2: [.h It is a
 220 political issue, what I've been trying to do:, .h and I hope
 221 to do after the summit is (.) today as we↑ll, is to listen to
 222 the experts and see, what is that we should have been
 223 doing: [that we haven't been doing. =
 224 IR: [°uh↓m°
 225 IR: = W[ell haven't you done that already.
 226 IE2: [.hh
 227 IE2: Wel- yes I have, and I've brought in last year, in the last
 228 fifteen months I've brought in twenty (.) three (.) different

- 229 initiatives. = Indeed the last party political attack that was
 230 made in M↑ay, .h by Andrew Lansley and his colleague
 231 was the (acquisition) and initiative a month. .h So, let me
 232 tell you some of the things we've do::ne? But then I will
 233 tell you why: we- have eh (got) up to the position where
 234 we want to lea:rn (.) more and more. [.h We (al)-
 235 IR: [B't why don't you also
 236 tell us why you didn't do [what the NAO, the National=
 237 ?: [che
 238 IR: = Audit Office said you should have done.
 239 IE2: Well we brought ba:ck (.) matron? .h which is the big
 240 demand four years ago. [°Isn't-°
 241 IR: [Without the power that she needs.
 242 [°Or he needs. °]
 243 IE2: [No that's not true.] That's not true:↑, because two years
 244 ago↑, in the Matrons' Charter, we gave the (perlor↑), .h we:
 245 eh I (owe load) the two-tier (.) a cheap (.) cleaning
 246 contr↑act so that:: we- we no longer substitute cheapness
 247 from cleanliness? .hh I- I: eh involved the front-li:ned
 248 nurses in drawing up the contr↑act so that they had specific
 249 (lines with) authority? .h The NHS i:s red↑uced, eh sorry
 250 has introduced eh a new hand-washing and hygiene regime
 251 th't perhaps, .h we should never h've eh allowed to
 252 dimin↑ish an- an:d in a (rolling) synaptic biotic? .h I put
 253 the chief nursing officer, .h in- in charge of this? I put more
 254 money: into res↑earch. .h Ehm I can go through a whole
 255 list of things but actually, what people want to know
 256 tod↑ay:, is if having brought a:ll these experts together, all
 257 of the NHS staff and patients, .h if there are
 258 recommendations that come out of th↑em, (where I act to)
 259 th↑em, >.h< and the answer is ye::s. Indeed my frustration
 260 has bee:n, .h that every time I hear of a new th↑ing, .h
 261 e::hm through the erupted, = we've set erupted assessment
 262 unit to look sp- sp- specifically and very quickly, .h eh any
 263 new ideas like steaming cleaning of beds and so on. .h My
 264 frustration is I want them to happen over[°night°.
 265 IR: [Ehm, but the
 266 problem is there is an endemic fau:lt in this syst↑em, if you
 267 ha::ve, as we do: ha:ve, a target-driven .hh NHS, .h the:n

- 268 the be:ds must be kept full a:ll the time. That is the
 269 absolute imperative. Every be↑d, .h is kept full a:ll the
 270 time, you are going to have this problem. = If you don't
 271 have proper isolation units, .h you are going to have this
 272 problem. .h That's the root of it, isn't it.
- 273 IE2: Well, if government targets, (.) was the cause of MISE, =
 274 IR: = >I didn't say it was the cause of it.< =
- 275 IE2: = Well if- if they were- the major cause of it Jo↑hn, and a
 276 major contributive fact↑or, .h then first of a::ll, i- we would
 277 not have had it spreading from four percent resistance, to
 278 thirty one percent resistance. And that (spread) can
 279 actually, .h in the five years before the Labor government
 280 commend. .h That is a matter of fact. The second thing
 281 is, .h that there would be a correlation-ship of some
 282 s↑ort, .h between the hospitals reaching their target by the
 283 big (supers) and so ↑on, .h eh and the ones with the highest
 284 MISA rates. There is no such correlation, = in fact in many
 285 ways it's the opposite correlation. .h And the third thing
 286 ↑is, .h the suggestion that the answer (.) to e::h reducing
 287 potential death or illness from MISA, .h might be not to
 288 reduce the waiting list, = when we know: that thousands of
 289 people di::ed, .h waiting on operations on a long waiting
 290 li↑st, .h suggests that you have to do (.) both together, you
 291 have to reduce the waiting li↑st, .h and at the same time
 292 you have to tackle MISA. .h Now, those who say: it's
 293 (with) government targets are the same as th(ose) (what)
 294 you say: (.) it's all about dirty hospitals. It isn't (.) just
 295 about dirty hospitals. .h S- in some of that clea:n hospitals,
 296 which give good clean ratings, .h there is still wide spread
 297 of MISA. >One of the reasons, let me give [you an =
 298 IR: [e- (.)
 299 IE2: = example [John, < .h [thousands of peo-] thousands of =
 300 IR: [yeah- [very quick one]
 301 IE2: = people visit our hospitals e:very day: and every
 302 hospital. .h All of them (.) are ca:rrying MISA:, .h [(and-)
 303 IR: [I
 304 (don't) () (that), but- (.) [there we are
 305 IE2: [An- and- and a:lways ha:ve
 306 done, but it wa:sn't a:lways resistant John. .h It was o:nly

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- 307 four percent resistant, and if you listen to the Netherland's
 308 expenses this morning, .h they tell us forty years ago
 309 Britain led the wo↑rld, .h twenty years when this started to
 310 become resist↑ant, we took British methods, and we (ham-)
 311 [.hh and when you do =
- 312 IR: [Alright, [fi-
- 313 IE2: = it, you can reduce it. And look at London, just i- (hard
 314 want there) is paying off now. .h There's been a drop of
 315 twenty percent in one y↑ear, .h [()ly]
- 316 IR: [Now: some people say
 317 that's because of the way you calculate the figures.
 318 [°(but- but- well- yeah)°
- 319 IE2: [No it's not. This is on a scientifically based assessme[nt, =
- 320 IR: [Alright,
- 321 IE2: = because we now take the blood omen (faction)s. It can be
 322 fudd↑led .h it is science to do this. .h It is scientist who do
 323 this..h We've get a six percent for the first time in fifteen
 324 years, I'm not claiming this is beat by any means John. .h
 325 But I want the summit today: everyone, irrespective of the
 326 politics, whether they are a provi↑der (.) or a patient, .h
 327 give us the ideas and I promise you like the twenty odd
 328 things that we've already do:ne, .h I will make sure these
 329 are done as well if they are effective, that is all I want, and
 330 that's to defeat this. .h It isn't the biggest problem in the
 331 NHS↑, but it is an important one, .h and instead of just-
 332 blaming on the staff or (inductive voice lose), .h let's get
 333 there and tackle every single one of the contributive factors
 334 and do what our European colleagues- did h.
 335 [twenty years ago. [°(That is to defeat th[is.])°
- 336 IR: [John- [Jo:hn, [John R↑eid, thank
 337 you very much:: =
- 338 IE2: = Thank you John.

[58] Thursday 10 March 2005: Irresponsible Behavior-2-1-1

IR: Jim Naughtie

IE0: Tony Blair, Prime Minister

IE1: David Davis, Conservative Home Affairs spokesman

IE2: Hazel Blears, Home Affairs Minister

01 IR: It's ten minutes past eight. The last battle of the Prevention
 02 of Terrorism Act Bill's about to begin? The government's
 03 concessions to the Opposition, .h and its own rebellious
 04 back benchers?, .h gave it::, slightly more comfortable
 05 majorities in the Commons last night? .h And it its now:
 06 challenging the Lords to back down. But, ministers' refusal
 07 to introduce a so-called Sunset Clause[↑] .h that would
 08 effectively turn the bill into a temporary act, .hh is still a
 09 sticking point for many Peers, as it is for the
 10 Conservatives. Last night in a BBC interview[↑], Prime
 11 Minister accused the:m irresponsible behavior.

12 IE0: For the Conservative Party, .h to take this position,
 13 watering this legislation when-, (.) I am advised, as they
 14 know perfectly well, .h that this legislation is necessary, (.)
 15 to protect our security, I think is irresponsible, and it is
 16 wrong, and they should stop it now. .h We- we- we- we-
 17 this is being to and fro, to the House of Lords and House of
 18 Commo[↑]ns. = The House of .h Commons is now, it's
 19 directly elected body, spoken very clearly the majority as
 20 large () .h in favor of this legislation, .h and, (.) we don't
 21 want it to water down.

22 IR: Mcht Prime Minister, speaking, last night. Well I asked the
 23 Conservative Home Affairs spokesman David Davis hh., if
 24 he thought, that in the e:nd, .h there would be, an act, on
 25 the statute book.
 26 (.)

