

Fach Kommunikationswissenschaft

**Signifying the Nation in Discourses about Europe: A Critical Discourse
Analysis of British Newspapers**

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I. Introduction

I.1 Opening rationale

This thesis is concerned with the ways national identity is reproduced and mediated by the print media in the United Kingdom (UK) in the daily coverage of EU-related events. It uses the traditionally apprehensive UK-EU relations as a starting point to explore how debates about Europe have shaped the national identity question throughout different periods of time and across various media outlets. This thesis is profoundly informed by critical approaches to media texts, more precisely by the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as elaborated in various works in the last three decades (Fairclough 1995, 2011, van Dijk 1988, van Leeuwen 1995, 1996, Wodak et al. 2009, Wodak and Meyer 2001). It is paradigmatic in this respect to understand identities in general, and national identities in particular, as shaped, reproduced and mediated through and by discourse (Wodak et al. 2009).

To start with, this thesis understands nations as profound socio-historical constructions (Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1990, Gellner 1983, Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009) that came into being in the last two centuries or so. The present work takes Anderson's stance on nations as 'imagined communities' (1991) as a starting point and recognizes the ultimate role that print capitalism has played in disseminating the idea of the modern nation in the first place (Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1990). It pursues this idea in the light of other works that foreground the continuous role of the media in the maintenance of national identities once modern nations became a more or less stable and frequently encountered phenomenon (Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009, Bishop and Jaworski 2003, Collet 2009). The thesis is informed in particular by Billig's work on 'banal nationalism' (1995) as an encompassing term for the routine and seemingly benign reproduction of nations.

Because the present study researches national identity as represented in the press coverage granted to EU-related events, it also draws largely on works that maintain that identity politics is about creating difference and confronting the national ‘in-group’ with a specific ‘out-group’ (Wodak et al. 2009, Billig, 1995, Benhabib 1963). In this regard, central to this thesis is to explore how the British national ‘in-group’ is constructed and what ideas of the nation are proposed, signified and foregrounded in news media discourse with respect to the EU as the predominant ‘out-group’.

The analysis focuses around three critical moments in EU-UK relations: the Lisbon Treaty, the Fiscal Compact and the Brexit campaign, on the premise that ‘the discursive binding of a national community shines at critical moments or around special occasions that function as a reference point and furnish a rich repertoire of cultural symbols’ (Lee et al., 2001:346). Immediate text analysis is carried out largely following a framework developed by the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as laid out in the works of Wodak and Meyer (2001) and Wodak, de Cilla, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999). In this respect, the focus will mainly be upon discursive strategies – a strategy being a ‘more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:73) – and their respective linguistic materializations in actual texts. In addition, on the assumption that the representation of social actors is indicative of ideological positions in the media (Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009) a substantial aspect of this research is the analysis of such representations. To that end, a sociosemantic inventory – as developed by van Leeuwen (2003) – is employed. Considering that approaches pertaining to the discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and DHA in particular, rely on understandings of context as vital in giving meaning to texts, immediate textual analysis is carried out against the backdrop of analysis of the historical context in

which the events and their coverage took place. Finally, contributions from various fields of social theory are employed to inform conceptualizations of important aspects such as the interplay between language and ideology, approaches to multiple collective identities, and the relevance of identity politics in international relations.

1.2 Research perspective

A growing body of work suggests an accentuated role of the media in the reproduction and maintenance of national identity (Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Costelloe 2014; Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2011; Wodak et al. 2009; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Hobsbawm, 1990; Billig, 1995; Calhoun 2007; Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1991). With specific regard to Britain, an ample strand of studies is also focused on the role of the media in reproductions of Britishness (Thomas and Antony, 2015; Brookes 1999; Poulton, 2004). However, none of these works locates its research in the context of British-EU relations and/or conflicts. As far as the EU is concerned, research is largely focused on its media representations (Peter and de Vreese, 2004; Gleissner and de Vreese, 2005; de Vreese and Dedman 2010). On the substantive level, most such studies are, however, predominantly concerned with the visibility of the EU in the national media and the modes of its representation. They generally bypass aspects pertaining to conceptualizations of national identity. On the methodological level, strictly qualitative and/or critical methods such as (critical) discourse analysis are rarely part of the research program.

Another strand of work is concerned with how media contribute to the creation of a pan-European identity (Olausson, 2010; Kimunguyi and Kimunguyi 2011; Bruter 2003; Gavin 2000). Though identity matters are at the heart of such concerns, the focus is not so much on national identity per se or on the effects that intersections with other looming collective identities (such as a pan-European identity) have on it.

The research agenda is more narrowly concerned with the possibility, and indeed, desirability of a supranational, European-based identity.

In yet another study that comes closer to the focus of the present thesis, Hawkins (2012) contrasts the Eurosceptic discourse of British newspapers with national meta-narratives and maintains that the EU is largely perceived through national lenses and the assumptions that go with it. However, national identity as signified in such discourses – and that is the central interest of the present thesis – is not dealt with there. This thesis, in contrast, is concerned with the discursive handling of national identity in an EU context. It takes a novel approach to the problem – a significantly different path from the works discussed here (Peter and de Vreese, 2004; Olausson, 2010; Kimunguyi and Kimunguyi 2011; Bruter 2003; Gavin 2000), where representations of the EU are exploited as a pretext to navigate other research interests and are only analyzed insofar as they are approached within a wider web of intersections with processes of national identity formation, maintenance and reproduction.

With respect to the aims of the present research:

- The prevailing premise is to look at how the British nation as the ‘in-group’ is constructed in discourse and what ideas of the nation are proposed, signified and foregrounded, and to compare and contrast these with the specific constructions of the EU as the ‘out-group’.
- This thesis will also look at what it actually means that particular ideas of the nation, and consequently the EU, are forged instead of other plausible ones, and what ends are served by this selection.

- A vital objective is to destabilize and problematize the simple assumptions behind the daily reproduction of nationalism as conducted by the media by pointing out its potentially destructive and harmful sides.
- The thesis also aims to highlight the ideological underpinning of particular significations of the nation. Considering that in CDA outcomes are interpreted as they are analyzed, the ideological ends that particular representations serve will be persistently pointed out.
- Finally, the analysis of the ways media involvement in nationalism materializes in actual media texts aims to challenge and eventually change such practices.

In terms of research design, it is against this backdrop that an interdisciplinary research agenda was deemed most adequate to tackle the manifold challenges of the approach. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) program encourages interdisciplinarity as a means of addressing social aspects in comprehensive and unlimited ways. In this light, the previously mentioned theoretical ‘Waevers model’ (Hansen and Waevers, 2002) is employed to guide the research heuristically as well as offer a perspective to its findings in the interpretative phase. Waevers’s model presents this thesis with imperatives such as a structured incorporation of context and a systematic guide to analyzing the interconnectedness of identity formation and policy pursuits in international relations. To be precise, contributions from fields other than communication studies are largely used to provide context. As such, they do not detract from the communicative value of the study – on the contrary, they enrich it by providing perspective and projecting it into a wider picture.

Another peculiarity of the research design pertains to its tailor-made nature. There are no preset categories of research in CDA. Researchers are free to use a wide

palette of categories insofar as they share CDA's epistemological and ontological premises. It is therefore beneficial to be able to use analytic categories stemming from various disciplines and combine them in ways that reflect the research questions raised here. For example, this thesis relies heavily on one of the most versatile analytic categories used across disciplines, namely that of discourse, as a means of mapping salient representations of events. It uses linguistic categories such as 'speaking verbs' to offer an account on how such discourses actually materialize in texts. Finally, it makes use of some sociologically-informed categories, such as the modes of representation of social actors in texts, in order to complete its set of analytic categories. This resourcefulness of methods and categories provides the thesis with creative and novel ways of handling the research problems involved.

1.3 Context in brief: British-EU relations

In few other countries, if at all, has the issue of Europe caused such a polarized reaction as in the United Kingdom (UK).¹ Bogdanov notes that the theme of Europe not only triggers deep divisions, it also 'gives rise to the most fundamental issue of politics, the basic attitude toward national identity, about what it means to be British.' (Bogdanov, 2013). This thesis has this matter at its heart. However, let's explore some of the basics of this troubled relationship between the UK and Europe, prior to, during and after the EU era, in order to contextualize the work.

Going back to 1900, Bogdanov (2013) argues that due to its insular nature, Britain had very little to do with "the Continent." He suggests that because of the island nature of the country, significant differences existed between Britain and the

¹ United Kingdom (UK) is the shortened title of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland." Throughout this thesis the terms 'United Kingdom (UK)' and 'Britain' are often used interchangeably for practical reasons.

countries of continental Europe. Powerful trade instead of developed agriculture, maritime power instead of a big army, and strategic ties to the dominions and colonies instead of interest in European counterparts, to mention just a few aspects, were all indicative of British difference (Bogdanov, 2013). By 1920, the British Empire had control over almost a quarter of the entire globe, with Britain at the steering wheel. As an imperial power, Britain considered it limiting to make Europe an important, let alone a primary point of interest. Fifty years on, in the Second World War, Britain found itself fighting alone against Nazi Germany. British perseverance in those two years of lonely war prior to American intervention only reinforced an alienation from Europe. Post-1945, Britain eventually won the war, but as a painful by-product, the effective end of the empire cut in rapidly. In 1949, the London Declaration formally constituted the Commonwealth of Nations, an intergovernmental organization meant to succeed the fading empire. Meanwhile, Britain was experiencing a process of fundamental transition from empire leader to normal nation-state.

On a parallel level, the countries of Continental Europe, the majority of which were devastated from the war, were looking to capitalize on the post-war momentum and come together in ways that would prevent the repetition of such fatal conflicts. In 1957, the six founding nations of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), founded in 1951, extended an invitation to Britain to sign the Treaty of Rome which established the European Economic Community (EEC). Britain declined the invitation. Doty maintains that such a choice was indicative of Britain's preference for Commonwealth over Europe, arguing that the former provided some sort of a remedy for the lost empire (Doty, 1996: 124). Wall suggests that the initial economic rationale of the 1950s did indeed favor Commonwealth over Europe, as long as the trade benefits with the former yielded better results than those with European

countries (Wall, 2008:1). However, he notes that ‘even when the balance of economic argument began to change, the political problems associated with joining a ‘federal project kept us out.’ (Wall, 2008, 1-2). Bogdanov considers that Britain simply did not want a Continental commitment and emphasizes that the main events impressed on British consciousness consisted of moments when Britain confronted a hostile Europe (Bogdanov, 2013). Colley (2003), too, maintains that an image of Britain opposed to a hostile Continental Europe is ingrained in core understandings of what it means to be British. Indeed, she argues that Britishness came into being as a result of contacts and confrontations with a hostile ‘other’ (Colley, 2003: 6), a role generally occupied by Europe. Nevertheless, by the dawn of the 1960s, Britain’s economic decline was progressing against the backdrop of rapid success of the EEC countries. In a recalculated position, Britain made a bid to join the club in 1961, but was rejected by the veto of France’s Charles de Gaulle. By 1973, when de Gaulle had already left office, Britain eventually managed to get in, and when in 1975 membership was put to a referendum over two-thirds voted in favor.

Nevertheless, that did not end British dilemmas. The 1980s in particular were marked by intense tensions. Jacques Delors, a politician of profound socialist beliefs, was at the head of the European Commission. The British prime minister of the time, Margaret Thatcher, was utterly opposed to Delors’s plans for a more federal Europe. In 1984, she managed to successfully renegotiate British contributions to the EU and in 1988 she became famous for her vocal rejection of ‘a European super-state’. Wall warns about the prevalence of rivalry between ‘British “functional” and Continental “federal”’ throughout most of Britain-EU relations, not only during the Thatcher years (Wall, 2008:2). Nevertheless, despite British discontent, the EU moved forward. In 1992, Thatcher’s successor John Major had little pragmatic choice but to sign the country to the Treaty of Maastricht, which provided for massive delegations

of state competency to the EU. Major's government did however remain out of the social chapter and the prospective plans for the single currency.

In 1997, Tony Blair's landslide victory in the general election marked the beginning of a new, highly cooperative era in British-EU relations. Blair signed Britain to the social chapter and was the driving force behind one of the most important waves in the history of EU enlargement. The economy was doing well and for once there were no troubles ahead. But underlying dilemmas remained. When in 2007, the European Reform Treaty, otherwise known as the Treaty of Lisbon, was negotiated, the prime minister of the time, Gordon Brown, asked for specific opt-outs in return for Britain's vote. Four years later, in 2011, when the single currency was facing one of its toughest crises, Britain decided not to back the Fiscal Compact. Another four years after that, Britain's European fate was put at the crossroads when prime minister David Cameron's promised 'in or out' referendum was finally scheduled for 2016. Finally, the popular vote of 23 June 2016 opting for withdrawal from the EU has brought British-EU relations, as we have come to know them, to an end.

1.4 The media's role in the reproduction of nations

It has been established that media played a pivotal role in the emergence of modern nations (Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1990, MacLaughlin 2001). Anderson in particular suggests that the emergence of print vernaculars enabled readers of the time to imagine collectives larger than the ones pertaining to their immediate experience. Via the reading of early newspapers, an individual reader could place their reading experience as 'being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence, he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion' (Anderson, 1991: 35).

MacLaughlin, who has worked closely on the Irish case, holds that newspapers were a means of letting ordinary people come together and ‘have a common sense of history and a complimentary image of themselves either as “Irish people” or as “successful” Ulster Unionists’ (MacLaughlin, 2001: 195). Arguably, the media’s role in the maintenance of nations is even greater (Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009, Bishop and Jaworski 2003). Billig (1995) ascribes media a central role in the daily nourishing of an understanding of the nation as the milieu in which things take place. He considers that media are engaged in a routine and prosaic flagging of the nation that makes readers take its existence for granted (Billig, 1995). Billig maintains that small deictic words are important means of invoking the national ‘we’ (Billig, 1995: 107). Higgins, too, recognizes the role of deixis (e.g. ‘us’ and ‘them’) in creating binary positions that forge the idea of the nation in news coverage (Higgins, 2004: 633-639). On similar premises, Wodak et al. (2009) speak of various discursive strategies as employed by the media to establish, propose and promote national sameness and uniqueness as opposed to the out-group. Constructive strategies, in particular, aim at reinforcing national homogeneity by means of ‘promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). Fairclough for his part highlights the role of the media in foregrounding specific discourses, including nationalist ones, by means of representing and transforming events, phenomena and texts (Fairclough, 1989). On the other hand, selective case studies, such as Bishop and Jaworski’s analysis of nationalism in sports coverage (2003) or Costelloe’s (2014) work on French media representations of urban violence, point at the media’s role in disseminating ideas about what it means to belong to a certain national collectivity at a given point in time. Bishop and Jaworski find that media are actively engaged in discourses of national identity by invoking stereotypes and using fragments of history to shape the national ‘in-group’ (2003:244), whereas Costelloe

suggests that they exploit aspects such as the common past to disseminate particular discourses of national sameness (2014: 325).