27 IE1: I simply don't know, what e:h what, is the case, at the
 28 moment. = Is the government, .hh itself frankly, has
 29 pois(on)ed in a position by: .h e:h its: later- later arrive(al)
 30 of this problem. = It should h've fixed this problem, .h
 31 fifteen months ago when .h Lord Newton, .h commented
 32 on the old act and said, it's inadequate, it's failing, .h it
 33 nee:ds some replacements and put up some proposals. (.) It
 34 failed to do that, a::nd, >it suddenly finds the job in a rush.

- 35 And we had all the same rush with the Parliament.< .h
 36 Now, (.) I don't really (know) wh(a)t Prime Minister want
 37 to do. Eh as: e:h Michael Howard has suggest↑ed h., some
 38 of us are fearing that he is deliberately playing this way for
 39 political reasons, = >But<, .h (.) if he is serious, then he
 40 should, he he's he should look at this, .h constructively and
 41 see what outcome, he can have. We- bear in mind, (.)
 42 we've already offered hi:m h., eh th- this is the thi:rd of the
 43 offers. = The first offer was h., we agreed to: suppo:rt an
 44 extension of the current law. .h We were told that wouldn't
 45 wo↑:rk, so we said 'okay we will give you some primary
 46 legislation on top of that'. That was turned down too. .hh
 47 And so we came up with thee Sunset Clau↑se. And w- if
 48 you remember last week when I announced it, .h it was eh
 49 called: a climb down. And then suddenly they changed
 50 their mind. .h Now what we are trying to do: is to, give the
 51 government, some cover for the next, seven eight nine
 52 mo↑nths, nine months it turns ou↑t. .h E:h but (et) the same
 53 time, deal with something very fundamental at the heart of
 54 this. = >There's lots of talk about the end of, .h
 55 presumption of innocence and the end of (physical
 56 corpus).< = .h What it's really about, is actually stopping,
 57 miscarriages of justice.
- 58 IR: You say you wanted (.) give the government some cover
 59 for seven eight or nine month. I thought you were
 60 supposed to be:, .h the Home Secretary or the senior figure
 61 in government after- probably May the fifth. =
- 62 IE1: = Yeah. Ok well tha- that would be us. And: (0.2) mcht
 63 under those circumstances, .h we will completely rewrite
 64 this bill. .h You see we think there are much better ways
 65 [of-
- 66 IR: [I was going to ask you[:] if =
- 67 IE1: [Yeh]
- 68 IR: = you would repeal it if you got into power
 69 [, ('cause that's an) important question.]
- 70 IE1: [Well i- i- if- (.) I th- I'm-] =
- 71 IE1: = I'm expecting frankly a Sunset Clause to be honest, and
 72 it will automatically repea:l↑ h., e:h in November, but in-
 73 the mean ti l↑ me, we are putting into- into place a who:le

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- 74 series of things, = the right to use (it) (second)
 75 communication, .h a new way of handling sensitive h. e:h
 76 intelligence, the n- the new repor- proposal the government
 77 igno:red. .h Eh new cha:rges, like eh (Acts for)
 78 (parentage) terrorism, .h like associating [with terrorist =
 79 IR: [.h
 80 IE1: = >organizations<. .h A:ll these things allow you actually
 81 to put in prison, (0.2) the people who a[re:] =
 82 IR: [.h Right,]
 83 IE1: = actually trying to commit terrorist act. No- no- not tag
 84 them, .h not put them in their own ho↑mes, but put them in
 85 prison.
 86 IR: So, if you win the May elect[ion], one way or another =
 87 IE1: [Ehm]
 88 IR: = this this legislation goes. =
 89 IE1: = Oh yeah, and we'll (.) but we'll replace it with something
 90 better, something which will be mo:re effective, .h eh
 91 against- against terrorism. = But- but- most importantly,
 92 avoid miscarriages of justice. Remember, terrorists are
 93 very often, trying to provoke, an excessive reaction from
 94 the state. = >The reason they are trying to do that<, .h is to
 95 get mo:re recruits themselves. We think, in the long run,
 96 that's what this bill will do. .h In the [short] run =
 97 IR: [°Ri↑ght, °]
 98 IE1: = we're trying to make it wo::rk, eh ah but: but (actually
 99 said) the government, >you've got to come up with
 100 something better<.
 101 IR: <Are you against these control orders in principle>,
 102 [because] i- I =
 103 IE1: [.h]
 104 IR: = mean this is a fundamental question. =
 105 IE1: = >Ehm.< =
 106 IR: = .h Sometimes it seems that if you are arguing about the
 107 way of opera↑[tion and], there's been a >big debate< =
 108 IE1: [koh]
 109 IR: = about that.=
 110 IE1: = >Yeah.< =
 111 IR: = But a:re you against them i[n principle] as an =
 112 IE1: [.h Loo(k)-,]

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- 113 IR: = indefensible assault in civil liberties or whatever phrase
 114 [you choose °(to use) °.
- 115 IE1: [Ther- ther- there are two:: principles in play here. Control
 116 orders aren't principle, they are ta[ctic.] There are two:: =
- 117 IR: [hhh.]
- 118 IE1: = (.) principles in play. One is the presumption of
 119 innocence, the:: right to (Havey's Corpus). = These are- (.)
 120 lo:ng-standing, under several hundred year old (.) .h British
 121 principles of justice, .h which, and the reason they exist, is
 122 to avoid miscarriages of justice, aroi- avoid the wro::ng
 123 person, .h having >a control order. Remember,< .h these
 124 control order are not minor things. They can destroy your
 125 life. They can destroy your jo↑b, they can destroy your
 126 relationship with family and fri↑ends, .h eh because if you
 127 are isola↑ted you can't contact them, .h in- in the real
 128 harm. = So on the one hand you've got (to) preventing
 129 miscarriages of justice, .hh on the other hand you've got to
 130 dealing with terrorism. [.h Now] and- and we think =
- 131 IR: [Of course.]
- 132 IE1: = that thee control orders are actually rather ba:d
 133 compromises (in outsta↑nd), and what we are trying to do:
 134 in the last few days, .h a whole series [of amendments] =
- 135 IR: [h h.]
- 136 IE1: = which are quite technical. = .h They are not, were
 137 described in your- on your program, (this point of) (ripping
 138 the guts out of) the bill. .h They are actually trying to make
 139 the bill [workable at least for a time.
- 140 IR: [.h
- 141 IR: But there's a: eh an important point here, [.h] do =
- 142 IE1: [>Ehm<]
- 143 IR: = you regard anything (.) which overrides that principle of
 144 (Havey Corpus) which you've (.) just described, as
 145 unacceptable. [(.) Or do you th]ink, that because of- =
- 146 IE1: [h h h.]
- 147 IR: = [the other principle↑, they] =
- 148 IE1: [° h h h. °]
- 149 IR: = need to protect the country against terrori[sm], it =
- 150 IE1: [°h. °]
- 151 IR: = ca:n be justified in this day and age. Which is it. There

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- 152 has to be a choice. =
- 153 IE1: = >Now okay okay (one-)< (who) the choice is never as
154 clear as that. = It can be justified, .h and indeed for
155 example during the Second World War↑, .h eh Havey's
156 Corpus was overruled i- fo- for internment. [.h
- 157 IR: [Exactly.
- 158 >Bu[t this is the point.<] =
- 159 IE1: [But- but- but-] = Wait a minute, but there was a
160 limit to it. In nineteen forty five it stopped. .h We expect
161 this (.) people expect th- thee agen- the agency tells me th-
162 they expect this war against terrorism (>to go on<) two
163 generations, there's no end to this so, .h we've got to get it
164 right. >This isn't a question of just sort of< .h >rub a stamp
165 every year<. >We've got to get it< right, right from the
166 beginning. .h Now, under some circumstances (as) you
167 have to do that, .h but it's the la:st thing you do, not the
168 fi:rst thing you do, in a one day rush through Parliament,
169 three or four day rush through the House of Lords.
- 170 IR: If this is a: a wa↑r (.) that's going to go on for two
171 generation[s,] .h do you belie:ve that it is (.) =
- 172 IE1: [>°Ehm°<]
- 173 IR: = of sufficient seriousness, to justify, legislation, of some
174 sort, which would, effectively suspend Havey's Corpus.
- 175 IE1: = It could [do.
- 176 IR: [Or not.
- 177 IE1: It could do. We actually, w- th- th- the irony is this, we
178 do:n't know:, mcht, how many people, would be: covered
179 by: this law. = Th- the the Prime Minister at the other
180 day:↑, said several hundred people. (.) And the Home
181 Secretary said ten or twenty. We don't actually ha:ve either
182 the piece of data we need to have, .h for Parliament.
- 183 [Both (has upon to) make that decision is one =
- 184 IR: [.h
- 185 IE1: = aspect, but only one aspect .h of the desperate rush, that
186 I'm afraid the government itself has created. .h This is a
187 political emergency first, .h and (only) a terrorist () the
188 second.
- 189 IR: .hh David Davis, the Conservative spokesman o:n Home
190 Affairs, we're joined now by the Home Office minister

- 191 Hazel Blares, good mor[ning].
- 192 IE2: [Good morning.
- 193 IR: .hh Would you be prepared to see this bill (.) fa:ll (0.2) and
194 without to the fall-back position. Mcht .h r- rather (.) than
195 conce:de, a Sunset Clause.
- 196 IE2: I think that we've made some dramatic movements in the
197 last week or so↑, .h eh around judicial involvement? Eh
198 we've offered annual renewal, of this legislation, as well as
199 independent review↑, as well as a three months review
200 back to Parliament h. An- and we offered to: consult with
201 the police about h. continu[ing to look at =
- 202 IR: [.h
- 203 IE2: = prosecution. And I think what we've got now, .h eh is
204 some measured law, a good legal framework, .h to deal
205 with what we've always said .h, eh a small number of
206 people that we ca:n't prosecute through the traditional
207 criminal justice system. .h And I have to make the point, .h
208 that these are preventative o[r]ders. What we're] =
- 209 IR: [° Mcht .hh°]
- 210 IE2: = trying to do, is prevent something [happen]ing in the =
- 211 IR: [.h]
- 212 IE2: = future.
- 213 IR: = E[hm.
- 214 IE2: [And we have to have .h a legal framework that does
215 protect h. eh th- th- the people in this country. =
- 216 IR: = Can I repeat the question, eh would you be prepared to
217 see the bill fall, rather than concede (to) a Sunset Clause.
- 218 IE2: .hh I think that what we've got to do today:, that is say to
219 the House of Lords, look we've offered the annual renewal
220 here, [.h eh and we've got all the safe guards here.] The =
- 221 IR: [.hhh hhh.]
- 222 IE2: = Sunset Clause says that the Sunset Clause should expire
223 in November. .h Frank Dobson made some very practical
224 points in the House yesterday, [.h] that by the ti:me =
- 225 IR: [.h]
- 226 IE2: = possibly we have an election, .h we then have a summer
227 recess, we'd only have weeks [to look at legislation. =
- 228 IR: [Haha h.
- 229 IR: = Well hang on a minute. "We'd only have weeks to look

- 230 at legislation” remind us how- eh quickly you’ve tried to
 231 rush this through. .h I mean the la:st person, .h to say:,
 232 that eh the timetable between now and November is too
 233 short to produce measured legislation is surely a minister
 234 who was trying to do this in the time scale that is even
 235 opposed in Parliament.
- 236 IE2: .h It’s- it’s not a- a time scale tha- that we would have
 237 wanted. What we’ve got here [h., is that- (.) we’ve-
- 238 IR: [Well it’s the one: you’ve got
 239 by your own efforts.
- 240 IE2: No we have a time scale because we had the House of
 241 Lords’ decision from the sixteenth of
 242 December, .h we have to respond to that↑,
- 243 IR: [.h Becau:se as David Davis pointed out, you didn’-
 244 act- on the Lord- Newton Committee .h
 245 recommendations, .h which predicted precisely what was
 246 going to happen, .h and gave you the opportunity as a
 247 government, .h to correct the legislation, to avoid, .h in
 248 precisely this kind of mess whether it’s political or
 249 consitution↑, cono- consitutional h. You didn’t take that
 250 eh advice. You ended up with a Law Lords’ judgment
 251 which many people saw: coming. .h And then you say oh
 252 dear we’ve got a legislate in a hurry. Isn’t that
 253 incompetence. =
- 254 IE2: = No we waited properly, for the outcome of our legal
 255 system in this country >and< don’t forget, the Court of
 256 Appeal unanimously upheld the power for provisions, and
 257 it was only when it came to the House of Lords that they
 258 decided they were incompati[ble. .h Now because we’ve =
- 259 IR: [.hhhh
- 260 IE2: = responded properly, [to the decisions of the]
- 261 IR: [h h h.]
- 262 IE2: = Courts in this country, eh which is a bit of irony
 263 considering some of the discussion that’s gone on in the
 264 last few weeks? We waited for the legal system to take its
 265 course, we had since the sixteenth of December, .h
 266 we’ve come up with what I think is a good legal
 267 framework, of control orders, trying to preve:nt acts of
 268 terrorism, that could damage this country enormously. And

- 269 let's just say now, we've got the decision of the elected
 270 House. Now say to the House of Lords, >that< think how
 271 fa:r we've moved, an- and let's have this legislation on the
 272 statute book, .h so that we can protect people in
 273 th[is country.
- 274 IR: [.h Ehm, (.) eh can we just- eh clea:r one thing up before
 275 we move on. Absolutely no: Sunset Clause, is that the
 276 government policy.
- 277 IE2: .hh Well, we feel that we really ha:ve moved enormously h.
 278 eh in terms of the annual renewal of this legislation, .h and
 279 independent eh re- eh review of it↑, every twelve
 280 month? .h If there is a deroga↑tion, you have to review the
 281 deroga↑tion every twelve month↑, .h eh and a three
 282 monthly report to Parliament. Goodness me, .h you know
 283 we are putting in pl[ace,] a who:le ra:nge of checks and =
- 284 IR: [.h] [Wel-
- 285 IE2: = balance here.
- 286 IR: Mch h. (0.2) no Sunset Clause? Yes or no.
- 287 IE2: Well we want the House of Lo:rds to: consider carefully
 288 today how far we've moved h., ehm an- an- an- to be
 289 [sensible on this issue. =
- 290 IR: [Well-
- 291 IE2: = Give us [the bill, get it on the statute book, and then =
- 292 IR: [a-
- 293 IE2: = let's take it fo[rward.
- 294 IR: [I have to say, I mean I don't want to get
 295 into business of repeating a question again and again, but it
 296 must be fairly obvious everyone's listening, .h everyone
 297 who was listening, .h that you've got the Sunset Clause up
 298 your slee:ve, and if you've got to, you'll put it on the table
 299
- 300 IE2: .h No l- l- I think today: that the House of Lords, .h should
 301 recognize that the elected chamber by a significant
 302 majority, [.h has voted for the legislation as it stands now.]
- 303 IR: [.h Hang on, you've made that point, yeah,]
 304 But you see-, loo- look at wha:t you were saying yourself
 305 in the wind-up speech, e:h eh last night in the
 306 Commons, .hh you said that this bill was necessary to se:nd
 307 a message to the terrorists. [The Pri]me Minister, hang =

- 308 IE2: [h]
- 309 IR: = on, the Prime Minister talked about a clear signal. .hh We
 310 are talking here about people (.) who are said by the Prime
 311 Minister and by the security agencies .hh to be highly
 312 trained, determined people, fanatics perhaps, .h terrorists
 313 who are determined to attack this country. .hh Are you
 314 really say:ing, that this kind of legislation is all about,
 315 sending a message to them, so that they will behave
 316 differently, sending a signal. Surely it's about the way:s in
 317 which (.) a democratic country .h can imprison people and
 318 punish them if they are doing wrong. .h Talk about sending
 319 a signal to people↑, what signals are they going to
 320 recognize.
- 321 IE2: Mcht this legislation is about having some practical
 322 measures, in which we can control people who we know
 323 pose a serious and significant h. threat [to this country.
- 324 IR: [So it's not about
 325 sending a message to terrorist.
- 326 IE2: But it is also about saying that we are clear about what we
 327 want to do:? We want to try make the UK the most hostile
 328 environment we ca:n, .h for terrorist opera(tion). = We've
 329 been successful in doing that so far, .h eh that's one of the
 330 reasons why we haven't seen the kind of atrocity .h eh
 331 that's been out there,
 332 be[cause we have been, very determined, very clear], =
- 333 IR: [.hhh hhhh.]
- 334 IE2: = about the measures [that we'll take, not just in terms of =
- 335 IR: [.h
- 336 IE2: = the control orders, but attacking terrorist [financing, eh =
- 337 IR: [.hh
- 338 IE2: = th- all the infrastructure that underpins them. I think
 339 we've just got to be very clear, [that these control orders =
- 340 IR: [w-
- 341 IE2: = are what we need to prevent the kind of thing happening.
 342 =
- 343 IR: = Mch hh. (.) eh:m (0.2) you say that the changes e:hm
 344 introduced over the last few days, in response to (.)
 345 criticism, .h ehm have improved this legislation. Do you
 346 think it's a better bill, .h as a result of the changes that have