In light of such works, the present thesis aims to explore particular discursive constructs of British national identity in selected newspapers and across specific events. In so doing, it is principally concerned with the problematization of the ‘taken for granted’. As is highlighted throughout the thesis, although the media are a vital hub for the reproduction of nationalism, their nationalism largely passes unnoticed. In fact, there is barely such a term as media nationalism. As Billig (1995) wittily observes, prosaic routine significations of the nation (as is mainly the case in the media) are generally deemed harmless. In response to this, it is one of the objectives of this thesis to map the extent of media involvement in nationalism and provide an account of the form in which such involvement materializes in actual media texts.

At this point, it is appropriate to point out that this work recognizes the role of the media in sustaining social cohesion and forging solidarity among ever more complex and often polarized nations; however, that is not a prime research interest here. Rather, the main concern is to highlight and problematize aspects of the coverage which pass by as normal and commonsensical, but which stand on the side of media’s positive role with respect to the maintenance of contemporary nations. In this regard, the focus will lie upon disclosing the strategic involvement of the media in negotiating what it means to be a nation at a specific point in time – as opposed to conceptions of the media’s role as purely coincidental and circumstantial. It is, therefore, paramount for this thesis to show, as a means of presenting its most tangible traits, how this strategic – i.e. by no means random or accidental – involvement materializes locally in individual texts. In conjunction with this, the question arises as to the ideological potential of such texts when considered cumulatively as groups.

1.5 The social character of language

The present thesis is informed by a branch of social theory that has the recognition of the social character of language at its center. Halliday's groundbreaking 'systemic functional linguistics' introduced a viewpoint of language as a semiotic system with 'meaning potential' (Halliday, 2004). Roger Fowler's (1933-1999) pioneering Critical Linguistics (CL) drew on that work to challenge the presumed neutral nature of language as a non-affiliated mediator. In fact critical approaches to language harbor a bottom-line consensus that language is part of the social fabric and not independent of it. Fairclough suggests that this understanding of 'language use as social practice implies, first that it is a mode of social action' and in addition that it is 'a socially and historically situated mode of action, in dialectical relationship with other facets of the social' (Fairclough, 2011: 54). To build on this perspective, bodies of work such as that of Pecheux recognize the potential of language and propose a view of language as a material form of ideology (Fairclough, 1992: 30). Insofar as language is a mode of social action, social and cultural processes and structures are also linguistic-discursive (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 60-64).

This thesis, on the other hand, is principally interested in approaching matters of identity, more particularly national identity, as discursive constructs. In this regard, it largely borrows from post-structuralist approaches in the field of international relations and their view on processes of policy-making as correlated to matters of identity. This assumption, as Hansen notes, entails the recognition of identity as discursive (Hansen, 2006). In sum, the thesis is driven by a recognition of the discursively-constructed nature of identities, while primarily endorsing a view of language as a mode of social action.

1.6 Thesis layout

This thesis opens with a discussion of the role of identity in international relations and, in particular, European integration. Then, in Chapter 2, it presents a model developed by scholars of the Copenhagen School (Hansen & Waever, 2002) which suggests that the concept of nation has a structuring impact on the ways Europe is understood in any given member state. Chapter 3 offers a review of the most relevant works on nations and nationalism. It offers a reading of traditional as well as new approaches in the field. Chapter 4 deals with the specific socio-historical conditions that brought the British nation into being before addressing the specific coupling between nation and state in the British context and presenting the most relevant traits of the British political and economic systems. Finally, it discusses how the specific understanding of nation and state, as well as the peculiarities of the British political and economic systems, have been – traditionally as well as presently – reflected in British-EU relations. Chapter 5 offers a comprehensive view of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the methodological framework for analysis. It presents a set of theoretical considerations that accompany CDA and lays out the analytic procedure and relevant categories for the present research. Chapters 6 and 7 cover the European Reform Treaty Process (aka the Lisbon Treaty period), Chapter 6 dealing with the relevant discourses and discursive strategies evidenced in the sample, and their linguistic materialization, while Chapter 7 is concerned with the representation of social actors and its ideological underpinning. In similar fashion, Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the period of the Fiscal Compact: Chapter 8 with the discourses and Chapter 9 with the representation of social actors. Chapter 10 covers the campaign preceding the referendum on British membership in the EU, generally referred to as the Brexit period. Because this period is approached to in a slightly different way from the previous two, all analysis is comprised in a single chapter. Finally, Chapter

11 offers a review of the thesis's main findings in light of the specific contextual setting and initial theoretical assumptions. This chapter also opens the way for further discussion, and links key findings to relevant stakeholders, such as journalists and readers.

II. Identity and International Relations

II.1 Identity dynamics and the EU

The European Union (EU) marks the most ambitious economic and political integration project in modern day Europe and beyond. During its almost seven-decade history the union has stretched from an agreement to integrate the national systems of heavy industries of coal and steel to a gigantic organization that deals with almost every aspect of its citizens' lives. By the same token, the number of member states has also stretched from the founding six to a total of twenty-eight², with a few more on the waiting list for future integration. The union has a territory of 4,475,757 km² and a population of 510 million citizens who can move, live and work freely irrespective of their nationality. As of 2009, the EU has single legal personality enabling it to be party to international treaties, a European Council President, and a Common Foreign and Security Policy High Representative. In light of such deepening and widening of integration, way beyond the initial industrial and economic realm, issues related to culture and identity have also come more to the fore, as topics calling for research. Actually, as early as in the embryonic phases of integration studies, the founders of integration theory, Ernst B. Haas and Karl W. Deutsch, had warned about the spillover effects that economic integration would have in other walks of life, including aspects related to identity. In line with the

² Until the conclusion of withdrawal negotiations, currently ongoing, the United Kingdom is still officially a Member State

functionalist theory of integration, Haas referred to the concept of ‘socialization’, the idea that the process of European integration consists in an internalization of new supra-national identity values. In his own words, we deal with a ‘shifting of loyalties’, as a process through which citizens gradually start to identify and relate beyond national settings (Haas, 1958: 16). Deutsch too, was a passionate promoter of the plausibility and desirability of identification with Europe. In a similar fashion, he argued that continuous integration would unavoidably generate a new ‘sense of community’ among its members (Deutsch, 1957: 5-9). Common ground for these pioneering thoughts on identity dynamics was the idea that identification with Europe would follow naturally through a process of socialization, as long as the transferring of powers to the EU continued. This was a two-sided process; on the one hand, the transferring of powers to the EU would lead to identification with the new polity, and on the other, identification with the new polity would pave the path and facilitate further integration.

While the works of Haas and Deutsch remain a valuable starting point, most contemporary research suggests that processes of identification with Europe are much more complex (Marcussen et al., 1999, Jachtenfuchs et al., 1998, Hansen & Waever, 2002, Risse, 2005). Thomas Risse starts from the premise that ‘socialization into European identity works not so much through transnational processes or through exposure to European institutions (the socialization paradigm), but on the national levels, in a process whereby Europeanness or “becoming European” is gradually being embedded in understandings of national identities’ (Risse, 2005: 305). In contrast to approaches which suggest that in cases of multiple collective identities there is a sense of clear-cut separation and/or a hierarchical organization between the layers of identity, Risse maintains that multiple identities work normally on a ‘mesh

and blend' principle. His 'marble cake' model of multiple identities suggests that national identities are the ultimate preconditioning setting for understanding the EU:

One corollary of the "marble cake" model is that European identity might mean different things to different people. EU membership, for example, might lead to an identity change, which impacts upon the previous national identity. Since EU membership identity then interacts with rather different national identity constructions, the overall effect will not be homogenous leading to a generalized EU identity. Rather, Europe and the EU become enmeshed with given national identities leading to rather diverging identity outcomes (Risse, 2005: 296).

Indeed a substantial body of work from the field holds that Europe is made sense of differently across the Member States, depending on the internal characteristics of the specific country (Marcussen et al. 1999, Jachtenfuchs et al. 1998). In particular, the approach taken by the Copenhagen School has helped channel the present research. This group of scholars have lately developed a detailed general analytic framework "capable of identifying the most basic 'codes' which structure the way in which constructions of 'Europe' can be argued politically in a given country" (Hansen and Waever, 2002: 9). Most prominently, Ole Waever has developed a three-layered model of analysis that takes the coupling between nation and state as its point of departure. In Waever's conceptualization, the relation that nation and state have with each other is constitutive for the ways in which the idea of Europe can be constructed politically within a given member state (Hansen and Waever, 2002: 2). He argues that nation and state compose a certain structure which does not necessarily have to be referred to explicitly in every debate about Europe, but which is nonetheless highly influential, if not crucial, for the form and content of the debate itself (Hansen and Waever, 2002: 2). The present thesis uses Waever's model as a heuristic guide in

investigating how specific debates about Europe in the United Kingdom are channeled through and influenced by such settings. More specifically, Waever's model will be used to contextualize the immediate empirical findings of textual analysis within a wider socio-historical background – a mandatory process in discourse research (Fairclough 2011, Wodak et al. 2009, Wodak & Meyer 2001).

II.2 A hermeneutic guide on nation, state and integration

II.2.1 Waever's model: three layers of a single structure

Borrowing from a view of discourse as dialectically positioned in context (see also Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak and Chilton 2005), Waever proposes an analytic framework primarily aimed at determining the structure on which debates about Europe depend. His leading argument is that certain 'vital concepts', such as state or nation, are tied together in conceptual constellations that are constitutive for the way Europe can be argued about politically. Attempts to construct a European policy that ignores these dominant constellations will in all likelihood fail to attract serious recognition within the debate (Hansen & Waever, 2002: 2-5). For analytic purposes, Waever splits his model into three layers: level one, dealing only with the nation – i.e. the coupling between nation and state – level two with the relations between nation and EU, and level three with specific national debates on European matters.

II.2.1.i Nation and State

Waever sees the first level as having a high structural impact on subsequent ones. Here the emphasis is on exploring what the separate understandings of nation and state are and how the two are tied together. He outlines two dimensions for this. In the internal dimension the starting point are simple questions such as: Is the nation understood as a cultural entity for which ethnicity plays a major role, or is nation

regarded as a political community in which, at least formally, the gate is open for those willing to adhere and comply with the rules? Further, one has to ask questions related to the way in which the state presents itself back to the constituency: Is the state an entity which guards and promotes welfare, or one that promotes a free market under a liberal-capitalist paradigm? In the external dimension, one has to regard the ways the state situates itself in the international context. Does it rely on the concept of hard power, envisioning the world as a balance of powers, or does it believe in soft power and considerations of international relations as a moral enterprise?

II.2.1.ii Nation and EU

Level two deals with the way the nation-state structure, as laid out in the first level, structures the discursive construction of Europe. In cases when nation and state are strongly bound together, there is less space for Europe, and vice-versa. Depending on how the nation-state structure is positioned, a few general models of Europe could be plausible. For example, Europe could be envisioned as any of the following: a) an intergovernmental arena of sovereign countries, b) a supranational entity aspiring to ever-deeper integration, or c) a free market of trade, capital and labor ungoverned by state intervention. This is obviously a non-exhaustive list, but it offers a perspective on the ways Europe can be constructed at level two of the model.

II.2.1.iii Debates about Europe

Level three represents the most dynamic of all the three layers. Here is where relevant actors in pursuit of specific European policies debate, shape, and construct their visions of Europe. In analyzing debates on specific European policies one can trace the structuring effect of compositions located at level one and two. “If a major power cannot project a Europe in which it can imagine itself (in a recognizable form which instantiates the basic idea of the nation/state) it will not pursue this policy” (Hansen

and Waever, 2002: 39). Level three is the arena of competing discourses on European policy, where relevant actors seek to institutionalize their own views and perspectives.

II.2.2 Waever's model and the perspective for research

This three-tiered model views discourses on Europe as intrinsically intertwined with discourses on national identity. Sometimes national identity is redefined in debates about Europe, sometimes Europe is redefined in debates about national identity, but most of the time both are subject to change in a process of constant mutual definition. As a general heuristic guide for the research of complex process such as those of identity formation and reproduction, this model can only be made sense of in light of the reading instructions it comes with. One has to clarify positions of the model at least on two levels: (1) Where does it stand ontologically and epistemologically? (2) How does it fit in an interdisciplinary research agenda ? On the ontological level the set of concepts defining the approach to the phenomena under investigation must be clarified; on the epistemological level, the same must be done for the theoretical approaches informing the inquiry. Finally, regarding interdisciplinarity, it must be made transparent how this model reconciles different disciplines in a coherent and unique research agenda.

II. 3 Clarifying concepts: What is an identity?

II.3.1 Identity, international relations and the Social Identity Approach

Waever's model derives from a wider poststructuralist research agenda in international relations (IR). Crucial concepts for the present study, such as identity – more precisely its collective form – can only be understood in light of the ontological and epistemological premises endorsed by poststructuralism. Until the late 1980s,

research in international relations was almost entirely dominated by realism, which had gained momentum especially after World War II. Central to the realist paradigm is that interests overplay ideologies, and that states, as primary actors in international relations, are in constant pursuit of power and domination. Drawing on the works of thinkers such as Machiavelli or Hobbs, realism presented a tough break from idealism and proposed a view of international relations as analogous to human nature, which it considers to be egoistic and interest-oriented (E. H. Carr 1939, Hans J. Morgenthau 1948). Although during the 1980s many of the principles that constituted classical realism were revisited under what became known as neorealism, processes of identity and interest formation in interstate relations continued to be largely neglected. Neorealism regarded international relations as a static structure of anarchy (the lack of a central authority to subordinate state sovereignty) in which the logic of operation was that of self-help (Waltz 1979). Critical theory, which emerged as a counter to 'rationalist' traditions such as idealism, realism and neorealism, argued that the state-based structure, which the latter use as their point of departure, is not static or universally valid. Nor has it come into being in a vacuum free from cultural significance, but rather through a process in which the domestic and the foreign are mediated, identity is formed and interests are shaped. Soon scholars endorsing this approach began to be referred to as 'reflectivists', a juxtaposing label to 'rationalists'. Building on critical theory, reflectivists regarded reality as socially constructed and held an anti-essentialist approach toward meaning, which they considered to be strictly context-bound and subject to change. In light of this framework, the group developed specific theoretical approaches to international relations, and consequently diversified across two major groups, the constructivists (Katzenstein 1996, Wendt 1999) and the poststructuralists (Der Derian 1987, Shapiro 1988, R.B. J Walker 1992, Buzan 1983).

Poststructuralism is the latest entry in the range of theoretical approaches in international relations, which is in part why its main focus lies in answering questions either neglected or insufficiently investigated by the more traditional schools. From the early 1960s numerous philosophers – among them Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), Jacques Derrida (1930–2004), and Michel Foucault (1926–1984) – developed new theoretical approaches to language, discourse, subjectivity, and power, presenting both a critique and a challenge to dominant rationalist thought. Rather than a single, unique and fully coherent theoretical school, poststructuralism is the catchword for a number of theories, not necessarily in full sync with one another, but guided by an understanding of language as a mode of social action instead of as a neutral mediator of the social. The bottom line of such approaches is that there are no such pre-existing categories as identities, meanings or subjectivities which language can communicate objectively, for it is through language use that their existence is activated. Moreover, these are not fixed categories, immune to change, but rather subjects that exist only under conditions of constant reproduction, and in a dialectical relationship with the context and structural setting in which they are actualized. Borrowing from these basic premises, the poststructuralist approach in international relations has developed a comprehensive research agenda of its own, with identity and its relation to policymaking at its center. Hence, one of the main premises of the poststructuralist turn in IR holds that processes of policymaking rely heavily on specific representations of identity, just as it is through the formation of policies that identities are constantly produced, contested, reinforced and reproduced (Hansen & Waever 2002, Hansen 2006).