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- 347 been forced on you.
- 348 IE2: .h Well I think certainly the issues around consulting the
 349 police about ongoing eh prosecution are important, .h
 350 because we've always said that prosecution is our
 351 preferred method, .h an- and we have prosecuted people
 352 for [terrorism.
- 353 IR: [What about the involvement of the judges. D- I mean
 354 does the government now accept .h that it's better to have
 355 that in the bill than- than not as was once the case?
- 356 IE2: .h Eh what I think we- we set at the outset that we've
 357 thought these matters were properly h. eh a decision for the
 358 executive because they: eh entailed review of intelligence,
 359 not just evidence. .h And again I don't think that points
 360 come over clearly enough, .h that this is about an
 361 assessment of a ri:sk, because they are preventative
 362 orders. .h But we did recognize, ffirstly for the derogated =
- 363 IR: [.hh hh.
- 364 IE2: = orders, eh th- the sanctions could be quite (.) dramatic,
 365 and therefore, eh judges ought to make the deci[sion?] =
- 366 IR: [.hh]
- 367 IE2: = And for the other orders we think there en there should
 368 be judicial involvement. .h That would reassure people that
 369 we are not acting as an arbitrary ex[ecutive] here.
- 370 IR: [Righ(t).]
- 371 IR: .h (.) Finally, what many of your critics want is an
 372 indication that you are not acting in an arbitrary way↑,
 373 want to give yourself time to produce more considered
 374 legislation, .hh is a date (.) on which (.) this legislation (.)
 375 would lapse. Is that, absolutely, ruled out, by: the Home
 376 Office, and the Prime Minister.
- 377 IE2: .h W- what we've said is we want to bring forward
 378 legislation eh about possibly offenses preparatory
 379 terro[rism, .h and-]
- 380 IR: [So the answer is no.]
- 381 IE2: And to look at that, ehm and you know we're really gonna
 382 try today, to get our legisla[tion] on the statute book. =
- 383 IR: [Yeah]
- 384 IE2: = [That's what I want to see happe[n.
- 385 IR: [But you ha- [But you haven't ruled

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- 386 out a Sunset Clause, have you.
387 IE2: °.h° Well, we think we've done enough? E:hm we want the
388 Lords to recognize that we've done enou↑gh to move in
389 that direction? h. [Eh but we are absolutely determined to =
390 IR: [.hh
391 IE2: = get our legislation, that can contro:l .h the possibility of-
392 of- the kind of atrocities that people undoubtedly h. eh
393 (are) planning, an- trying control that and prevent it
394 happen.
395 IR: Hazel Bares, thank you.

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[59] Thursday 17 March 2005: school policy-2

IR: Sarah Montague

IE: Stephen Twig, the School Minister

(background introduction and speeches omitted)

01 IR: Tim Collins. Well I asked the school's minister Stephen
02 Twig whether it wasn't too early to tell whether so: much
03 money, = five billion pounds, .h should be invested in city
04 academies.

05 IE: While I was visiting an academy earlier this week, the
06 academy at Peckham, which replaced the Warwick (part)
07 school, .hh and one of the pupils said to me .h tha:t we
08 should have opened the academy years ago. .h He felt he
09 had been let down by us not opening the academy
10 sooner. .h I don't think we can lea:ve .h failing school:ls
11 continue to fail, .h some of the most deprived
12 communicates in this country. Academies are about meet
13 real educational need, .h in some of those most deprived
14 communities.

15 IR: So why is it, that so many of them are at the bottom of the
16 league tables.

17 IE: It's not at all surprising that in the test results for fourteen
18 year-olds academies are towards the bottom. .h Most of
19 these academies have only been open for one year or
20 two: .h For the three year period that's been tested, .h most
21 of the children weren't in an academy. We would expect
22 them to be: having very challenging results at this sta:ge.
23 What we want to ensure, is the highest quality of teaching
24 and learning, in all these academies. .h And every
25 indication that I've had from the visits I've made, .h but
26 also from (off-stead's) initial reports into h. the academies
27 that have been open for two yea↑rs, .h is that we're getting
28 some really high quality, head-teachers and teachers, into
29 these academi[es].

30 IR: [>But hold on a second.< You've got ni:ne
31 out of the eleven: city academies that were included in
32 these tests came at the bottom two hundred school:ls. .hh
33 Now, .h you can argue look it's- that it's too early to tell
34 whether there has been an improvement. = But if that's the
35 case then it's too early to tell whether you should be

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- 36 investing five billion pounds.
- 37 IE: There are two tribes of academy. There are those that are
38 brand new schools and clearly none of them were in these
39 test results. .h There are those that replace existing
40 schools, .h that by: their nature, .h are struggling or failing
41 schools that have languished at the bottom, .h of the league
42 tables for years. = And that's the case with all the
43 schools, .h that have been referred to in the: .h results that
44 are published today:. .h What I think is we can't simply
45 leave .h communities being failed .h by their local
46 education service. .h One of the best indicators, .h is the
47 number of parents who are choosing to send their children,
48 to these academy schools, and the numbers are very very
49 impressive indeed.
- 50 IR: As the Education Select Committee say::s, you've got a
51 plan to put five billion pounds in which is an awful lot of
52 money because these are expensive schools, to expand this
53 pro- program to two hundred schools. Why not go (.) p- to
54 perhaps thirty or fifty: schools (.) while you're assessing
55 whether they are working.
- 56 IE: What we want to do is to learn from the evidence how
57 these schools operate in practice and that is why we have .h
58 a piece of research in place. We will have the evidence
59 from that research, .h as the program expands. And if there
60 are lessons that we can
61 learn along the way, .h then of course-]
- 62 IR: [Have °you-° are you saying you've got the evidence
63 now.]
64 (0.2)
- 65 IE: The evidence we have now: is of schools that are failing
66 their communities and of communities that are .h being
67 failed by the education service.
68 [That is why: (.) we've gone to this radical new approach.]
- 69 IR: [Yes, but do you have the evidence that these schools (.)]
70 °>Eh but-<° Do you have the evidence that these schools
71 are making a difference. =>I'm I'm talking about< un- do
72 you have some unpublished evidence that we have not
73 seen that proves that these schools work.
- 74 IE: We do have evidence from GCSE results which overall .h

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- 75 for the academies have improved above the national
76 average. I don't want to read too much into that because .h
77 we are starting from the very low base with these
78 schools, .h but there are some evidence that there are
79 already improvement. .h I am convinced that the resource
80 that we are putting in, .h is a very worthwhile resource .h
81 to get better education, for some of the most deprived
82 communities in our country.
- 83 IR: Your policy across the whole of secondary schools reli:es
84 on, the workforce agreement that you had agreed with
85 unions. °(The)° National Association of Head-teachers
86 has now pulled out of that. What are you going to do about
87 it.
- 88 IE: w- Can I say first of all that I very much regret the decision
89 that has been taken by the National Association of
90 Head-teachers yesterday, .h at their special conference. But
91 I need to make very very clear, .h that this does not affect
92 what is a statutory entitlement, for teachers, to have
93 planning preparation and assessment time from this
94 September h. That will go ahead. And we will carry on, .h
95 with all of the other unions that remain:ned signed up to
96 this agreement, with local government, = because it's so:
97 important, for children's education, .h that this agreement
98 moves forward.
- 99 IR: (Of) they say they just don't have the money to do it.
- 100 IE: We've put a great dea:l of effort into ensuring that the
101 money is there. So for example, .h in the financial
102 settlement for the coming year, .h primary school .h are
103 getting more money than secondary schools because we
104 recognized, .h to carry out the agreement, primaries would
105 need that extra money. [.h And I think the majority-
- 106 IR: [So are you saying that they are
107 wrong, that they do have the money and can do this.
- 108 IE: I recognize that there are issues in some parts of the
109 country, but all of the evidence that I've seen, is that the
110 majority of schools, are quietly getting on with the task,
111 of remodeling their workforce, .h so that teachers can have
112 that ten percent .h planning preparation and assessment
113 time, .h and children can benefit, from that. =

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- 114 IR: = What does remodeling their workforce mean because h.,
115 eh David Hart had said heads are simply not prepared to
116 make staff redundant .h in order to give .h teachers this
117 preparation time. .h Is that what you mean by remodeling.
118 IE: Mcht no not at all. = What we mean by remodeling is
119 bringing in new specialists into school so for example, .h
120 what some schools are doing, is providing the ten percent
121 time for the broad teaching workforce, .h by bringing in
122 sports specialist to- improve the quality of physical
123 education in school sport. .h For years we have been
124 told, .h that teachers are overburdened and overworked
125 with too much paperwork and bureaucracy. .h What this
126 agreement does, is to give teachers that guarantee:, .h of
127 ten percent time, for planning for preparation and
128 assessment. [.h Children will benefit from that.
129 IR: [°eh-°
130 IR: Stephen Twig, thank you.
131 IE: Thank you very much Sarah.