Hansen suggests that the mere assumption that foreign policies draw upon representations of identity is linked to a conceptualization of identity as discursive, political, relational, and social (Hansen, 2006). That identity is discursive implies

that (1) it is inherent in discourse itself and its existence in an extra-discursive realm is impossible; (2) identity as political differs from other conceptualizations of identity – e.g. identity as cultural; (3) speaking of identity as relational means that identity gains meaning only with reference to something it is not – e.g. the concept of ‘we’ is only meaningful in the light of the ‘other’; (4) understanding identity as social means disregarding views of identity as a psychological condition or a private property which individuals can exercise independently of others. Instead, it means endorsing a view of identity as generated around a set of collectively articulated codes and within a collective space. Clearly, Hansen’s categorization borrows from the approach of social identity theory (SIT) and self-categorization theories (SCT), often referred to as the social identity approach. The social identity paradigm holds that, at the intragroup level, collective identities are characterized by positive evaluations and emotional connections between members comprising the ‘we’ category, whereas at the intergroup level they are characterized by a sense of distinctiveness making up the ‘other’ category, whose existence, and comparison ‘against,’ renders the ‘we’ category meaningful (Tajfel 1978, Tajfel & Turner 1979, Tajfel 1982).

According to SCT, intergroup relations – including feelings of commonness, positive self-perception, or solidarity – are not generated through personal connections but, on the contrary, through a rigid process of depersonalization. Intergroup members do not think of each other as distinctive individuals with unique identities because that would present serious hindrances to the idea of a shared collective identity.

Depending on context, there is always a prototype of what it means to be a member of the group, and norms, values and attributes are attached to this prototype.

Consequently, intergroup members tend to see in themselves, and in others, exemplars of this accentuated category, which eventually becomes a group prototype.

The context-boundedness of collective identities implies that they are fluctuating and

impermanent categories. Moreover, one cannot speak of collective identities as homogeneous, as in many respects they are simply hybrids of various identities; homogeneity is, therefore, distinctly implausible (Wodak et al., 2009). Depending on context, certain layers of identity sometimes awaken and others fall into silence, and sometimes, as the ‘marble cake’ model suggests (Risse, 2005) they mesh and blend with each other. Social psychology has made invaluable contributions to understanding the logic of intergroup and intragroup relations, and shed much light on the working mechanisms of collective identities. But beyond that – and for obvious reasons related to its scope of expertise – it provides no information regarding the historical conditions which made possible the emergence of nations, and consequently of national identities. A selection of works that tackle the historical foundation of nations will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

II.4. Summary

Aspects related to identity have lately come to the fore, mainly due to the deepening and widening of integration outside its original fields. Using pioneering thoughts such as Haas’s ‘socialization paradigm’ (1958) which understands integration as a process through which an internalization of new values occurs, and Deutsch’s consideration that continuous integration leads to ‘a sense of community’ (1957), Risse, whose viewpoint informs the present thesis, maintains that socialization into the European idea occurs largely within national contexts (2005: 305). Most importantly, Risse’s ‘marble cake’ concept suggests that national identities are of fundamental importance for the ways Europe can be made sense of across its member states (2005: 296). In this regard, Ole Waever’s model (Hansen & Waever, 2002), developed as part of the research agenda of the Copenhagen School, suggests that conceptualizations of the nation and its relation to the state compose a preconditioning basis for the way in which Europe is accommodated in any given member state. Most importantly,

Waeber maintains that discourses on Europe are inevitably intertwined with discourses on national identity (Hansen & Waeber, 2002). The following analysis uses this model as a heuristic framework to explore modes of discursive handling of national identity in the British press.

III. Nations and Nationalism

III.1 ‘When is a nation’ vs. ‘What is in a (specific) nation’

The question ‘When is a nation?’ has engaged philosophers, historians and theorists of all traditions for decades – surprisingly with no grand theories, or as Benedict Andersen has put it, ‘unlike most other isms, nationalism has never produced its own grand thinkers: no Hobbes, no Tocqueville, Marxes, or Webers’ (1991: 5). The ‘when’ question is key in understanding what has preoccupied the vast majority of orthodox theorizing on nationalism, although it is argued that ‘the *when* question is in fact a sociological question disguised as a historical one’ (Ichijo & Uzelac, 2005: 4). New approaches to nationalism take an altogether different view on the issue, and tend to part ways with the ‘when’ question in order to concentrate on aspects previously underexplored or entirely neglected. Moreover, ‘they turn their back on “grand narratives” or “meta-theories” designed to explain nationalism in general’ (Özkirimli, 2010: 170). Accordingly, theirs are not questions related to ‘the nation’, but rather to ‘a specific nation’ at a specific time. In what follows, I will discuss both groups of approaches and explain their relevance for this thesis.

III.2 A Traditional Reading: ‘When is a nation?’

Although traditional academic writing on nationalism presents diverse approaches, they generally gravitate around a single question: ‘when did the nation first emerge’.

Özirimli suggests that there are three major groups of theorists divided across this question: the primordialists, the modernists, and the ethnosymbolists (Özirimli, 2010). Primordialism maintains that the birth of the nation is not preconditioned by the rise of the modern era and that nations are natural entities that stretch way back in time. Modernism's common denominator is that nations and nationalism are a profoundly modern phenomenon that first emerged at the turn from agrarian to industrialized societies. Ethnosymbolism occupies middle ground; it accepts that nations as we know them are modern, but insists that they are successors of a rich legacy of ethnic groups.

III.2.1 Primordialism: Nation as 'a kinship of blood'

In the cultural sense of the word, primordialism is a catchword for 'natural', 'pre-social' and even 'sacred' affinities among human beings. Following Özirimli, the predominant theories here are the cultural approach, the sociobiological approach, and perennialism. The culturalist approach is mainly associated with the name of the American sociologist Edward Shils, who is credited with having first referred to the term primordialism in his remarks about the power of 'blood ties' as a sort of kinship that surpasses relationships deriving from mere interaction or socialization processes (Shils, 1957). Another influential name is that of the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz who, like Shils, speaks of primordial attachments as affinities that pre-date social experience and as such are ineffable and coercive (Geertz, 1963). Core principles of the cultural approach as outlined by Shils and Geertz have been famously summarized in the critique *The Poverty of Nationalism* by Eller and Coughlan (1993):

1. Primordial identities or attachments are 'given', *a priori*, underived, prior to all experience and interaction ... Primordial attachments are 'natural', even

‘spiritual’, rather than sociological. Primordial attachments have no social source.

2. Primordial sentiments are ‘ineffable’, overpowering and coercive ... If an individual is a member of a group, he or she *necessarily* feels certain attachments to that group and its practices.
3. Primordialism is essentially a question of emotion and effect... These feelings make primordialism more than a mere interest theory, and primordial identities are qualitatively different from other kinds of identities. (Eller and Coughlan in Özkirimli, 2010: 55).

Özkirimli warns that such criticism is shortsighted and misleading. He argues that while both Shils and Geertz speak of the sacredness of primordial kinships, they never suggest that such affinities are ‘given’, but rather ‘assumed’ to be so by individuals (Özkirimli, 2010: 55-56). Put differently, primordial attachments are significant only insofar as individuals bestow power and value upon them.

The second variant of primordialism, the sociobiological approach as in the works of Pierre van den Berghe (van den Berghe 1972, 1975, 1981) explains nationality through the concept of ‘kin selection’. For van den Berghe, ethnic groups, races and nations ‘are super-families of (distant) relatives, real or putative, who tend to intermarry, and who are knit together by vertical ties of descent reinforced by horizontal ties of marriage’ (van den Berghe in Özkirimli, 2010: 54). Elsewhere he argues that a nation is simply a ‘politically conscious ethnies’ (van den Berghe in Özkirimli, 2010: 55).

Finally, perennialism abandons claims of nations as natural or sacred, but argues that they are extensions of previous ancient entities which are ethnic in nature.

Ethnosymbolism as in the work of Anthony Smith (1986) is most representative of this paradigm.

III.2.2 Ethnosymbolism: nations as ethnic entities

Central to the ethnosymbolist approach as elaborated by Smith is that modern nations cannot be understood if their ethnic roots are ignored, or as he puts it:

not only did many nations spring up on the basis of pre-existing ‘ethnie’ and their ethnocentrisms, but [...] in order to forge a ‘nation’ today, it is vital to create and crystallize ethnic components, the lack of which is likely to cause serious impediment ‘nation-building’ (Smith 2005: 17).

Smith borrows the French term *ethnie* to denote a named human population which shares ancestry myths, history, culture, is associated with an ethnic territory and has a sense of solidarity among its members (Smith 2005: 32). He maintains that the ancient and pre-modern *ethnie* was characterized by a widespread sense of group centrality based on twin assumptions. On the one hand, one’s own values were deemed genuine, stretching way back in time, and true. On the other hand, ‘the myths, memories, cultures and homelands of others somehow lacked value and truth, and were therefore temporary and defective’ (Smith, 2005: 48). As Özkirimli observes, these and other qualities that Smith attributes to the *ethnie* bear strong cultural and historical connotations, not much different from some of the central claims of modernist theories (Özkirimli 2010: 150). Indeed, Smith himself maintains that ‘ethnie are nothing if not historical communities built up on shared memories’ (Smith 2005: 25), an argument that modernism deals with *in extenso*.

III.2.3 Modernism: nations as socio-historical creations

It is of central relevance for the present thesis to explore the historically constructed nature of the nation as outlined by modernist theory. Paradigmatic to modernism is that nations are relatively recent creations that emerged at the turn from agrarian to industrial societies. Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) maintains that ‘nationalism is

primarily a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1983: 1). He argues that the pre-agrarian era was marked by profoundly primitive social organizing during which such concepts were beyond imagination. It was only during the industrial era that conditions were ripe for what Gellner considers 'the imposition of a high culture' as the stepping stone of nation formation:

...when general social conditions make for standardized, homogeneous, centrally sustained high cultures pervading entire populations and not just elite minorities, a situation arises in which well-defined, educationally sanctioned and unified cultures constitute very nearly the only kind of unit which men willingly and often ardently identify with. (Gellner, 1983: 55)

In a similar vein, Benedict Anderson (1936-2015) maintains that 'the concept [of the nation] was born in an age in which enlightenment and revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm' (Anderson, 1991: 7). Essentially, Anderson argues that nations are 'imagined political communities' and that such imagining became possible only 'when and, where, three fundamental cultural conceptions, all of great antiquity, lost their axiomatic grip on men's minds' (Anderson, 1991: 36). He explains these conceptions as follows:

The first was the idea that a particular script-language offered privileged access to ontological truth. Second, the belief that society was organized around and under high centers of monarchs, who were persons apart. Third was a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical. (Anderson, 1991: 36)

When (in the medieval West) the dominant position of Latin as a sacred language was no longer the norm, the vernaculars started to come to the fore and eventually to be printed:

First and foremost, they (the new vernacular print languages) created unified fields of exchange below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars. [...] Second, print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which helped build the image of antiquity so central to the idea of the nation. [...] Third, print-capitalism created new languages of power, different from the previous administrative vernaculars. (Anderson, 1991: 44-45)

Early print languages had the power to turn events of the time into ‘concepts’, ‘models’ and ‘blueprints’ which could be copied and exported elsewhere (Anderson, 1991: 80-81). Following Anderson, due to the imagined nature of nations, the principal critical concern must not be the evaluation of the ‘genuineness’ or ‘truthfulness’ of a given nation, or its claimed distant, unique and heroic past; instead the main focus should be on examining the modes and styles in which the imagining of the nation takes place.

Eric Hobsbawm’s (1917–2012) concept of ‘the invention of tradition’ mirrors Anderson’s thoughts at least partially in that it acknowledges the fluctuating nature of nations. Hobsbawm considers that ‘identification [with the nation] and what it is believed to imply can change over time, even in the course of short periods (Hobsbawm, 1990: 11). Primary education, public ceremonies or the mass production of public monuments are exemplary cases of the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm, 1990). Specifically relevant for this thesis are Hobsbawm’s considerations on the construction of the national ‘we’ as opposed to the outside ‘other’ in international, potentially conflictual contexts. He maintains that, ‘nothing [has] stimulated

nationalism on both sides more than international conflict' (Hobsbawm, 1990: 91). In the present case, the multiple and competing types of identification with the British nation are analyzed against the EU as the foreign 'other'.

III.3 New approaches: nation maintenance & reproduction

Özkirimli (2010) argues that a growing body of work has emerged based on a critique of mainstream theories of the nation. On the methodological level, the critique points at 'the tendency of most mainstream theories [of the nation] to collude with their object of analysis' and fall into the traps of 'methodological nationalism', whereas, on a substantive level, new approaches distance themselves from the object of analysis of mainstream studies, which have focused much of their efforts on issues such as dating the birth of the nation at the expense of other relevant aspects (Özkirimli, 2010: 169-170). A non-exhaustive list of authors and approaches would include Partha Chatterjee's postcolonial theory (1986, 1993), Mira Yuval-Davis's feminist approach (1989, 1997), or Rogers Brubaker's concept of 'groupism' (1992, 1996, 2004). I will touch on Brubaker, while disregarding Chatterjee and Yuval-Davis on grounds of lack of relevance and proximity of their approaches to the present study.

However, I have chosen to deal extensively with two other approaches from the group, namely the theories of Michael Billig and Craig Calhoun. Billig's seminal work on the concept of 'banal nationalism' in the context of the daily reproduction of the nation (1995) offers one of the most valuable frameworks available for the systematic analysis of such reproduction. Craig Calhoun's approach to nationalism from a discursive perspective (1997, 2007) resonates positively with the overall

approach of this thesis and its primary interest in investigating the modes of the discursive reproduction of the nation.

III.3.1 Breaking with Tradition: ‘Bad’ vs. ‘Good’ Nationalism

As noted elsewhere, nationalism, regardless of the extensive research in the field has, unlike other phenomena, produced no grand or all-encompassing theory. Not only it is implausible to expect single theories to grasp the topic in its entire complexity, but, more crucially, nationalism can only be effectively studied if attempts to offer ultimate explanations generated from single theories are abandoned altogether (Özkirimli 2010, Calhoun 1997, Billig 1995). Also, locating the birth of the nation in an exact historical moment, or singling out specific factors relevant to its emergence, says very little about how the nation successfully sustains its position as the norm of political, economic and social organization in the contemporary world. Calhoun suggests that instead of providing general theories on the origins of the nation, what could be addressed in more general, theoretical terms is the conditioning factors that have led to a continual reproduction of nationalism as a central feature of modern society (Calhoun, 1997: 123). But, to do this would be to initially part ways with limited understandings of nationalism which restrict the phenomenon to its overt, conflictual and extreme forms – theories which, in Billig’s view, tend to define nationalism as an extreme or surplus phenomenon: ‘Nationalism is equated with the outlook of nationalist movements and when there are no such movements, nationalism is not seen to be an issue’ (Billig, 1995: 16).