[60] Monday 14 Mar 2005-Graham Allen

IR: Jim Naughtie

IE: Graham Allen, Labor MP in Nottinghamshire

01 IR: It's now thirteen minutes past seven. What's going on in
 02 Nottinghamshire. = The Chief Constable says he hasn't
 03 enough officers to cope with-, murder investigations and
 04 violent crime? .hhh Yet we know that police funding's at
 05 record level of the- (.) coming financial year? = It's gonna go
 06 to twelve billion .h pou:nds. .h So what's the problem. Is it
 07 paperwork and bureaucracy↑ as it's sometimes claimed? Is it
 08 the way forces are using the money in deploying their
 09 officers. .h The comments of the Chief Constable, Steven
 10 Gree↑n, have certainly irritated Graham Allen who's Labor
 11 MP from Nottingham North? .h who's speaking to a Home
 12 Office minister Hazel Blears today and joins us now. .h Mr.
 13 Allen, good morni[ng.

14 IE [Morning Ji[m.

15 IR: [h Ehm, presumabl:: eh y-
 16 you: believe that the Chief Constable is just telling it as he
 17 sees it.

18 IE Mcht well, there's a lot of people in Nottingham will fighting
 19 back against the serious crime that undoubtedly exist in our
 20 city but, talking down Nottingham, demoralizing your own
 21 workforce and this constant (.) excuse finding .h really (.)
 22 has got no place in that fight back. We need: inspirational
 23 leadership and motivation, to actually take on these bad
 24 guys, .h rather than this constantly running to the national
 25 newspapers, complaining about how bad things [are. °We°] =

26 IR: [hWell-]

27 IE = need to get in there be positive.[h (In a-) If Ste]ve =

28 IR: [It may well be that-]

29 IE: = Green has got some problems about .h bureaucracy or
 30 anything else, .h he can as he know:s, .h use me↑ or anybody
 31 e↑lse or get in front of Home Ocer- Office offici↑als, .h or
 32 ministe↑rs, .h and we will do our level best. .h But just to- .h
 33 see these things appea:r .h in a Sunday newspaper, .h makes
 34 it look as though, .h eh that's where the action is rather (than)
 35 on the grou:nd, where our communities are fighting so
 36 ha:r[d,] against some of the =

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- 37 IR: [°e-°]
 38 IE = worst villains in the UK. =
 39 IR: = Well it may be:, I can't speak for him, but may well be
 40 that, he thinks th[at, .h eh*m* i-] it's time to express his =
 41 IE: = [hhhh.]
 42 IR: = frustration: with- you know the government say "well there
 43 are more policing- numbers, there's more money", .h (s) all
 44 the rest of it. .h When in fa:ct, he is struggling against the
 45 system where the Home Office ta:rget mea:ns that more
 46 police have to spend their time .hh [eh] doing =
 47 IE: [Ehm.]
 48 IR = bureauc[ratic jobs of various so†rts, some no doubt are =
 49 IE: [.hh
 50 IR: = important, but some, [.hh that he maybe rega:rd's =
 51 IE: [e-
 52 IR: = [a:]s pointle†ss,
 53 IE: [Yeah.]
 54 IR = and instead of having people at the scene of a crime.
 55 IE: Indeed, and if eh there a:re problems in the way:, I w- w- I
 56 can assure you Jim that we're all working as a community, as
 57 a council, eh as members of parliament to try to eradicate a:ll
 58 those problems. .h But we don't- it doesn't help us, any of
 59 us. .h to see those things going straight into the newspapers
 60 rather than- .h If you want to (.) solve the problem about
 61 extra bureaucracy†, .h then make sure you get your message
 62 in front of [ministers], make sure you put your MPs to =
 63 IR [hh.]
 64 IE: = work >as< we all willingly do. =
 65 IR = Well, [hh.
 66 IE: [But this constant running, (.) .h to: e:h
 67 [newspapers,]
 68 IR [You say constant.] =
 69 IE: = Well >I think it's a:t< .h in the Daily Mail before there is a
 70 sort of = I wish thee .h policing strategy was effective as
 71 Steven Green's own (.) personal media strategy. [.h
 72 IR: [Do you
 73 think it's got to do with the election. =
 74 IE: = I think s- eh some of this- eh that's the question mark
 75 really which I'll be raising to Hazel Blears. = Is this

- 76 appropriate for someone in: .h the chief constable's position
 77 h., e:h (.) possibly weeks before an election, (.) to be:
 78 featured on the f[ront page of: the lea]ding =
 79 IR: [hhh]
 80 IE: = Conservative newspaper h., making highly political points,
 81 which he hasn't made to me. I have spoken to Steven
 82 Green, .h a dozen times in the last three or four w↑eeks. .h
 83 He's never mentioned the problems th'(t) he now says that
 84 (are) so important that they need to go on to the front page of
 85 Sunday Telegraph. =
 86 IR: = .hh Eh- well, on the other hand, i- i- if you want attention
 87 draw:n to this, he's gone the right way about it, because, we
 88 are discussing it now? [Then people will discuss it quite =
 89 IE: [No thee thee-
 90 IR: = properly.
 91 IE: = These things are too serious Jim. This isn't about filling
 92 newspaper space o:r the air time on the Today Program. =
 93 These are- things that affect my: constituents' lives every
 94 single day of their lives. = Many live in fear↑, .h because of
 95 thee eh way that the drug barons are lording it in certain
 96 places of Nottingham. .hh And we are now fighting back. We
 97 have a tremendous community effort. .h And, b- above all,
 98 led by the officers on the ground, the supe:rb officers, .h in
 99 the Nottinghamshire constabulary. .h And they see the guy:,
 100 who is meant to be leading this h., eh behaving like the man
 101 on the terrace, rather than the manager of the team.
 102 IR: .hh Well, we'll be discussing this further after eight o'clock,
 103 Graham Allen, thanks very much.

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[61] Thursday 28 April 2005: Britain in Europe

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Simon Butby, who runs the Britain in Europe campaign

IE2: Oliver Letwin, Shadow Chancellor

01 IR: It is not very likely that Britain will join the Euro. Well
02 now there is a surprise. What is surprising perhaps is (that)
03 the man who's finally said so is Tony Blair, the man who
04 has fought for it for so long. .h Some say he regarded it as
05 one of the cornerstone to his time in office, = and when he
06 leaves office, the man is likely to move into Number ten
07 assuming there will be election of course (.) is Gordon
08 Brown. And he, of course, is the man who has put so many
09 obstacles in the way of joining. So, .hh that's that then, all
10 over for Britain and the Euro. I'll be talking, to the Shadow
11 Chancellor Oliver Letwin in a moment? First Simon Butby
12 who runs the Britain in Europe campaign, bit of blow for
13 you Simon Butby or did you expect this.

14 (0.2)

15 IE1: Well it's always disappointing to hear bad news tha(h)t(hh)
16 Britain is further than ever away from the heart of Europe.
17 But as you just said, it can hardly be surprising. .h Britain's
18 chances of joining the Euro in the foreseeable future have
19 long been dead, .h and I can totally understand why Labor
20 are just trying to remove any ambiguity to nail down, .h a
21 potentially weak flank in advance of next week's general
22 election[n].

23 IR: [And why has it long been dead, do you think?

24 IE1: Mcht, well I think that-eh some years ago the governme:nt:
25 didn't want to confront some of the hostility in thee (.)
26 certain sections of the ne↑spape↑rs. [.h (And once they-)

27 IR: [So was it cowardice
28 then.

29 IE1: Mcht, well I think that perhaps was a lack of bravery as a
30 more charitable way of putting it. But what I would say, .h
31 is if back in nineteen ninety six- seven, when Labor were
32 going for that general election, if they'd said that they were
33 effectively ruling out the prospects of joining the Euro for
34 three Parliaments which is now, .h more or less where we
35 will be, .h there would have been a terrible outcry. But the