When nationalism is projected onto others as an irrational force, our own nationalism, the one that reproduces the nation daily, becomes ‘overlooked, forgotten, even theoretically denied’ (Billig, 1995: 17). Calhoun makes a similar point:

Analysts often focus on eruptions of violence, waves of racial or ethnic discrimination, and mass social movements, making nationalism in its most pervasive form pass by unnoticed. They fail to see the everyday nationalism that organizes people's sense of belonging in the world and to particular states, and the methodological nationalism that leads historians to organize history as stories in or of nations, and social scientists to approach comparative research with data sets in which the units are almost always nations. (Calhoun, 2007: 28)

Concepts such as 'banal nationalism' and nationalism as a discursive formation represent new ways of going beyond the old division between 'our' good patriotism and 'their' bad nationalism.

III.4 Banal nationalism

Billig's approach focuses on issues either neglected or inappropriately dealt with by existing theories. There are two crucial novelties in the approach: first, a shift from the analysis of the origins of the nation to its modes of reproduction, and second, deconstruction of understandings that view such reproduction as a 'normal/natural' phenomenon, not worth the label 'nationalism'. Banal nationalism as a concept is 'introduced to cover the ideological habits which enable established nations of the West to be reproduced', with the warning that 'banal does not imply benign' (Billig 1995: 6). Following Billig's approach, national identity is located in the embodied habits of social life, including habits of thinking and language use: 'To have a national identity is to possess ways of talking about nationhood' (Billig, 1995: 8).

Billig suggests that by understanding nationalism as an ideology one can disguise its self-proclaimed naturalness, and if not completely fall out of its traps, at least

recognize its properties. In his work *Banal Nationalism* (1995), he concentrates around three core aspects, which could also be interpreted as strategic steps in the process of analysis: a) recognizing the existence of banal nationalism, b) locating national identity in context, and c) examining the surface of contemporary life as the hub where nations reproduce themselves.

III.4.1. Remembering banal nationalism

Billig's core argument consists of the idea that the West has forgotten its own nationalism by means of consciously 'mistaking' it for something else: 'In established nations, it seems natural to suppose that nationalism is an over-heated reaction, which typically is the property of others. The assumption enables "us" to forget "our" nationalism' (Billig, 1995: 37).

Remembering 'our' nationalism requires us to question such an understanding. Drawing on the works of Barthes (1977), Eagleton (1991), McLellan (1986), and Ricoeur (1986), Billig provides a rich typology of the ways ideology can make any given social world appear natural to its subjects. Starting with the not so benign properties of nationalism is what Billig calls the principle of 'double neglect'. Drawing on Renan (1990), he warns that historians make creative choices about ideologically convenient facts of the past, while intentionally choosing to leave out what does not fit the propagated narrative. By failing to situate 'our' national identity within the historical context that created it, we fail to understand its ideological nature. Properties of national identity (including what it means to have one) are constantly shaped through routine but complex ideological choices:

One might describe this process of routine-formation as enhabitation: thoughts, reactions and symbols become turned into routine habits, and thus,

they become inhabited. The result is that the past is inhabited in the present in a dialectic of forgotten remembrance (Billig, 1995: 42).

Billig takes issue with the sociological commonsense which confines nationalism to developmental stages of nation formation. Such a mindset produces a new label for ‘our’ nationalism – that of patriotism, a concept vested with a fundamentally different aura. Nationalism as an irrational force is confined to ‘others’. Such distinctions, warns Billig, would only make sense if there were clear criteria, beyond an ideological requirement to distinguish ‘us’ from ‘them’ (Billig, 1995: 55).

III.4.2. Contextualizing national identity

Drawing on the works of Bhavnani and Phoenix (1994) and Shotter and Gergen (1989), Billig suggests that an investigation of national identity should aim to disperse the concept of identity into different elements (Billig 1995: 60). In his study of the phenomenon of ‘groupism’, Brubaker warns similarly that concepts of ethnicity, race or nation should be carried through practical categories, situated actions, and cultural idioms (Brubaker 2004: 11). Some, like Tishkov, go so far as to describe the entire system of theory production and political practice as fraudulent for trying to define something that does not exist as a collective body. Nation is ‘a ghost word, escalated to a level of meta-category through historic incident and inertia of intellectual prescription’ (Tishkov 2000: 625). Instead of ‘dismantling the non-operational category’ the logic should be ‘extended into the domain of politics and everyday discourse’ (Tishkov, 2000: 625). Resonating with this body of work, it would follow that national identity can only be made sense of if situated within the specific context to which it belongs. If having a national identity means possessing ways of talking about nationhood, one needs to bear in mind that ‘ways of talking, or ideological discourses, do not develop in social vacuums, but they are related to forms of life’ (Billig 1995: 60). The focus is thus shifted from asking grand, but non-

productive questions like ‘What is national identity?’ toward specific, workable ones such as ‘What does it mean to have a national identity at a specific time and related to specific circumstances?’

III.4.3. Nationalism as a daily routine

The reproduction of a nation is a dialectical matter: context informs social action, and social action is rendered meaningful in context. The lexicon of nationalistic discourse is rather simple:

Banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing enhabit them. Small words, rather than grand memorable phrases, offer constant but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable. (Billig 1995: 93)

Here, Billig primarily refers to deixis as a means of invoking the national ‘we’. (Billig, 1995: 107). Not letting such small words slip through the net means ‘becoming linguistically microscopic’, but it also means expanding the radius of interest into non-traditional arenas such as culture, sports and the mass media as fertile grounds for the reproduction of the nation (Billig, 1995: 94).

III.5 Nationalism as a discursive formation

As already observed, this thesis draws on works that consider nations – and consequently national identities – as mental constructs (Anderson 1991, Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009, Calhoun 2007). In this regard, there are three central premises on which the work relies:

The first is to disregard views that consider nationalism as exclusively linked to processes of nation formation and therefore obsolete in the present day. Calhoun maintains that

the celebratory tone which characterized the talk of globalization after 1989, eager to proclaim the rise of international civil society as a transcendence of the nation-state, and the march of humanity towards a cosmopolitan democracy, was an attractive but illusive deal. (Calhoun, 2007: 10)

Billig too, warns that ‘one major problem with such a thesis is that contrary to what is claimed the elements of nationalist consciousness appear to be persisting’ (Billig, 1995: 139). In a globalized and ever-changing world of flows and fears, nationalism actually helps locate an experience of belonging, and sets the base for a sense of social solidarity (Calhoun, 2007: 1). Lee et al. find that media also operate on quite strict national contexts. More specifically, ‘because an event must be understood in relation to a whole stream of previous causes, collating selected facts into certain relationships is based on embedded cultural and national perspectives’ (Lee et al. 2001: 346).

Second, this thesis considers national identities as discursively shaped. Wodak et al. consider that ‘national identities, as special forms of social identities, are produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, discursively.’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 3-4). Calhoun too maintains that nations are creations that are shaped and maintained discursively: ‘It [nationalism] is a way of talking, thinking and writing about the basic units of culture, politics and belonging that helps to constitute nations as real and powerful dimensions of social life’ (Calhoun, 2007: 28).

Hence a nation is not an entity worth its name because of the fulfillment of objective criteria. Historical, territorial, cultural, or linguistic claims are important factors, but

they gain significance only insofar as they are properly transformed by a constitutive national discourse:

[...] nations are constituted largely by the claims themselves, by the way of talking and thinking and acting that relies on these sorts of claims to produce collective identity, to mobilize people for collective projects, and to evaluate peoples and practices. (Calhoun, 1997: 5)

Third, this thesis acknowledges media as central to processes of nation reproduction. In so doing it relies on a body of work that has cumulatively established the media as pivotal for the daily existence of nations (Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009, Bishop and Jaworski 2003, MacLaughlin 2001, Calhoun 2007). As has been outlined, Billig's concept of 'banal nationalism' operates on an understating of media as primary vehicles for making the nation appear as the natural and taken for granted habitat. According to Billig, newspapers help establish and maintain a sense of belonging within the confines of a certain nation by means of routinely addressing their readers as members of that nation (Billig, 1995:11). If 'identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation of difference' (Benhabib, 1963: 3), media discourse uses prosaic words like deixis to construct and preserve such difference (Billig, 1995: 94).

Likewise, Lewis points out that media play a pivotal role in the repetitive delineation between 'us' and 'them', which in turn 'makes natural and unproblematic "our" place and purpose within the world of nations' (Lewis, 2008: 415). Importantly, Wodak et al. stress that there is 'no such thing as one national identity', assuming therefore that 'different identities are discursively constructed according to audience, setting, topic and substantive content' (Wodak et al. 2009: 4). It follows, then, that media discourse works as a milieu in and through which various and, potentially competing,

constructs of national identity occur. As Scollon puts it, it is in media discourse that ‘identities are claimed and disputed, ratified and repudiated, displayed and masked depending on the ongoing social-interactive processes of the production of identity in discourse’ (Scollon, 1998: 252).

Finally, and again importantly for this thesis, some authors, like Lee et al. have pointed out that the role of the media in the maintenance of national identities increases at critical moments such as moments of crisis or decisive events: ‘The discursive binding of a national community shines at critical moments or around special occasions that function as a reference point and furnish rich repertoire of cultural symbols’ (Lee et al., 2001: 346). In its textual analysis, this thesis explores newspaper discourses to outline the various types of national identity constructs as triggered by and in the context of specific special occasions.

III.6 Summary

The issue of locating the birth of the nation at a certain moment in time has concerned much of the traditional theorizing on the matter (Shils 1957, Smith 1986, Gellner 1983, Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1990). The majority of such theories are concerned with the identification of decisive factors that led to the emergence of nations. Some of such works that are particularly relevant for this thesis point to the socio-historical nature of nations. Exemplary is Anderson’s concept of nations as ‘imagined communities’ (1991) or Hobsbawm’s premise that nations need to constantly reinvent themselves (1990).

This thesis takes such works into serious consideration. However, on another level, newly emerging theories that depart from traditional theorizing and the predominant concern with the ‘When did the nation emerge?’ question, also play a vital part.

Billig's concept of 'banal nationalism' (1995) or Calhoun's conceptualization of nations as 'discursive formations' (2007) bring important new aspects to the argument. One such novelty is challenging the assumption that nationalism is exclusively linked to processes of nation-formation. The recognition of the not-so-overt forms of nationalism evidenced in the surface of everyday life is especially relevant for the present work. Finally, this new branch of theories in nations and nationalism recognizes the role of the media as central in the reproduction of the nation (Wodak et al. 2009, Lee 2001, Lewis 2008).

IV. United Kingdom: Nation, State and Europe

IV.1 'Britishness': What's in a name?

It would be convenient at this point to briefly revisit Ole Wæver's (Hansen & Wæver 2002) three-layered structure, prior to embarking on a specific review of the British case. Following his model, layer one of analysis consists of an examination of the notion of nation and state, and the coupling between the two. How the nation is understood and what meaning it has gathered in the course of history impacts structurally upon understandings of Europe and its accommodation in national public discourse. Equally influential is the concept of state; the meaning it bears in itself, and what it has come to signify in conjunction with the concept of nation.

To start with, while all nations are complex creations of the last two centuries or so, and rarely fit well into single theoretical frameworks, the British case is still more multifarious. 'British' is an overarching term used often in the everyday language to denote people living in any of the four units of the United Kingdom (officially, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Historically, more than an internal blending of the specific

national and/or regional identities of these units, the term ‘British’ has come to signify an umbrella catch-word for external use. Loyalties to respective national and/or regional identities are a strong cement in the collective identities of the peoples of the UK. Such loyalties have endured the test of time, but, probably surprisingly and against all hopeless forecasts, so has Britishness. Diverse peoples and cultures have coexisted together with ups and downs, but persistently, at least since the time of the first union between England and Scotland in 1707. This is what makes Britishness not an overall culture, but indeed a ‘sharing of cultures’, as Bernard Crick would put it, to further add:

Britishness is a strong concept, but narrower than many suppose. Do we not speak of and recognize at once English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh novels, plays and poems? And whatever FIFA may think, we see nothing odd in fielding four national football teams. (Crick, *The Guardian*, 2004)

Whereas English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish national identities bear strong ethnic and cultural elements, Britishness is the opposite. British national identity has been traditionally forged as an alliance for the sake of the common state. Consequently, being British entails little to no reference to myths of common descent. Instead, pervasive to the idea of Britishness is loyalty to the common state and its derivatives such as constitution and monarchy. As will be elaborated below, this commitment to the state has been forged primarily in contact with rival ‘Others’, in which case Britishness has meant a joining of forces in response to external threat.

IV.1.1 A nation for the state or the opposite?

IV.1.1.i Cultural vs. political nations

The classical typology that divides nations across cultural and political lines has dominated much theoretical endeavor in traditional nationalism studies. In asking

‘When is a nation?’, philosophers and theorists have been less interested in setting a precise birthdate of the nation than in finding out which preceded which, nation or state, and thus determining the cultural as opposed to the political nature of the nation (and vice versa). Although the distinction between *Staatsnation* and *Kulturnation* can often be ambiguous and even controversial, especially when tested in specific contexts, contemporary studies rarely circumvent it all together. Thus, pointing up the heuristic value of the ideal types of cultural and political nation, Kumar suggests that ‘armed with ideal types, we are in a better position to understand the nature of the forces contending, the relative emphases that might lead to one outcome [...] over another (Kumar, 2003: 22).

In his seminal work *Nations and Nationalism* (1965) American philosopher and historian Hans Kohn gave an absorbing analysis of the constituent characteristics as well as the differences between the two ideal types. In Kohn’s analysis, the political nation derives from the ideals and principles of the French Revolution (1789), which in turn borrows much of its raw material from the English legacy of constitutional liberty. The sort of nationalism that arose from the French Revolution was according to Kohn ‘predominantly a political movement to limit governmental power and to secure civic rights’ and it aimed at creating ‘a liberal and rational civil society representing the middle class and the philosophy of John Locke’ (Kohn, 1965: 29). Locke’s political theory, founded on the premises of the social contract, helped fuel the idea of control over the government and the division of powers, as well as to foster the belief that the ‘raison d’être’ of the state was to grant protection to the rights of its citizens as prescribed in the model of the social contract. The predominant identifying feature of the political nation was its civic nature, which made it a political community based on ‘willed, active citizenship’, as also prescribed in Kohn’s writings (Kumar, 2003: 23). However, Kumar is at odds with Kohn as

regards the role that the latter attributes to the French Revolution in the creation of political nationhood. Kumar argues that much of the preparatory work in creating the first political nations was carried out by existing monarchies in processes of reformation, as in the cases of France, Spain and Britain prior to 1789, and consequently prior to the ideology of nationalism as such (Kumar, 2003: 22-23). ‘Once invented, however, nationalism was able to adopt the political nation in its repertory of available models’ (Kumar, 2003: 23).

Interestingly, such a lead resonates well with, if not complements, some of Kohn’s other insights on the experience of Central and Eastern Europe with the nationalism that arose from revolution. Those parts of Europe, where the centralizing role of monarchy was absent, experienced an altogether different encounter with nationalism. Societies in Central and Eastern Europe were less advanced than those in the West, and the middle class, otherwise an essential ingredient in the formation of the nation, was also considerably weaker (Kohn, 1965: 30). In such circumstances, ‘the task for the nationalist move was left [...] to poets and scholars, i.e. it had the form of a cultural movement’ (Kohn, 1965: 30). The majority of today’s nations in Central and Eastern Europe followed the cultural model in their nation-formation aspirations. ‘Lacking a state’ as was the case with most of them ‘one was forced to put one’s claims as a legitimate nation in cultural, not political terms’ (Kumar, 2003: 24). Countries such as France, Britain or Spain, which had early experiences with statehood, did not need to articulate their aspirations for nationhood in such terms. That is not to say they used no raw material from the past, such as myths of origin, national grandeur or uniqueness, but such use was nothing like as intense with their Central and Eastern European counterparts. Additionally, as Gellner suggests (Gellner, 1983), such raw materials underwent processes of extensive transformation. In this light, I shall go on to elaborate how the nation was forged in the British case,

and what makes it a prime example of what Kumar calls a genuinely ‘state-nation’ rather than a ‘nation-state’ (Kumar, 2003: 22).

IV.1.2 Britishness: a national identity?

For many, Britishness exemplifies the very properties of the political nation (Kohn 1965, Colley 2003, Kumar 2003), and along with France and Spain, is one of the most often-cited examples illustrating the concept of political nationhood. So strong is the identification of Britishness with the state that there is scholarship in the field that goes so far as to declare British national identity implausible, suggesting instead that there is and can only be a British state identity (Reeve 1999, McCrone 1997). Essential to such claims is that Britishness was a superimposed identity so that it ‘sat lightly on top of the constituent nations as kind of state-identity’ (McCrone, 1997: 584). Nevertheless, Ward warns that ‘there are tensions in all multiple identities, but that does not make multiple identities fundamentally incompatible’ (Ward, 2004: 171), whereas Kumar notes that

if we can talk about English or Scottish or Irish national identity, we should be entitled to speak of British national identity. The kind of institutions and experiences that give rise to the former seem amply in evidence also in the latter case. (Kumar, 2003: 173 – 174)

Aughey, too, admits that attempts to reduce British identity to the strict contours of a state identity fall short of evidence. In the time span between 1707 and now, he argues, the UK was held together by ‘a combination of shared history, common central institutions and the familiar political culture that arises from them’ (Aughey, 2010: 346), features that can be generally found in all national identities.

The present thesis disregards the debate about the inherent ‘dilemma’ of British national identity, because it works on the assumption that the peculiar identity

alliances pertaining to the founding nations of the UK bear different symbolism internally than they do externally. That is to say, Scottishness or Welshness have a less accentuated relevance in debates about the UK and the EU than they do in issues concerning, for example, the National Health Service (NHS). Textual analysis will also show that in debates about Europe, British identity is predominantly cast as a national rather than state feature.

IV.1.3 A brief history of the British nation

Most studies in the field suggest that the British nation, and consequently British national identity, were forged on the basis of a few important pillars consisting of monarchy, empire, religion and a moral and ethical status relating to democratic commitment, the rule of law and human rights (Colley 2003, Black 1996, Lloyd 2001, Kumar 2003, Klug et al. 1996). In the following, I draw on various, mainly history-related works, to offer a brief overview of each of them.

IV.1.3.i Monarchy, Empire and Prosperity

According to historian Linda Colley, Britishness did not come into being as the result of a mixing and blending of existing regional identities, nor as a superimposition from a so called ‘English core’ (Colley, 2003). Rather, “Britishness was superimposed over an array of internal differences in response to contact with the ‘other’, and above all in response to conflict with the ‘other’” (Colley, 2003: 6). It is mainly in this light that Colley views the logic behind the Acts of Union, first in 1707 between England and Scotland, and then in 1801 between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. During these important years, when a British identity was for the first time being forged, a crucial role in the process was laid upon the institution of monarchy. ‘From at least the late nineteenth to at least the late twentieth century monarchy was seen as central to British national identity’ and was used as ‘a

device to maintain the loyalty of the dominions and colonies' (Ward, 2004: 14).

Through rituals, ceremonies and an ever-stronger cult of the monarch, people were invited to join something bigger than their immediate regional communities:

'Monarchy and Empire provided opportunities for establishing the compatibility between the distinctive national identities of the United Kingdom and a sense of British identity' (Ward, 2004: 23).

For Britons of this period, monarchy was not only a symbol to identify with, but also one to set the difference between them and the rest. In a Europe of many other powerful monarchies, the British monarchy differed qualitatively at least in terms of the parliamentary control exercised over its monarchs. As Colley observes, 'British kings had long experienced greater constraints than most of their Continental equivalents, constraints imposed not just by constitutional convention but also by their particular circumstances and temperaments' (Colley, 2003: 196). Julios argues that the specific relationship between monarch and subjects has been essential in shaping the particular brand of British citizenship (Julios, 2008: 78). And Kumar points out that while a ruling class alone cannot make a nation, it can definitely influence it substantially through the 'dominant ideologies' that it promotes (Kumar, 2003: 167). One of the features that the monarchy promoted enthusiastically was the British Empire and the feelings of solidarity and loyalty that came with it. Ward suggests that from the 1870s to the 1950s monarchy and empire were intrinsically interlinked and fueled most of white Britons with a sense of positive self-evaluation (Ward, 2004: 35-36). This feeling of 'grandeur' was backed up by the enormous success of the British Empire, which by the end of the nineteenth century was the world's greatest power, or in facts and figures:

(It) ruled a quarter of the world's population and a fifth of the land surface.

Between 1860 and 1914 Britain owned approximately one-third of the world's

shipping tonnage and by 1898 about 60 per cent of the telegraph cables, a crucial aspect of imperial government and defense planning. In 1890-1914 she launched about two-thirds of the world's ships and carried about half of its marine trade. (Black, 1996: 194)

The 'society of the time', Black maintains, was 'affected by the growth of popular imperialist sentiment' (Black, 1996: 196). Such sentiments persisted well into the twentieth century and affected people in all of the empire's dominions, not only in Britain itself. Historian Trevor Lloyd cites the example of the Second World War in which 'all over the empire young men volunteered because they felt that they were British and that Britain was in danger' although they were organized in their respective national units (Lloyd, 2001: 146).

The Industrial Revolution that Britain led, and the economic gains triggered by it, had elevated the country to an exemplary level in the eyes of the other European powers, and such growth and prosperity came with important socio-cultural spillovers. As Colley puts it: 'True liberty consists in doing well. This is the authentic voice of the bourgeois patriot who believes that his national prosperity and the country's good are forever twinned' (Colley, 2003: 97).

The hype in growth and prosperity that eighteenth century Britain witnessed was largely an outcome of the country's exponentially growing trade. The manufacturing capabilities at home, and a wide net of colonies and dominions to trade with overseas, offered Britain optimum combinations. Trade enjoyed a cult status, Colley considers, citing a government pamphlet of 1731 which read 'Whenever our trade perishes, so must our public dignity and strength' (Colley, 2003: 60). To summarize, the cornerstones of Britishness lay somewhere between the symbolic significance and material presence of the monarchy, the military power and political strength of the

empire, and the economic well-being and widespread prosperity generated by trade (Colley 2003, Lloyd 2001, Kumar 2003, Black 1996).

IV.1.3.ii Protestantism and Parliamentarism

If identity politics is a matter of setting the boundaries of difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Billig 1995, Benhabib 1996, Wodak et al. 2009), Britishness relied strongly on Protestantism to carry out such task. Following the events of the sixteenth century, when the Church of England officially broke away from Rome, Protestantism became a means of being English, and later British. Although technically a matter of religion, Protestantism had its greatest impact outside the religious realm. In political terms it signified the country’s autonomy and sovereignty over its own affairs, and in sociocultural terms it implied superiority over people who did not subscribe to the values of the Reformation. It is important to recall that the Reformation itself was intimately linked to concepts of individual as well as societal independence, of which the most important were rationalism, literacy, and self-determination. Against the backdrop of such principles, British Protestantism enshrined values at odds with those of continental Catholicism. This made the British feel titled to establish judgmental attitudes toward Catholics, who were by default considered to inhabit the wrong side of history: ‘To be Catholic, according to this view, was to be economically inept: wasteful, indolent and oppressive if powerful, poor and exploited if not’ (Colley, 2003: 35).

Although Colley argues that this was not mere xenophobia, as the British were de facto better off than most of their European Catholic counterparts, the most important aspect of this argument is that disapproval and intolerance toward Catholicism were an important generator of internal cohesion. The values and norms attached to Protestantism were held with pride from people of various backgrounds throughout

Britain, establishing a crucial cement of common British identity. As illustration, Colley recalls that the first major protest in which English and Scottish artisans collaborated openly was the anti-Catholic campaign that led to the Gordon Riots (Colley, 2003: 23). These came as a response to the Papist Act of 1778, which was intended to mitigate official discrimination against British Catholics but caused widespread anger throughout Britain. The riots reflected not only the ideological differences between Protestantism and unreformed Catholicism, but most importantly the conflictual relationship between Britain and Catholic Spain and France. Against the backdrop of such events, Protestantism came to represent an ideal, a source of inspiration as well as a set of enduring values:

It gave the majority of men and women a sense of their history and a sense of worth. It allowed them to feel pride in such advantages as they genuinely did enjoy, and helped them endure when hardship and danger threatened. It gave them an identity. (Colley, 2003: 53)

It is in this realm that Protestantism found a positive resonance with the idea of parliamentarism and aspects related to it. With regard to the latter, a regression is important in comprehending the larger picture. In 1829 Britain agreed to Catholic Emancipation, allowing members of the Catholic Church to have seats in the Westminster Parliament. The act was widely perceived as a setback to core British values. It was considered a victory of religion over rationalism, absolutism over government control, and the church over human liberties. In the turmoil triggered by the Emancipation Act, about three years later, in 1832, first England and Wales, and then Scotland and Ireland, sought remedy by passing what were referred to as 'Reform Acts'. The first such act, passed by England and Wales, addressed abusive practices accompanying the choice of members of the House of Commons. Similar acts passed in Scotland and Ireland produced a series of substantial changes in the

electoral system, aiming at a fairer and more transparent process. The Reform Acts, and the abolition of slavery shortly afterward, did much to restore British pride in its tradition of liberty:

They helped ensure that if Britons could no longer posture so confidently as being different and better than their European neighbors and even their one-time American colonists, peaceful and orderly constitutional reform and pioneering and successful abolitionism would serve for many as further and conclusive proofs of superior quality of British freedom (Colley, 2003: 361).

Such a legacy of pioneering democratic reform, protection of human rights and promotion of the rule of law, helped create a British self-esteem deeply rooted in history. Inherent in the British understating of ‘oneself’ is the belief that it represents one of the brightest examples of democracy and human dignity:

Citizens of the United Kingdom believe they are among the freest people in the world. The idea that this country has a unique propensity to individual liberties, going back to the ancient resistance of the Anglo-Saxons to the ‘Norman yoke’ and the Magna Carta, is buried deep in the national psyche. (Klug et al. 1996: 3)

This set of values and inherited traditions have important repercussions for present-day Britain and are a basic part of what Britishness has come to mean. To summarize, here is how Julios encapsulates this idea:

Having endured the test of time, such values are now well-established moral, ethical and civil standards against which all others are measured, namely: a belief in universal Human Rights, equality and democracy, respect for Britain’s heritage and traditions as well as compliance with the ever supreme rule of law. (Julios, 2008: 6)

IV.1.4 Summary

Waever's model (Hansen & Waever, 2002) suggests that the stronger the coupling between state and nation, the more difficult it is to accommodate Europe in the national arena. Conversely, when the nation has a more independent and self-fulfilling life, and state is experienced as a separate entity – which is typically the case with ethnic/cultural nations – Europe is more easily incorporated in the 'internal structure'. In the case of the UK, in which the understanding of nation is almost interchangeable with that of state, delegating competencies of the latter to another political entity is interpreted as giving away parts of the national identity. Following Waever's model, this has a traceable structural impact on discourse about Europe.

IV.2 The British Political System

IV.2.1 The force of tradition

The United Kingdom prides itself on being the motherland of parliamentarism – and indeed a rich legacy with respect to reformation and restriction of monarchical power is deeply embedded in the country's image of herself as 'a gradual and upward path toward enlightened government, liberty, and stability through its ever-adapting constitutional monarchy' (Mannin, 2010: 13). Ever since the Magna Carta was proclaimed in 1215 near Windsor, monarchs have been subject to progressive power restrictions, culminating in the present form of a constitutional monarchy with largely symbolic functions. Though monarchy is still considered to bear a special role and responsibility with regard to fostering and maintaining British national identity, its power in the political system is insignificant and mostly ceremonial. The UK is a unitary country although it operates on the basis of a devolved government in which the English center in London shares competencies with each of the three other

national centers of Edinburgh, Cardiff and Belfast, which also run their own legislative bodies. England, the country's biggest nation is the only one not to have a devolved administration of its own. The United Kingdom has no formally codified constitution. In lack of a codified document, the UK operates on the basis of a body of rules, conventions and practices which describe, regulate or qualify the organization, powers and operation of government and the relations between persons and public authorities (Turpin, 2007: 4).

IV.2.2 The Westminster Model

Government in the United Kingdom is based on the traditional Westminster model, which is widely imitated throughout the Commonwealth. The head of state is the monarch, albeit with no political powers. The executive is headed by the prime minister who appoints and leads a cabinet of ministers – the 'cabinet government' model. The merits of cabinet government exceed the technicalities of government organization, in that the cabinet government is considered a 'hallmark of a very British way of policymaking, allowing for a process of collective responsibility for decision making and, through the chairing leadership of the prime minister, the effective dispatch of a decision once taken' (Mannin, 2010: 199-200). The role of parliament is untypical due to its lack of constitutional limitations (Turpin & Tomkins, 2007: 41), but concerns regarding the abuse of power by parliament have been traditionally outweighed by citing the great pressure to which parliament is subject, internally expressed through its representative role and accountability toward the citizens and, externally by the force of public opinion to monitor and oppose eventual wrongdoings (Turpin & Tomkins, 2007: 102). Specific to the Westminster model is that it reserves an official position for the leader of the opposition in parliament, a mandate unknown to other government models, but which is regarded in the British system 'as one of the litmus tests of a democracy' (Watts, 2006: 79).

The legislative body is bicameral, consisting of the lower chamber, the House of Commons and the upper chamber, the House of Lords. Parliament is elected by a system of first-past-the-post in which the winning party ‘takes all’ and its leader automatically heads the next government. The system bestows wide powers on the prime minister, at times resembling a ‘quasi-presidential system’ due to the prime minister’s right of ‘patronage; party leadership; the cumulative authority of the post itself; and the ability to appoint and fire senior colleagues, to choose the date of elections, and to command a public audience’ (Mannin, 2010: 31-32). The first-past-the-post system is considered essential in shaping a traditional two-party system, but other factors are attached to it, such as the Westminster model in general, the effects of the post-war consensus on Keynesian economics and the lack of significant cleavages that might have proven resourceful for new political forces (Mannin, 2010: 137). Recently, the traditional two-party system has been under pressure due to the rise of third parties such as the Scottish National Party or the Liberal Democrats. Their representatives are to be found in both the devolved and central legislative bodies, and until recently also in the European Parliament. Moreover, parties positioned at extreme ends of the political spectrum such as the United Kingdom Independence Party have also gained momentum in recent years, albeit only in relation to the Brexit movement. Although the rise of third parties represents an important political signal, under present conditions it is still impossible for one of them to form a government alone, or even lead a coalition government: the two-party system is still the norm, although not altogether unchallenged.