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- 36 fact that thee ehm Prime Minister has said what he said
 37 yesterday and there's more of a- .h a- a whimper than a
 38 ba:ng shows how fa:r the argument has been lost. = And it
 39 asks questions as to whether there will be .h a referendum
 40 on the European constitution = if as I hope, .h the
 41 government is re-elected.
- 42 IR: Now, doesn't it suggest too that th'- is never going to
 43 happen. I mean can you see any circumstances in which it
 44 might happen. = Clearly not if we get a Conservative
 45 government, .hh eh unde:r eh Gordon Brown government?
- 46 IE1: Mcht well it's certainly in Britain's lo:ng te:rm strategic
 47 interests to be: eh close to ou:r leading tradin[g (())
- 48 IR: [Ah but I'm
 49 saying can you see the circumstances.
- 50 IE1: .h Well the a- u- this argument swings about- and it has
 51 done for generations, in certainly no circumstances where
 52 the Conservative's to be elected, .hh because of course
 53 they effectively rule out the Euro for ever. .h More than
 54 that, they continue to argue that we should re-negotiate the
 55 terms of our membership. .h And of course they have been
 56 playing on some of the fears raised in the newspapers, .h to
 57 dra:g Britain further and further away from the top
 58 [table] =
- 59 IR: [Ri(ght).]
- 60 IE1: = and closer and closer to the exit door, which would be
 61 utterly disastrous for our country.
- 62 IR: Simon Butby, many thanks. Oliver Letwin as I say↑ is on
 63 the line. = They shot your fox, Mr. Letwin.
 64 (.)
- 65 IE2: Awh totally unclear I have to say what the Prime
 66 Minister's position is. Our position is
 67 a[s you mentioned ())
- 68 IR: [Well pretty clear, he doesn't want to go into Euro now.
 69 It's all ove[r.
- 70 IE2: [Well our position is certainly perfectly clear?
 71 We're against the Euro. We: belie::ve that: .h the Bank of
 72 England is the right set of people to set interest rates (.) for
 73 Britain. .h Bu:t:, what the Prime Minster just said is eh as
 74 you quot↑ed, it doesn't look very likely does it. =

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- 75 >Now< .h before the ninety seven election he said (.) he
 76 had love for the pound. .hh Eh then in eh two thousa↑nd,
 77 we were told by hi↑m, .h I think I'm quoti↑ng, "to rule out
 78 to the Euro in the next Parliament is foolish (and)
 79 backwa↑rd. I shall have no part in tha↑t, either in the next
 80 election, o:r in the future?" = So he said h., in two
 81 thousand he'd never rule i[t out?] .h And then he told us =
- 82 IR: [Yes.]
- 83 IE2: = in two thousand and three↑, that he had a pa:th which is
 84 clea:↑r, .h eh something we- want to do, = I'm quoting
 85 again, = "we've got a process in place to move the
 86 obstac↑les. .hh It's eh entirely
 87 un:clea:r (.) opposite (two) positions.
- 88 IR: [But why is it entirely unclear. I mean what- what
 89 he did. (Will he send) to the Chancellor, now set the tests,
 90 eh if we pass the tests that you have se↑t h., eh given all
 91 the other things, = all those other- eh triple lock and all
 92 that, .h we (will) join the Euro. .h Well the Chancellor said
 93 we haven't passed those te↑sts, (0.2) and that's it. Entirely
 94 sensible, [isn't it. =
- 95 IE2: [So-
- 96 IE2: = So why didn't the Prime Minister say:: eh yesterda↑y,
 97 not it doesn't look very likely, but we won't join the Euro.
 98 [...Conservatives say...]
- 99 IR: [Because we might pass the tests at some time in the future
 100 presumably.
- 101 IE2: Oh I see so ac[tually the Prime Minister-
- 102 IR: [Or () pass the test.
- 103 IE2: Actually in your view the Prime Minist[er isn't ruling-
- 104 IR: [No not my view
 105 I'm- I'm- I'm offering you a(h) [(£)(if you) you ask [me =
- 106 IE2: [haha [Jo:hn,
 107 IR: = a question and I'm telling you who (wa::nt) eh
 108 [th- th- th- the answer might be:. (£)
- 109 IE2: [Bu- but John the im-
- 110 IE2: The implication of what you've just said is that actually the
 111 Prime Minister isn't ruling it out. (.) [Now-
- 112 IR: [No (£) I've no idea
 113 () of course. (£)

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- 114 IE2: Precisely. None of us has the [slightest idea, [whether the
 115 Prime
 116 IR: [°heh heh° [.hh
 117 IE2: = Minister is ruling it out or not ruling it out, .h and that'
 118 ba:d for Britain. It's ba:d for our economy, it's bad for our
 119 business, .h they don't know: whether under a Labor
 120 government if one were re-elected h., eh they would or
 121 wouldn't see the Euro. If they vote Conservative, and
 122 there's a Conservative government, it's very clea↑r, there
 123 will not be (.) Britain join Euro because we think the Bank
 124 of England is the right .h set of people to run interest rates
 125 for this country.
 126 IR: A::nd you- you have said, in- in- indeed you have said
 127 unlike Labor, and this is in your manifesto, unlike Labor,
 128 and the Liberal Democrats, we will not join the Euro. .h
 129 Well [but- (.)]
 130 IE2: [Correct.]
 131 IR: i(h)- Th- the problem is now: you have the Prime Minister
 132 himself say: we- we won't
 133 [() either. Well we- we pro- we probably-
 134 (£) when]
 135 IE2: [No., we've just- we've just discovered we don't () what
 136 the Prime Minister said.]
 137 IR: = we (£) ha ha it is unli:kely that we will join the [Euro.
 138 IE2: [E- e- e-
 139 e- e- I have lea:rned that when the Prime Minister says it's
 140 unlikely that something will happen, .h it very often
 141 presages th- the exact opposite happening. Al- when the
 142 Prime Minister (he) said (in) .h every one was to be led to
 143 suppo:se that-eh he wasn't going to raise national
 144 insu↑rance before the last ele↑ction, .h it was followed
 145 immediately after the election by raising national
 146 [insurance.
 147 IR: [Yeah but the fact is in this particular case he- he has
 148 firmly planted the impression, very firmly indeed that we
 149 are not going to join [the Euro.
 150 IE2: [W- w- what an interesting term of
 151 phrase John, he's firmly planted the impression, = Yes, but
 152 he hasn't said the words, has he. [.hh

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- 153 IR: [Well he has said it's
 154 unlikely that we'll join the Euro, [that's ()
 155 IE2: [That's very different from
 156 saying he won't do it.
 157 IR: U↑hm we'll but-
 158 IE2: [And it's intended to be different, because he
 159 intends that if he then does it, .h eh and you- have him on
 160 this program, and you say, .h "you said Prime Minister that
 161 you wouldn't do it", he can say to you "Oh no I didn't
 162 John. I just said it doesn't look very likely well now it is
 163 likely indeed it's happening". =
 164 IR: = But my- my opening question to you was that he has
 165 shot your fox and that is effectively what he's done,
 166 >hasn't he<, because then- then now::: .h you don't- have
 167 any great electoral advantage if you ever did from your
 168 European position. Simon Butby said .h eh your only
 169 position seems to be to move us further and further away
 170 from Europe, and ultimately, perhaps even to pull out
 171 altogether.
 172 IE2: Well I disagree with every part of that statement John. Eh
 173 first of all we haven't been e:h highlighting this particular
 174 h. issue [in our =
 175 IR: [()
 176 IE2: = election campaign which is about schools, hospitals,
 177 and: .h public services [and tax↑es,
 178 IR: [Immigrat[ion?
 179 IE2: [Immigration and so
 180 on. .h But, e:h eh I believe we do have a significant
 181 electoral advantage derived from what the Prime Minister
 182 has now do↑ne, because it again raises the issue of trust.
 183 Instead of actually saying clearly openly straightforwardly
 184 we won't join the Euro, o↑r equally clearly and
 185 straightforwardly we will? What he's saying is (.)
 186 speculatively it doesn't look very likely, which is
 187 [intended in your words to plant an =
 188 IR: [>Righ(t)<.]
 189 IE2: = impre↑sion, without actually saying
 190 some[thing clear, that's a very] wrong =
 191 IR: [Well let me suggest you:]

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- 192 IE2: = thing to d[o.
193 IR: [Let me suggest you where you've planted
194 impression. You want to pull out, [eh of thee: eh or =
195 [((sound of turning
196 paper))
197 IR: = re-negotiate as I think you would put it the fisheries
198 policy which you regarded as immensely damaging to
199 Britain's interest. .h The fact is, .h if they won't let you
200 re-negotiate you have absolutely no choice but to go along
201 with it o:r ultimately, to pull out of Europe. Now clear that
202 one up for us [if you will.
203 IE2: [No no no no no, absolutely not. We: a:re
204 committed, to having a referendum on the constitution. We
205 are committed to campaigning for a no-vote in that
206 referendum. .h We belie:ve that there's every chance (of)
207 Conservative government .h could persuade the British
208 pu**↑**blic, to vote no (.) in such (.) a referendum on the
209 constitution. We will then have the basis for negotiation, .h
210 because we will be able to exercise the veto, against that
211 constitution.
212 (.)
213 IR: Oliver Letwin, many than[ks.
214 IE2: [Thank you very much.