IV.2.3 Political forces: the ‘right’ and the ‘left’

As a result of the two-party-system, Britain’s leading political forces are the Conservatives, also referred to as Tories, on the right of the spectrum, and Labour, as the leading force of the left. In terms of ideological positions, British conservatism

claims to be qualitatively different by sticking to its traditional emphasis on ‘preserving the past’ and ‘adapting only where change is proven necessary’ (Watts, 2006: 236). On the other hand, the Labour Party proclaims a commitment to socialism as the backbone of its political agenda. Traditionally, such commitment has been channeled through ‘Clause Four’ of the party’s constitution which entails the pledge ‘to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange’ (Watts, 2006: 241). Due to a recent process of mitigating the cleavages between right and left during Tony Blair’s premiership, Clause Four has undergone substantial change, so that it now concentrates on ‘community values such as equality of power, tolerance and respect, rights and duties, the emphasis being on society’ (Watts, 2006: 245). With regard to the economy, the British right and left subscribe to the general conservative and socialist approaches, the Conservatives generally to a free market and small government, whereas Labour supports the welfare state concept. However, the classic cleavage between right and left has undergone a reconciliation process in recent years, especially with Tony Blair’s New Labour as a tangible shift toward the center, and David Cameron’s soothing tones relating to some of the hallmarks of economic conservatism such as regulation, taxation and public spending. With regard to Europe, Labour has traditionally held a more supportive approach, corresponding to the party’s general cooperationist and soft-power stance in international relations. Conversely, the Conservatives have traditionally held a more skeptical view of the EU, especially as regards the delegation of sensitive state competencies in fields such as foreign affairs and security.

IV.2.4 Summary

The characteristics of the British political system are not mere technicalities confined to the realm of comparative politics: they point to deeper specificities of British political culture. For example, the country cherishes the fact that although it does not possess a codified constitution it represents an excellent example of peaceful constitutional progress instead of revolution. As regards legislative power, Britain points to the ‘cardinal importance’ of parliament within the Westminster model and interprets it as an added value of British democracy (Turpin, 2007: 41). The symbolism of the British political system according to Waever’s heuristic framework is suggestive of the power of the system’s features to differentiate Britain from ‘the rest’. A summary offered by Mannin illustrates how the British political system is perceived in terms of British exceptionalism:

The absence of violent revolutionary change in the past 350 years; the gradual nature of constitutional development through convention and piecemeal legislation; and the continuity, consolidation, and popular support for Parliamentary sovereignty and constitutional monarchy, are significant factors to include in claims to British political exceptionalism within a European context. (Mannin, 2010: 26)

The structuring impact of a country’s political system over discourses on Europe and the accommodation of these within the national arena is less significant than notions of nation and state. However, on the level on which daily political activity is pursued, the political system has a more visible and tangible presence. In addition, its structuring impact is easier to trace empirically throughout actual discourses about Europe, and most importantly, a country’s political system is in Waever’s terms more ‘vulnerable’ to change.

IV.3 The British Economic System

IV.3.1 A glorious past

Today's economic system in the UK, or better its model of political economy, can only be properly understood in light of the country's economic past and its almost hegemonic role in the world economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During this glorious era, Britain's economy was driven by profound market liberalization, and free trade with the entire world. Being the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, Britain could benefit from the latest innovations which in turn provided a significant advantage in the global market. By the beginning of the twentieth century, while the rest of the world was catching up with the transition to industrial production, Britain could concentrate on improving its already industrialized economy and maximizing profits. By the mid-nineteenth century Britain had already been named 'the workshop of the world', and as if industrial preeminence was not enough, the country could also rely on a superior shipping service to export its goods. Under the paradigm of free trade, Britain also elevated itself into the world's unquestionable financial center. It is arguable that 'a flexible, financially driven model of capitalism was therefore embedded in the British political economy long before contemporary discourses of globalization' (Gifford, 2007: 466).

Under such conditions, British supremacy continued at least until the early 1930s, when the rise of the United States of America as a new world power jeopardized British dominance in the global arena. It was not America's rise per se that threatened Britain's supremacy as much as the protectionist stance of the USA compared to the fundamentally liberal approach favored by Britain. In turn, Britain, too, was forced to adopt 'protectionism in the form of an imperial preference system', though the

country never ceased to keep an eye open for possible opportunities to return to a genuinely free trade approach (Gifford, 2007: 466). The situation continued well after Second World War, in an agonizing attempt on Britain's behalf to return to the one-world trade system. During the 1950s, British governments 'believed that Britain could once again place itself at the center of a liberal global economy because of its Commonwealth ties, its strong relationships with both Europe and the U.S. and the continued importance of sterling and the City to the world economy' (Gifford, 2007: 466).

In this realm, the emerging economic forces of continental Europe, led mainly by a recuperated Germany and a politically determined France, went clearly against the British vision. Yet it seemed delusional for Britain to give up its orientation toward the wider world only to confine itself within the borders of the European continent. So, initially, when the group of the six founding members of the European Coal and Steel Community set the ground for what would in future become a customs union and more, Britain had no interest in joining. However, the truth was that Britain was a declining power; its former supremacy was damaged beyond repair. Eventually, the country had to agree to concessions for fear of further exclusion, and Britain presented its first bid to join the European Economic Union in 1961; this failed due to the French veto.

IV.3.2 The 'post-war consensus'

In the period following the end of the Second World War, when British economic dominance had shrunk irreparably, the major political forces embarked on a 'post-war consensus', a term that denotes the famous multi-party approach toward a mixed economy, following both the Keynesian doctrine and a broad welfare state. As part of the post-war consensus there followed a period of 'massive extension of government intervention in such industrial sectors as coal, steel, energy, and rail and road

transportation’ – marking an extensive process of nationalization of assets (Mannin, 2010: 255-256). Against the backdrop of such events, unions made use of the fertile ground to widen their influence. Although British unionism predates the Labour Party, which in part emerged as a product of the unions in the early twentieth century, it was after World War II that their bargaining power on a national scale increased significantly. In this regard, unionism marked both a hallmark in British differentness as compared to the rest of Europe, and an outspoken tendency to see the EU – or the EEC as it then was – as a threatening ‘externality’ (Mannin, 2010: 180). The country had to struggle for more than a decade after its first bid only to finally be accepted into the European club in 1973, but by the time this happened, its heavily nationalized and union-driven economy was in a much worse condition. The period also overlapped with the traumatic loss of Empire, which in turn had direct consequences on Britain’s foreign trade and investment policies. In sum, the country was facing multiple economic problems for which the act of joining the EEC did not seem an immediate remedy. Some of Britain’s most sensitive problems included ‘government expenditure that had risen to 50 percent of GDP by 1975, mostly on the welfare state; high government borrowing and levels of taxation; and a lack of new manufacturing investment and skills training’ (Jenkins in Mannin 2010: 256).

IV.3.3 The Thatcherite approach

By the time Margaret Thatcher stepped in as new prime minister in 1979, Britain was facing one of its most critical junctures in decades. Thatcher came into office with plans to immediately break with the Keynesian tradition, ‘first by a major withdrawal of government from the economy, and second, by reducing the powers of trade unions to protect wage and employment levels’ (Mannin, 2010: 257-258). Thatcher’s politics resulted in economic growth and reoriented the economy from manufacturing to services, the most important structural shift in decades. In the external domain of

economic policy, Thatcher favored the Single Market, where she sensed great opportunities for British exports. The Single Market was also seen as an opportunity to make Britain ‘an attractive investment location for Far Eastern and U.S. capital seeking easy access to the EU market’ (Mannin, 2010: 261). To this day, the attainment of Single Market access is considered Britain’s greatest success story in the integration project.

IV.3.4 Summary

Ever since the decline from the position of world power, confirmed especially in the years after the Second World War, successive British governments have publicly sought to find ways to relocate Britain at the center of world affairs. It is important to note that ‘in many ways this has been related to a sense that Britain has something special to offer to the world, linked to a belief in British difference and even superiority’ (Ward, 2004: 108). Beyond internal divisions of right and left, Britain has traditionally stood firmly within the confines of the Anglo-Saxon economic model. At the heart of the model stands a commitment to the market, which takes the form of low levels of taxation, less state expenditures on welfare, a flexible labor market, less protectionist policies and an orientation toward free trade. As such the Anglo-Saxon model has been from the onset ‘challenged by the “European Social Model” as its antithesis, the characteristics of which include high levels of labor protection, generous welfare support, state investment in key industries, and, internationally, protectionist expectations vis à vis the state/EU’ (Mannin, 2010: 274).

IV.4 Britain and Europe

IV.4.1 Europe as the ‘other’

It is inherent in the theoretical approach of the Copenhagen School, and reflected in Wæver’s model, to view foreign policy as constructed through discourse. Borrowing from a rich legacy of theoretical endeavor aimed at bringing ideational aspects to the fore (Derian 1987, Shapiro 1988, Keohane 1988), foreign policy is understood as intrinsically linked to matters of identity. Instead of looking for causal correlations which strictly define the relationship between the variables beforehand, foreign policy and identity are approached from a relational perspective: foreign policy has to depend on representations of identity, but identity is constantly negotiated through projections of foreign policy (Hansen, 2006:1).

The British case poses an excellent example in which foreign policy and national identity are engaged in a complex web of interactions through which they give meaning to one another. A great body of research shows that British foreign – and specifically European – policy is evocative of the country’s historical past and its understanding of national identity and its place in the world (Wallace 1991, Colley 2003, Doty 1996, Marcussen et.al. 1999, Risse 2003). In her influential study of Britishness, historian Linda Colley argues that the idea of British superiority with regard to Catholic Europe as the hostile ‘other’ was pivotal in the forging of British identity as early as 1707 and remains influential to this day (Colley, 2003). In similar vein, William Wallace points out that a sense of ‘exceptionalism’ in relations with others, referring primarily to Europe, has been crucial for the British self-image (Wallace, 1991). Hence specific identity constructions play an important role in shaping relations in the foreign policy realm, which in the British case has been nowhere more visible than in the European integration project.

This holds true not only for the somewhat more ‘abstract’ notions of national identity, constructions of the ‘other’ and the like. As Waever insists, specific, practical, and even formal constellations of nation and state bear an important structuring impact on the ways Europe can be argued about and accommodated within the national arena (Hansen and Waever, 2002). Similarly, Marcussen et al., speak of the ‘resonance assumption’ which holds that ‘elite groups promoting a specific nation state identity or a concept of political order need to make these new ideas fit with pre-existing identity constructions embedded in political institutions and culture’ (Marcussen et al., 1999: 627-628). They warn that the British notion of political order highlights concepts such as parliamentary democracy and external sovereignty (to be discussed here in more detail in the section on the British political system), and it follows almost naturally that Britain can only come to terms with an intergovernmentalist vision of Europe (Marcussen et al., 1999: 628). Drawing on Jachtenfuchs’s argument that, in the long term, member states tend to favor an image of Europe which resonates positively with their own constitutional traditions (Jachtenfuchs, 1998), Risse, too, seeks to deconstruct the understanding of aspects such as institutional arrangements as merely formal:

A country’s institutional division of territorial powers (or lack thereof) is not just about formal constitutional questions. It also comes with a set of collective understandings what it means to be a “federal” or “unitary” state. That sovereignty can be shared or divided, for example, is deeply ingrained in the German collective identity pertaining to their [federal] state. That sovereignty resides in one single place, namely in the Parliament, is equally deeply ingrained in British understandings about the nation-state. (Risse, 2005: 300-301)

Jachtenfuchs et al., refer to such constitutional arrangements as ‘polity ideas’, and similarly claim that being a ‘system of governance’, the EU must also, at least partly depend on ‘normative ideas about the legitimate political order’ (Jachtenfuchs et al., 1998: 410).

Despite their differences, most of the aforementioned studies emphasize the enduring quality of the traditional perceptions and attitudes of British elites with regard to the European integration project. Jachtenfuchs deals more with the stability of ‘polity ideas’ in general (Jachtenfuchs, 1998), but Risse and Marcussen et al. put specific emphasis on the resistance of British political elites to change in ‘basic identity constructions’ (Risse, 2003). Unchallenged for longer periods of time, these become ‘so embedded in the national political culture that not even dramatic geo-strategic developments trigger discursive contestation’ (Marcussen et al., 1999: 627). In light of these insights, Britain’s troubled relationship with the EU can be seen to be ingrained in aspects far deeper than mere policy disagreements or pragmatic calculations about maximizing national benefits.

IV.4.2 Britain: a brief history of European integration

In the following, I mainly draw on the literature review to highlight some of the most decisive moments in more than half a century of British history in the European integration project. The end of the Second World War found Britain facing one of the most serious identity crises in its modern history. The British Empire, which had served as a source of inspiration and pride for generations, was by 1945 an ever-shrinking creature whose end was no longer avoidable; and British economic dominance, which had already started to fade in the 1930s, was further aggravated by the financial burden of a costly war. In such a context Britain had to deal with multiple difficult tasks, including the ‘reinvention of the British "imagined community,"’ (Doty, 1996: 124). During the period between 1945 and 1961 there was

an era when anything European, and not only initiatives for a common European project, was rejected outright by the British (Forester, 2004: 10). Such behavior was contradictory, considering the self-projections of the UK as a country of central importance on the world stage. As Forester puts it, Britain wanted to be both at the center of Europe and not engaged in the initiatives going on in Europe (Forester 2004: 17-18).

Ostensibly the ‘delusion of grandeur’ (Harmsen et al., 2004) that accompanied the process of transformation from the biggest empire in world history to a mere nation-state was at least partly responsible for Britain’s lack of interest in Europe. The fresh memory of the war in which Britain stood two long years alone against Nazi Germany prior to American intervention also worked against any deeper European commitment. In this context, faced with the alternatives of ‘being reduced to the status of a mere European power’ or agreeing to ‘some form of American hegemony’, the idea of the Commonwealth, where Britain could still exercise a leading role, seemed more attractive (Doty, 1996: 124). At the emotive level, the Commonwealth ideal provided a remedy for the painful loss of empire, and initially, trade with Commonwealth countries was profitable in economic terms as well. However, none of the Commonwealth countries was of strategic importance in terms of foreign policy, nor did any of them either alone or combined hold powerful positions in world politics. In the long term, Britain still had to prioritize between Europe and the U.S. in the quest for a focal point of interest in international relations. Strategically, prioritizing relations with the U.S. over those with Europe entailed an opportunity to reposition at the world level instead of remaining within the limiting confines of the European arena (Wittlinger, 2010). However, the U.S. itself was more interested in Britain taking a leading role in Europe. More precisely, the U.S. envisioned a European club of sixteen members with the UK in the steering wheel, but when

Britain failed to deliver, such plans were officially dropped (Dedman, 2010). In the meanwhile, the French idea of a smaller club, consisting of only six, and without the UK on board, gained momentum. In 1951 Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). By 1957 the same countries had agreed to join in two other communities, the European Economic Community (EEC), the EU's legal predecessor and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC). Britain had been invited to join the signing of the treaty that created the EEC but it declined the invitation.

It took Britain a decade to come to terms with a changing reality in which trade with the Commonwealth was no longer yielding profits and isolation from the ongoing developments in Europe was leading to marginalization. In addition, with its members scoring rapid economic progress, the EEC was becoming an ever more attractive club. Britain's first bid to join the EEC in 1961 failed due to a French veto, and a second attempt in 1965 had the same fate. It took nearly another decade for the conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath to finally accomplish British membership in 1973, but that came along with the disadvantages of being a latecomer. By the act of joining, Britain had to agree to rules into which it had given no input, but the repercussions of which would trouble the relationship well into the 1980s. Already two years into the membership, in 1975, Britain materialized its doubts by calling a public vote. In the referendum that followed, a vote of 67% in favor of staying provided an end to the dilemma, at least temporarily. The 1980s, under the conservative leadership of Margaret Thatcher, were marked by her leading role in the completion of the Single Market just as much as by her strong resistance toward integration in fields other than economic cooperation. The time period during which Thatcher was Prime Minister corresponded to that of the socialist Jacques Delors being the head of the European Commission. Thatcher's firm stance against any form

of political integration was in direct conflict with Delors's ambitions for a more federal Europe and a single currency. By 1992, when the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht happened, Delors's vision of Europe was on the winning side considering the members' agreement to delegate important competencies to Brussels. Under the new treaty, the EEC was transformed into the European Union (EU), but Britain had managed to successfully opt out from the single currency plans and the social chapter.

Tony Blair's victory in 1997 was a positive sign for Britain's relations with Europe. His premiership showed genuine commitment in the process of EU enlargement, putting the country in a leading role in Europe after a long time on the sidelines. In addition, in line with his electoral promises, he managed to sign the UK into the EU social chapter and eventually consider plans to join the common currency. The most recent premiership of the conservative David Cameron is arguably the most decisive in the country's relationship with the EU. After having vetoed the initiative to reform previous treaties, Cameron opted out of the so-called Fiscal Pact in 2012, and a year later promised to call a public vote on EU membership in the event of a subsequent electoral victory, which is what eventually happened. British citizens went to the polls on June 23, 2016 and voted in favor of leaving the EU. The popular vote marks the official beginning of the end of British membership in the EU.

IV.4.3 Summary

The UK-EU relationship was uneasy from the onset. As previous sections show, British understandings of nation, state and regional cooperation have in general failed to resonate positively with the EU, or as Wall puts it, Britain is 'a stranger in Europe' (Wall, 2008). Eurobarometer data suggests that public support for the EU in the UK

has traditionally been low³, and that the country leads in Euroscepticism. Following Waever (Waever & Hansen 2002), all of the aforementioned aspects have important structural impacts on specific debates about Europe. It is with this contextual setting in mind that the following textual analysis will be carried out.

V. Methodological Approach

V.1 Introduction

The present research endorses an interdisciplinary agenda in its aim to analyze media discourse(s) of British national identity in debates about Europe. It addresses this task within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an approach that brings theory and methodology to bear on an examination of language as one of the many modes of social action. to the following sections will offer a brief history of the context and circumstances from which CDA emerged, and an overview of the theoretical premises it relies on, prior to presenting the concrete methods used in this project.

V.2 A new approach toward language

The turn to the twentieth century was marked by an unprecedented focus on language, mostly within the realms of philosophy and social theory. According to Ives, this paradigmatic shift occurred due to a growing emphasis on the interrelated character of phenomena under investigation and an understanding of language not as a tool in the passive representation of reality but as an active contributor to it (Ives, 2004: 16). It was in the turn to the twentieth century that structuralism and its sub-categories expanded and developed considerably. Louis Althusser's (1918-1990)

³ Eurobarometer Surveys, Public Opinion, for the period 1974 – 2015
http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm, for the period 2015 – onwards
<http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Survey/index#p=1&instruments=STANDARD>

concept of ideology and Antonio Gramsci's (1857-1913) concept of hegemony are exemplary of that time period. Years later, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and his concepts of power as a discursive category and historicity provided further impetus in the understanding of language as a mode of social action.

V.2.1 Language, ideology and power

Louis Althusser's concept of ideology remains highly relevant for critical approaches to discourse. Althusser maintains that ideology represents reality through unconscious channels, and in the majority of cases such representations, whether images, concepts or structures, act functionally on people via a process that escapes them (Althusser, 1969: 233). His approach, despite its one-sided emphasis on structure, offers a springboard for the understanding of language as a variable with the capacity to explain social phenomena. For example, Gramsci's concept of ideology as a medium of the drive for power is an extension of Althusser's argument. Gramsci's theory conceptualizes hegemony in dialectical terms as an unstable state of the struggle for power, or as Fairclough summarizes it:

[...] hegemony is the power over society as a whole, of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but which is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium' (1995: 76).

In Gramscian terms, language is crucial to the way people make sense of the world. He considers language to be a spontaneous philosophy (Ives, 2004: 93) shaping the values and norms that inform people's thoughts and actions. He maintains that the premise of consent (rather than coercion) underlying modern societies is grounded in the naturalization of ideologies as 'common sense' – following which Fairclough holds that ideologies are primarily located in the 'unsaid' (hence 'implicit')

propositions) (Fairclough, 1995: 27). Thus Gramsci's conceptualization of hegemony and the role of language allows us to see how micro-events are actually based and dependent on macro-structures.

Like Gramsci, Foucault, too, views power in modern societies as exercised via consent. In Foucauldian terms, consent must be read historically, in that it is created and shaped over longer periods of time and through the various knowledge-bases from which human action is generated. Foucault is mainly concerned with localizing the specific force relations in which power comes into being and knowledge patterns are naturalized as common sense (Taylor, 2011). Fairclough develops this premise further, viewing discourse analysis as primarily concerned with 'specifying socio-historically variable discourse formations,' and analyzing how the latter 'make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times, places and institutional locations' (Fairclough, 1992: 40).

V.3 Critical approaches to language

Approaches that view language as 'a neutral, transparent medium between the social actor and the world' and therefore consider that 'discourse can be taken at face value as a simple description of mental state or event' (Antaki, 1988: 168) have lost ground to critical approaches that understand language as a mode of social action. Roger Fowler's (1939-1999) Critical Linguistics (CL) pioneered the field based on the premises of 'systemic functional linguistics' prescribed in Michael Halliday's work. Halliday views language as a semiotic system that bears a 'meaning potential'. He views the relation between grammar and semantics as natural, and although he states that there is no clear line where one ends and the other begins, a functional grammar is one that is pushed in the direction of semantics (Halliday, 2004: 37-59). Aspects of

grammar, that is to say, such as verb transitivity, are closely related to the ideational nature of what is said, and therefore influence the way in which a certain reality is represented (Fairclough, 1992: 27):

The basic premise is that coding events in language entails choices among the models – the distinct process and participant types – which the grammar makes available, and that such choices are potentially ideologically significant.

(Fairclough, 2011: 25)

Drawing on such premises, systemic functional linguistics examines the functions that language has come to serve in society, with a special focus on ‘real’ language events in order to analyze the purposes that language serves in different contexts and how language actually and practically works socially (ed. Young and Harrison, 2004: 1).

Michel Pecheux’s (1938-1983) work has also influenced the field of critical approaches to language, more precisely “Pecheux’s contribution to this theory has been to develop language as one crucially important material form of ideology” (Fairclough, 1992: 30). Pecheux’s model of ‘automatic discourse analysis’ was developed so that it could serve the analyst with a ‘metaphoric matrix that gives information about the production of meanings under theoretically specified conditions of production’ (Helsloot & Hak, 2007). According to Fairclough the real value of critical linguistics, to which the works of Fowler, Halliday and – albeit from a more philosophical stance – Pecheux are related, is that it breaks from a tradition in linguistic theory in which two principles were prevalent: the view that language is an autonomous system and the separation of meaning from style or expression (Fairclough, 1992: 26).

Critical Discourse Analysis, which provides the main theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis, emerged against the backdrop of the critical linguistics tradition and preserves some of its premises. Nevertheless, CDA also represents a departure from Critical Linguistics (CL) in several directions. In the following I will present a brief history of CDA and its theoretical foundation, pointing up the novelties it brings vis à vis preceding approaches. After commenting on some current variations within CDA, I will finally introduce the specific approach and concrete methods of this thesis .

V.4 Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In the words of Teun van Dijk, CDA cannot be limited to a subdiscipline of discourse analysis like, say, conversation analysis, nor to a homogenous research direction like systemic linguistics (van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 96). Similarly, Wodak and Meyer consider that CDA is a wide take on the social character of language use and, as such, closely related to approaches, disciplines and research fields as diverse as rhetoric, linguistics, and pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). What distinguishes CDA specifically is its constitutive problem-oriented and interdisciplinary approach targeting complex social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). In terms of theory, most analysts subscribing to CDA endorse a view of ideology as ‘an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations,’ emphasizing especially the ideological character of language (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 10). However, in compliance with the notions of ‘ideology’ and ‘hegemony’ – as in the terms of Althusser or Gramsci – CDA views discourse not as a ‘status quo’ but rather as an ‘unstable equilibrium’ in which there is a constant struggle from various power

positions and in pursuit of various ends. Wodak and Meyer explain how this struggle is manifested in texts:

[...] it is very rare for a text to be the work of any one person. In texts discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which are themselves in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 11)

CDA stands for a historical reading of discourse(s) in that it specifies that complete analysis' of discourse(s) can only be carried out in the light of such 'extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology' (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 15). Therefore, the focus on 'context' is in CDA just as relevant as the focus on 'text', as the latter can only be understood when contextual factors are taken into consideration. As regards methodology, CDA clearly rejects the concept of causality, endorsing a rather correlational/hermeneutic approach:

Compared to the (causal) explanations of the natural sciences, hermeneutics can be understood as the method of grasping and producing meaning relations. The hermeneutic circle – which implies that the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts – indicates the problem of intelligibility of hermeneutic interpretation. (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 16)

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical and methodological considerations, Jorgensen and Phillips draw on the qualification made by Fairclough and Wodak and list five features that different approaches to CDA must endorse in order to qualify as compatible with the paradigm:

- a) accepting the character of social and cultural processes and structures as partly linguistic-discursive
- b) understanding discourse as both constituted and constitutive,
- c) analyzing language use in its social context
- d) recognizing the ideological functioning of discourse
- e) endorsing critical research in general (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 60-64).

Because of the variety of approaches, definitions and conceptualizations of core concepts such as ‘text’, ‘discourse’, ‘power’ or ‘ideology’ may vary considerably. Making visible the precise choices as regards the definitions of these concepts and their operation is decisive in maintaining clarity and cohesion in specific research undertakings. In the following, a number of relevant CDA approaches outlined by Wodak and Meyer (2001) will be briefly discussed. The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), which is the primary methodological choice of this thesis, will be discussed separately.

V.4.1 Siegfried Jäger: critical discourse and dispositive analysis

Siegfried Jäger’s approach stands closest to the Foucauldian theory of power/knowledge, relying heavily on the structuralist tradition. Jäger takes the work of literary and cultural scientist Jürgen Link and his stance on discourse as ‘an institutionally consolidated concept of speech’ (Link in Wodak and Meyer 2001: 34) in order to reach a more comprehensive definition of discourse ‘as the flow of knowledge – and/or all societal knowledge stored – throughout all time’ (Jäger, 1993 and 1999), which ‘determines individual and collective doing and/or formative action that shapes society, thus exercising power’ (Jäger in Wodak and Meyer 2001: 34). Jäger who considers discourses as ‘sui generis material realities’ is primarily concerned in disentangling the complex relationship between discourse and power. In his view ‘a discourse represents a reality of its own which in relation to ‘the real

reality’ is in no way ‘much ado about nothing,’ in the sense of presenting distortion and lies, but has a material reality of its own and ‘feeds on’ past and (other) current discourses (Jäger in Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 36).

V.4.2 Teun van Dijk: the socio-cognitive model

Van Dijk approaches discourse through the perspective of the discourse-cognition-society triangle and proposes a socio-psychologically informed model. In van Dijk’s terms cognition ‘involves both personal as well as social cognition, beliefs and goals as well as evaluations and emotions, and any other “mental” or “memory” structures, representations or processes involved in discourse and interaction’ (van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 98). In a series of works (1988, 1998, 2006) mainly concerned with the analysis of the discursive reproduction of racism, van Dijk has developed a model of analysis which emphasizes the role of cognitive ‘models’ and ‘schemata’ in the shaping of language production and comprehension. Moreover, van Dijk offers a theory of context as a ‘subjective participant construct’ (van Dijk, 2008). He does not deny the objective dimension(s) of the situations in which discourse(s) are embedded, but suggests that ‘such social situations are able to influence discourse only through their (inter) subjective interpretations by participants’ (van Dijk, 2008: 16). Van Dijk considers knowledge (personal, group and collective), attitudes (as socially shared opinions) and ideologies (as the basic social representations of social groups) to be the main forms of social representation (van Dijk in Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 113).

V.4.3 Norman Fairclough: discourse and Hallidayan grammar

Norman Fairclough borrows much of his theoretical foundation from Michel Foucault’s work on discourse and power. In light of such a legacy his understanding of CDA entails primarily an analysis of relationships between three facets of the

event or phenomenon under investigation, namely text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2011: 57), or as visualized below:

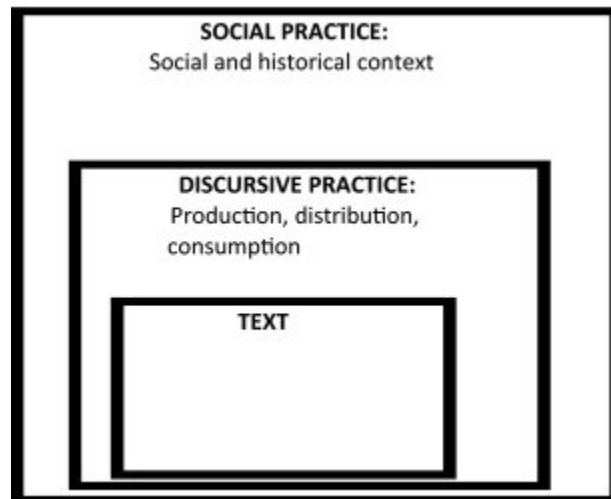


Fig. 1. Fairclough's Model of Discourse as presented in Jorgensen and Phillips, (2002: 68)

Fairclough's comprehensive model is designed to enable researchers to examine all relevant aspects in the understanding of specific discourses. It is a combination of the linguistic description of language in a text, the interpretation of the relationship between the productive and interpretative discursive processes and the text itself, and the explanation of the relationship between discursive and social practices (Fairclough, 1995, 2011).

Important aspects in Fairclough's approach to CDA are the concepts of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Interdiscursivity is a term that Fairclough borrows from the French discourse analyst Pecheux, and aims to grasp the situation when discursive events combine two or more conventional types of discourse (Fairclough, 1992). Intertextuality, on the other hand, is a concept that Fairclough uses in close relation to that of historicity. Intertextuality represents the idea that no text can be created without drawing on previous texts; hence all texts are historically shaped: 'Intertextuality is basically the property that texts have of being full of

snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth' (Fairclough, 1992: 84). The model informing this thesis entails the historicity of all discourse(s) and their reading through the lens of the wider contextual setting to which they belong.