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[62] Tuesday 08 March 2005: speed bumps

IR: John Humphrys

IE1: Robert Gifford, executive director at the Parliamentary Advisory Committee for Transport Safety

IE2: Tim Yeo, Conservative Transport spokesman

01 IR: Quarter past seven? The Conservatives want to abolish
02 speed humps. .h They are putting forward an amendment
03 to the Roads Safety Bill, which will take them off the
04 roads in a couple of years. = Their Transport spokesman
05 Tim Yeo is with us? .hh We're also joined by Robert
06 Gifford who is executive director at the Parliamentary
07 Advisory Committee for Transport Safety? = lobby group
08 on road safety issues. .hh And you must give a rather a
09 fa:n of these things. = >Do you think they< wo:rk. =

10 IE1: = .h Well, the research tells (that) England, we first of all
11 we should remember that road humps have been around
12 for twenty years now. Ehm, .h and research tells us that
13 they reduce valid mortalities, betwee:n seventee:n and
14 fifty nine percent. There a:re .h hundreds of pedestria:ns
15 and cyclists alive today:. .h who: otherwise would have
16 been killed by cars going too fast for the roads they were
17 driving down. = So they really are a success story. We've
18 got to think very carefully about their remo[val.

19 IR: [.h What about
20 the idea that the way people (0.2) speed up and slow
21 dow:n when they are traveling along a road with- (.) with
22 humps, .h is actually more dangerous than people con-
23 traveling consistently at a lower spee:d. =

24 IE1: = .h Well:, there's no: evidence that that happens. = I
25 mean whe- there's plenty of advice and guidance from
26 the department about- both thee height of a road hump
27 and the spacing of a road hump to prevent that
28 happening. .h U::hm:, there is anecdotal evidence that:
29 what one might call the young boy racer does adjust to
30 that. But I think he would probably do that anyway, and:
31 the humps are just eh: you know further encouragement,
32 = so I'm I'm sorry to say ()I(h) () don't think there's
33 any research evidence that says that's the problem.

34 IR: And you really can be as specific as you- [(.) j]us- =

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- 35 IE1: [keh]
36 IR: = you've just been on the question of the percentage of-
37 hh. a reduction in fatality: rates, .h uhm uh which are
38 directly attributable to humps. =
39 IE1: = Yes we ca:n, becau:se local authorities are a:sked to:
40 think very carefully where they should place humps. E:h
41 they have to do befo:re and after analysis, and therefore
42 they are able to show:: that- you know in the three years
43 befo::re a measure was put in, .h >there were that many
44 fatalities and that many serious injuries and three years
45 afterwards there were that many, = and that show::s that
46 humps wo:rk, humps are a success story. .hh Clearly not
47 every road hump is the right hump in the right place. I'm
48 not going to defend every single one. .h But I am going
49 to say that we should think very carefully about: their
50 whole (fair) removal which this proposed Clause appears
51 to do:.
52 IR: Robert Gifford many thanks. Tim Yeo, they a:re a success
53 story, why on earth you're trying to get rid of them. =
54 IE2: = .hh Eh well good morning it. Im- improving road
55 safety is one of the three key aims of our roads policy,
56 along with cutting congestion, .h an- and reducing the
57 damage vehicles do to the environment. Killing three
58 thousand people a year:, wouldn't be tolerated in the rail
59 ways, wouldn't be tolerated in the air o:r at sea, so .hh we
60 won't tolerate it on the roads either. .h An- and we'll
61 make sure that part of our road spending, .h i- is
62 specifically to meeting, t- to making those roads that
63 have been identified by the AA, .h eh on the list, e:h as
64 as the most dangerous one, making those
65 one[s safety[, (.) safer.
66 IR: [.h [Yeah, but that doesn't quite address the
67 question, >tht< these things work, why get rid of them. =
68 IE2: = .h Well our approach to- safety will be evidence based.
69 = We want to use the limited resources in the most
70 effective way:. .h E::h speed bumps certainly make two
71 of our key policy aims actually worse. They h. eh
72 increase the pollution on a street when cars stop and
73 sta↑rt, that makes the air quality worse? .h They certainly

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- 74 make congestion worse? Because instead of traffic
75 flowing, .h freely, = perhaps slowly but freely along a
76 street, it has to stop and start. = So they completely fail
77 on those two criteria. [.hh
- 78 IR: [But they keep people alive. =
- 79 IE2: = Well, as far as the evidence about that is concerned, =
80 we are certainly prepared to examine it. = The purpose of
81 this amendment, which we will not press to a vote if it
82 gets debated, .h it is to explore the evidence. = It's
83 what's, .h eh called in the- in- in the jargon, a probing
84 amendment. .h I'm aware that the chairman of the
85 London Ambulance Service h. e::h said in- in two
86 thousand and three, that hundreds of deaths .h eh may be
87 caused by ambulances being delayed h. eh in: getting to
88 hospitals. = The .h the eh a one minute delay in getting to
89 a .h cardiac (rest) patient h. eh may be the difference
90 between life and death. = So the evidence is by no means
91 a[ll the one way. .h [Eh (at least)- (.) (least)] =
- 92 IR: [But- [Can I- Can I just- just (to)-]
- 93 IE2: = also said that h. e::h dri- speed bumps increase the
94 response times h., eh tha- their vehicles were involved in
95 getting to emergency.
- 96 IR: Can I just for the record so tht listeners can- can hear it
97 (rea:d) what I: understand to be the text of your (.)
98 amendment, which read as follows, .hh no new speed
99 humps intended for traffic-calming purposes should be
100 constructed on any public road or highway. Within two
101 years of the commencement of this Act, (.) every
102 highway authority should ensure that all speed humps hh.
103 constructed for traffic-calming purposes shall be
104 removed from all public roads within their area. So are
105 you saying that you don't actually (.) mean tha{t.
106 {{{paper
107 turning}}}
- 108 IE2: { .hh In-
109 in- } in common with dozens of amendments that
110 are tabled in Parliament everyday, the purpose of this is
111 to force the minister to do something which he wouldn't
112 otherwise do. .h And that explain:ns the reasons for his

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- 113 policy.
114 IR: So you don't actually mean the amendment.
115 [You just want to- (.) generate discussion.]
116 IE2: [I- I- w- ou- our poli]cy (.) is not to
117 construct new speed humps. We think that's eh
118 unjustified (with) it doesn't meet the aims of our policy,
119 = those aims can be mar- met far more effectively, .h in
120 other ways. = As I've explained it actually makes .h
121 congestion and pollution worse. .h Eh as far as the
122 removal of existing speed humps are concerned, .h we
123 want to examine the argument, the costs and so on to see
124 whether that's an effective way::, .h of using resources to
125 improve safety. .h But this amendment as I said in co- in
126 common with dozens of others, is intended to force
127 [a debate.] It's intended to make sure the =
128 IR: [°.hh°]
129 IE2: = minister, .h sets up the reasons why, .h they are having
130 a policy, which makes congestion worse, which makes
131 pollution worse, which delays ambulances reaching
132 patients, and which delays police vehicles getting to
133 e[mergency].
134 IR: [Tcht, Tim Yeo, thank you.

[63] Thursday 7 April 2005: IRA-2 David Trimble

IR: Jim Naughtie

IE0: Ian Paisley Junior, Justice spokesman for the Democratic Unionists

IE-1: Dominic Bradley, SDLP's West Minster candidate for Newry and Armagh

IE: David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist

01 IR: Mcht. Jerry Adams says th' although he wants to justify what
02 he ca:lls the arm struggle by the IRA, he can't do so: any
03 longer. .h So the election campaign in Northern Ireland, .h
04 begi:ns with question about what effect (.) the Si:nn Fei:n
05 president statement will have >on< the Republicans and
06 Nationalist? .h and indeed about what the IRA will say
07 formally .h in response. (b) .h On the Unionists si:de, of
08 politics, there is (.) of course, deep suspicion. Ian Paisley
09 Junior is (.) Justice spokesman (.) .h for the Democratic
10 Unionists.

11 IE0: We have never (.) accept the wo ↑ rds, or the waffle ↑ , or the
12 (piled heart ringing) tones of Jerry Adams, .h no matter how:
13 e:::h pains worthy he seems to think they are. We have
14 always said, where is the base, where is the action, how are
15 these words backed up. = And you'll see in the text of the
16 statement, = if you take time to study it, .h there's not a word
17 about decommissioning, not a word about h. e:hm the
18 procedured cri ↑ me, = there's not a word about Northern
19 Bank? = And these words, (.) no matter how it (pa:ss), or no
20 matter how it (perceive), they might actually sign to this
21 (act). We will not be buying (.) this statement or these words.
22 We want actions.

23 IR: Mcht. .h Ian Paisley Junior. Dominic Bradley ↑ a member
24 of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the SDLP:s West
25 Minster candidate for Newry and Armagh, .h said his
26 constituents had greeted Mr. Adams' statement (.) with
27 skepticism.

28 IE-1: I've been speaking to (.) people on the street in Newry and
29 Armagh. .hh and I must say that there's a certain amount of
30 (.) skepticism, .h that this statement has been delivered in the
31 month- month of an election. .h And there's a result (.) of
32 sustained pressure. (.) .h But the: people are saying to me:,
33 that these actions, are not (worth account). And they (.) want

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- 34 to know (0.2) that the IRA is actually (0.2) eh ending all the
35 (activity), (.) and ending its participation in organized crime,
36 once and for all.
- 37 IR: .h uhm Dominic Bradley of the Nationalist SDLP. We are
38 joined by David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionists. Yes
39 Mr. Trimble, good morning. .h[h
- 40 IE: [Good morning. =
- 41 IR: = Ehm i- obviously, there is an election: o:n? Equally
42 obviously the republica:n (.) movement in Northern Ireland
43 is- being under hu:ge pressure in recent months because of
44 thee .h bank robbery and the McCartney murder h.. E::hm (.)
45 but do you think that, these words (.) could (.) be a sign of (.)
46 progress?
47 (.)
- 48 IE: .hh Well I think (.) eh Mr. Bradley is quite right to: be:
49 skeptical eh eh being if- rather cynical about the timing of it?
50 (.) E::h for our part, we remember, that ba:ck in May of two
51 thousand, the IRA made a promise to us, .h that they get rid
52 of their weapons completely in a ma(tt)er, .h they said that
53 would maximize public confidence? .hhh And h. we had a
54 few gestures, but ah no fundamental change. And that's the
55 question, are we going to see a fundamental change. .h And I
56 think people quite rightly are going to say, .h well let us see
57 [what =
- 58 IR: [.hh
- 59 IE: = actually happens. .hhh I have a suspicion (.) that this
60 statement coming at this time isn't actually e:nd of the
61 electorate in Northern Ireland, but as e:nd of the government
62 (.) in London. (.) And I think its objective is to try to
63 dissuade the government from exploring other possibility. =
64 you see over .h the last few weeks, the government h's .h eh
65 been saying to the Republican Movement, .h eh th't they
66 have to do something or else (.) the government will >()<
67 saying .h that eh if they don't (.) achieve progress with
68 Republicans then they have to explore other ways forward. .h
69 And I think the objective of this, .hh eh is to keep the
70 government on o- on the hook, that they have them. Eh one
71 thing that's been quite remarkable is how (it) despite
72 everything that's happened, (.) over the last few years we had

- 73 the- assembly collapsed nearly three years ago, .h we had all
 74 the things that the Republicans have done since the:n in
 75 terms of (balance) and criminality h. but yet the belief has
 76 still existed within the government, in the good faith of these
 77 people. =
- 78 IR: = Ye{s.
- 79 IE: [And that's the objective [here] to try keep () it's =
- 80 IR: [Well-]
- 81 IE: = crucial, .h that the government emancipates itself (.) eh
 82 fro:m the spell that [Mr. Adams has cast on them.
- 83 IR: [D'y-
- 84 IR: Do you think it's possible, that Mr. Adams means it.
- 85 IE: .hhhh We: gave him, I don'- I don't know, eh nor did I know:
 86 when he made similar promises to us years ago. But we gave
 87 him the chance to prove it. (.) Eh and what he did prove was
 88 that there was a limit to how far the republican movement
 89 was going to go. .h And for the last three years, since the
 90 collapse of the assembly, .h we've come up against that limit
 91 time and time again. = It's not just once. .hh There have been
 92 three distinct attempts over those years, to achieve progress
 93 every one of which, .h has foundered on the refusal of the
 94 republican movement, to change fundamentally. Gestures
 95 they've made, they've reduced the level of violence, they've
 96 done some decommissioning, .h but they've refused to wind
 97 up the private army. .h [And I doubt if =
- 98 IR: [Ok.
- 99 IE: = there's going to be a fundamental change now.
 100 (.)
- 101 IR: .h (.) David Trimble? Thank you very much.

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NOTES

¹ In Conversation Analysis, there are ‘adjacency pairs’ in interactions, such as question-answer, summons-answer, request-action, invitation-acceptance/rejection, etc. The turn by the first speaker, i.e. the question, summons, request, or invitation in previous examples of adjacency pairs, is called the first pair part; while the turn by the recipient (or the second speaker), i.e. the answer, answer, action, or acceptance/rejection in previous examples, is called the second pair part.

² In later part of this thesis, ‘questions’ and ‘question turns’ are used interchangeably when referring to the IR turns in the news interview.

³ In a strict sense, there is difference between ‘response’ and ‘answer’ to a question: ‘response’ only indicates ‘responding to’ a question, without necessarily providing the ‘answer’ to the question; while ‘answer’ indicates an ‘answer’ has been provided for the question. However, in this thesis, these two terms are not always strictly distinguished. I have been trying to use these two terms in their strict sense wherever possible; however, there are some cases where these two terms are used *interchangeably just to refer to the IE’s turn*—either ‘answer turn’ or ‘response’. Therefore, ‘answer turn’ in this thesis *does not in any case* indicate that an ‘answer’ has been provided for the question; it simply refers to the IE turn.

⁴ Transition-relevance place (abbreviated as TRP in CA) is where the speaker’s utterance is considered grammatically, pragmatically, and prosodically complete, and therefore it is ok then for the transfer of speaker-ship in the next turn.

⁵ There are various unit-types with which a speaker may set out to construct a turn. Unit-types for English included sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:702)

⁶ Pre- expansion comes before first pair part as preparation for it, such as pre-invitation, pre-offer, pre-request, etc. For example, before a speaker gives an invitation, he/she often checks first whether the to-be-invited person (people) will be free for the invitation or not—this sequence of checking the appropriateness of invitation is pre-invitation. Pre- expansion is something that leads up to the intended sequence of interactions.

⁷ Goffman introduced the footing concept in order to explore the nature of involvement and participation in social interaction. He suggested that there are varying forms and degrees of participation. Speakers, for example, may take up various footings in relation to their own remarks. They may convey distinctions between the 1) animator, 2) author, and 3) principal of what is said. The “animator” is the person who presently utters a sequence of words. The one who originated the beliefs and sentiments, and perhaps also composed the words through which they are expressed, is the “author”. Finally, the “principal” is the person whose viewpoint or position is currently being expressed in and through the utterance. (Clayman, 1992: 165)

⁸ Although this implication is not applicable in today’s society any more, it was

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working at that time of example, when most people only had children after marriage.

⁹ Initiative refers to ‘the extent to which the question is enterprising rather than passive in its aims’. It can be achieved through use of preface, asking more than one question within a single turn at talk, or asking a follow-up question. (Clayman and Heritage, 2006: pp11-12)

¹⁰ Directness is ‘the extent to which the question is blunt rather than cautious in raising issues’. By contrast with directness, indirectness in questioning is achieved either by self-referencing phrases or other-referencing phrases. (Clayman and Heritage, 2006: pp11-12)

¹¹ Assertiveness is ‘the extent to which the question invites a particular answer and is in that sense opinionated rather than neutral’. It is achieved through either a question preface or negatively formulated question. (Clayman and Heritage, 2006: pp11-13)

¹² Adversarialness is ‘the extent to which the question pursues an agenda in opposition to’ the IE or his/her party. (Clayman and Heritage, 2006: pp11) (In their study, they define it as ‘the extent to which the question pursues an agenda in opposition to the president or his administration.’) It can be encoded in the preface or in the design of question. When the IR is posing either an oppositional or critical stance within the question, adversarialness is displayed.

¹³ Accountability is ‘the extent to which the question asks the president to justify his policies or actions’. It is usually achieved through ‘why did you’-type questions or ‘how could you’-type questions. (Clayman and Heritage, 2006: pp11-13)

¹⁴ Gestalt: to be simply put, people perceive or interpret a single object or issue in different ways.

¹⁵ There is an element of ‘agenda shift’ in this experience description because the topic in the description is people’s life changes whilst the topic in the question turn is about ‘trust’. The subject matter of whether people should vote for or against Labour is not changed, but the basis of the argument is changed—the IR’s argument based on ‘trust’ and the IE’s based on ‘the achievements in people’s lives under Labour’.

¹⁶ Insertion is also used in cases other than indirect answers, see section 7 of the same chapter for examples.

¹⁷ This is similar to how the IE responds to a ‘communicative avoidance-avoidance conflict’ in Equivocation Theory (Bavelas 1990). Also see chapter 5.

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