V.5 This thesis's approach: Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

The Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), also referred to as the Viennese School, builds on the theoretical foundations of critical theory as developed by the Frankfurt School and its leading proponent Jürgen Habermas. In this field, DHA follows 'a complex concept of social critique that embraces at least three interconnected aspects, two of which are primarily related to the dimension of recognition and one to the dimension of action' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 32). Following the Frankfurt School, these aspects are immanent, socio-diagnostic, and prognostic critique (see also Wodak et al. 2009). Immanent critique looks for 'inconsistencies, (self-) contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures,' socio-diagnostic critique aims at 'demystifying exposure of the – manifest or latent – persuasive or “manipulative” character of discursive practices,' and prognostic critique 'contributes to the transformation and improvement of communication' in various institutional settings and realms (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 32-33). In a similar vein to Fairclough's theory, Ruth Wodak, the foremost proponent of DHA, appeals to the dialectical character of discursive practices:

On the one hand, the situational, institutional and social settings shape and affect discourses, and on the other hand, discourses influence discursive as well as non-discursive social and political processes and actions. In other words, discourses as linguistic social practices can be seen as constituting non-

discursive and discursive social practices and, at the same time, as being constituted by them. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66)

In Wodak's understanding, discourse is

a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts,' that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genres. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66)

Drawing on Girth (see Girth 1996) she defines 'fields of action' as 'segments of the respective societal "reality," which contribute to constituting and shaping the "frame" of discourse' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:66). The Discourse-Historical Approach applies the principle of triangulation – a shortcut for the combination of various disciplines, methods and techniques to create tailor-made research frameworks specific to the discursive problem in question (Reisigl and Wodak 2005, Wodak and Meyer 2001, Wodak et al. 2009). For example, if the problem under investigation concerns matters of national identity, then the approach would combine historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives so as to grasp the discourse(s) at play in their entirety (see also Wodak et al. 2009). Throughout her work, Wodak has also developed the concept of triangulation as a means of limiting the scope of error and bias. Because it combines various disciplines and approaches, and contrasts the outcome of data analysis with as much background information and contextual analysis as possible, triangulation minimizes the risk of one-sidedness and thus offers a wider take on the issue concerned. In other words, instead of simply denoting a multiple-angle view of the problem in question, triangulation 'has been adopted in the

social sciences for research in which more than one method is used, in principle for purposes of double- (or triple-) checking results' (Wodak and Chilton, 2005: 6-7).

Triangulation within the field of DHA is based on a theory of context which evolves around four levels:

- the immediate, language or text internal co-text
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses
- the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation' (middle range theories)
- the broader sociopolitical and historical contexts in which discursive practices are embedded and to which they are related ('grand' theories) (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 67).

Although it suggests an interdisciplinary agenda and the combination of theories of different ranges (grand theories, middle-range theories), DHA does not stand for a theoretically overcharged approach. Mouzelis's 'diagnosis of social research' (1995) has guided DHA's commitment to free itself from 'context-less propositions and generalizations' and instead 'to relate questions of theory formation and conceptualization closely to the specific problems that are to be investigated' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 64). Wodak's work systematically follows Mouzelis's guidelines 'not to exhaust oneself in theoretical labyrinths, not to invest too much in the operationalization of unoperationalizable "grand theories," but rather to develop conceptual tools relevant for specific social problems' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 22). By the same token, as far as procedure is concerned, DHA offers a clear and concise step-by-step guide for research.

In various studies (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005; Wodak and Meyer 2001, Wodak et al. 2009), three major procedural steps have been developed: (1) establishing the contents or topics of the discourse(s) under investigation, (2) disclosing the discursive strategies through which these topics are represented, and (3) presenting and elaborating on the linguistic means through which such strategies are performed. In the following I will present a detailed account of each of these steps along with a list of concepts and category definitions such as text, genre, discursive strategies, and relevant linguistic means, as used in this thesis.

V.5.1 Procedures and categories of analysis

V.5.1.i Analytical categories

Considering that the term ‘discourse’ is, as Fairclough reminds us, widely and therefore often vaguely and confusingly used (Fairclough, 1995), it is important to clarify what it means within the framework of this thesis. The definition of discourse that I endorse is that of the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) as developed by Ruth Wodak, which holds that a discourse is

a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as ‘texts’, that belong to specific semiotic types, that is genres. (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66)

Because this definition might still be overly wide, its constitutive components such as ‘text’ and ‘genre’, which in turn represent important categories of analysis, should be disentangled. It is evident in this respect that the concept of ‘text’ is used with slight differences in critical discourse studies. For example, although Fairclough lists textual analysis as one of the three central aspects of analysis in general (the other

two being discourse practice and sociocultural practice), he doesn't give a detailed definition of 'text' and is content to note that 'texts may be written or oral', and that oral texts may be either spoken (radio) or spoken and visual at the same time (television) (Fairclough, 2011: 57). Teun van Dijk on the other hand does not seem to distinguish text from discourse itself, but tends to opt for a narrower understanding of texts as written utterances as opposed to spoken forms of discourse (van Dijk, 2008). Of these three, Ruth Wodak is the most concise in her definition of 'text': 'Texts' can be conceived as materially durable products of linguistic actions' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66). It follows then that texts can be written or spoken utterances, which are durable in character and derive from linguistic actions of social actors. A 'genre' on the other hand is, according to Fairclough, 'a way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in...' (Fairclough, 2011: 76). In his classic study of speech genres, Mikhail Bakhtin offers the following definition: 'Each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own relatively stable types of those utterances. These we may call speech genres' (Bakhtin, 1986: 60).

Drawing on Fairclough, Wodak and Meyer consider 'genre' as 'the conventionalized, more or less schematically fixed, use of language associated with a particular activity' (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 66).

V.5.1.ii Analytical procedure

– Contents/Topics of Text

After having decided on the relevant text(s) with respect to the discourse(s) in question, and having established the genre they belong to, the first substantial step of analysis in DHA is defining the main topics of a text. Wodak and Meyer borrow van Dijk's view on topics as 'semantic macrostructures' and conclude that they 'represent

what a discourse is “about” globally speaking, embody most important [sic] information of a discourse, and explain overall coherence [sic] of text and talk’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 101-102). Through the category of the topic, the researcher is enabled to define the macrostructural properties of the text under investigation, which in turn provides important hints for future in-depth analysis: ‘Since summaries by definition express macrostructures, we can – for all practical purposes – simply “list” the topics of a text by summarizing it, a method that can be repeated for various levels of abstraction’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 102). Indeed, discourse topics are much about processes of summarizing, in that they reduce information in a way that makes the most important aspects of a text’s thematic structure come to the fore. Next, key topics from each text should be subjected to comparative analysis with respect to key topics from other texts pertaining to the same discursive problem, so that the researcher can map a list of relevant topics of the discourse in general.

- *Discursive strategies and definition of ‘topoi’*

The introduction of ‘discursive strategies’ is the next step in critical analysis. To quote Wodak and Meyer, strategy means ‘a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim.’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 73). A non-exhaustive list of the most common discursive strategies as defined by Reisigl and Wodak in their book *Discourse and Discrimination* (2001) includes the following:

- strategies of reference/nomination (responsible for constructing and representing social actors, for example in- and out-groups)

- strategies of predication (materialized in the form of stereotypical, evaluative attributions toward social actors; strategies of labeling social actors in certain ways)
- strategies of argumentation (otherwise known as strategies of justification due to their role in defending and reasoning on attributions given to social actors via other strategies)
- strategies of perspectivation (denote the speaker's involvement in discourse and the viewpoint employed)
- strategies of intensification/mitigation (responsible for qualifying and/or modifying propositions derived from other strategies)

V.5.1.iii Specific Discursive Strategies

In several works within the overall framework of DHA (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Wodak and Meyer 2001), but most specifically in the book *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (Wodak et al. 2009), specific macro-strategies related to the discursive construction of national identities are developed. In general, defining and operationalizing discursive strategies in research is strictly dependent on the questions posed. As such, studies that aim at detecting discourses of racial discrimination will be more interested in analyzing strategies such as that of predication (stereotypical evaluation of social actors), whereas studies interested in detecting an author's involvement in discourse might opt more for discursive strategies such as perspectivation (ways of reporting and narrating events and utterances). Because this thesis is primarily concerned with the reproduction of national identity in media discourse(s), I will present, in what follows, a combination of discursive strategies (both general and discourse-specific) that are best equipped to answer the questions raised here:

Constructive strategies, are responsible for the construction of national identities in that they ‘attempt to construct and to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). In the present thesis, I will look for constructive strategies that attempt to establish and promote various understandings of what it means to be British in relation to the EU at specific moments in time. A sub-category of constructive strategies are *strategies of perpetuation*. Such strategies ‘attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity, i.e. to preserve, support and protect it’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 33). In the original case (see Austrian case in Wodak et al. 2009) strategies of perpetuation have been used to analyze the discursive attempts to ‘protect’ the Austrian national identity from ‘threats’ of immigration and its derivatives. In this thesis I use perpetuation strategies to look at how the case was made for the ‘protection’ of the British nation from the presumed threats of integration and Europe.

Strategies of justification, are closely linked to strategies of perpetuation, even being considered a sub-category. Such strategies are used ‘primarily in relation to problematical actions or events in the past which are important in the narrative creation of national history’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 33). As such, their main concern is

to justify or relativize a societal status quo ante by emphasizing the legitimacy of past acts of the ‘own’ national ‘we’-group which have been put into question, that is they restore, maintain and defend a common ‘national self-perception’ which has been ‘tainted’ in one way or another. (Wodak et al. 2009: 33)

Through strategies of justification, this thesis looks specifically at the legacy of the specific traditional understandings of the national ‘we’ and the ways through which such legacies are re-contextualized in current discourses about Europe.

Strategies of transformation, bearing the greatest potential for change, stand at the opposite end of the macro function to constructive strategies. Their aim is to ‘transform a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualised’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). Of these strategies, specifically important for the present study are *strategies of destruction* which are aimed ‘at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33).

Strategies of perspectivation, belong to the group of discursive strategies that are not thematically bound and hence are more generic. They focus on framing and discourse representation ‘by means of which speakers express their involvement in discourse, and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of discriminatory events or utterances’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005: 45). In other words, strategies of perspectivation deal with the way author(s) of discourse(s) make themselves visible in actual texts; the viewpoints they put forth and defend. In analyzing media discourses, strategies of perspectivation become especially handy in that they are the specific category of analysis that looks at the level and form of an author’s involvement in the text. Strategies of perspectivation are not merely concerned with offering a generalist view of positive or negative author involvement, rather they enable the researcher to also look at the precise ways in which involvement is carried through and consequently what ends it comes to serve.

Strategies of argumentation are in principle the strategic tools responsible for justifying the attributions given by other discursive strategies. The linguistic device through which this specific strategy is carried out is that of ‘topoi’. ‘Topoi’ may be understood as ‘headings under which arguments can be classified’ (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 83). In argumentation theory ‘topoi’ or ‘loci’ can be understood as ‘content-related warrants or “conclusion rules” which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 74). Common types of ‘topoi’ include ‘usefulness/uselessness, advantage/disadvantage, threat and danger, responsibility, burdening and weighting’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2011: 74-77). To argue or justify a certain proposition means to fill such ‘headings’ with appropriate material. Thus argumentation justifying references to immigrants might do so through the use of ‘topoi’ such as, for example, threat and danger. ‘Topoi’ can be analyzed either deductively, that is through a structural pre-definition of ‘topoi’ types, or inductively, in a content-related approach. This thesis endorses the latter method. In an inductive approach the search for ‘topoi’ is content-bound and without preset categories; its main aim is to link topics of discourse with the respective arguments. Because the main concentration of the present thesis evolves around strategies specifically linked to national identity constructs, I will look specifically for argumentation strategies and ‘topoi’ only in cursory and selective ways.

V.5.2 Linguistic devices

In CDA the linguistic operationalization of core concepts is approached with great interest. Fairclough speaks of ‘form’ and ‘texture’ when dealing with textual level, whereas Wodak and DHA in general refer to ‘forms of linguistic realization’. However, given that CDA is not a linguistic approach in the strict sense of the word, it incorporates such categories with caution and in a rather cursory way. For most

scholars, only a limited number of linguistic devices such as deixis and pronouns are of constant analytic interest. In their study *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (2009) Wodak et al. focus only on lexical units and syntactic devices concerned with properties of national identity such as sameness, unification, unity, origin, uniqueness etc. (2009: 35). As far as linguistic devices are concerned, this thesis is mainly indebted to that work. Consequently, only a limited selection of linguistic categories will be employed to illustrate specific strategies of national identity. The focus will mainly be on discourse representation (reported speech) as a linguistic tool in strategies of perspectivation, deixis as a lexical choice with significant ideological capacities, and the three tropes metonymy, synecdoche, and metaphor, which are especially salient in constructive strategies and strategies of perpetuation.

V.5.2.i Reported speech

Reported speech is one of the main linguistic devices to look for in the analysis of news reporting. For Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 303) ‘news is what is said’, implying that what people say about events tends to dominate media reports. Schudson (1986), too, points out that ‘news is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen’. Source selection is ideological, in that powerful sources generally top the hierarchy (Fairclough 1995, Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Schudson 1986). ‘The selection of the speakers reflects cultural belief systems and power structures’ (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 304). The same holds for the ways selected sources are quoted in news.

In principle, reported speech deals with the syntactic structures employed to integrate one clause into another and the semantic features of such structures. As such, reported speech has a crucial role in ‘constructing evaluations or assessments’

(Benwell, 2012: 367) as well as in ‘legitimizing what is reported’ (Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 303). In identifying and analyzing such ideological functions, I will follow Caldas-Coulthard’s (1994: 306) categorization of ‘speaking verbs’. This distinguishes the following categories: **a) neutral and structuring verbs**, such as *say, tell, ask, enquire*, which report what is being said without evaluating it, **b) illocutionary glossing verbs** such as *urge, declare*, which are highly interpretative and convey the author’s presence in the text, **c) descriptive verbs** such as *yell, shout, scream*, which mark the manner and attitude of the quoted speaker, and, finally, **d) discourse-signaling verbs** which mark the relationship of the quote to other parts of the text (*repeat, add*) or the development of discourse (*pause, continue*).

V.5.2.ii Deixis

Deixis refers to the class of words and phrases whose meaning is essentially contextual: items that leave a certain ‘gap’ which, if not otherwise specified, must be filled by the addressee. Billig (1995: 94) warns that such words and phrases are crucial for the reproduction of nationalism. The most typical forms of deixis are: personal, spatial and temporal. In English, personal deixis is manifested in pronouns, of which the collective ‘we’ as opposed to ‘they’ is an important linguistic indicator of strategy aiming at creating sameness and/or difference. Wodak et al. hold that ‘[b]ecause of its inherent properties, the deictic expression ‘we’ can very well be used in the service of “linguistic imperialism” to verbally annex and usurp’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 45). In spatial deixis, words such as ‘here’ and ‘there’ behave analogously. Temporal deixis is only relevant here in the form of time adverbs such as ‘now,’ ‘then,’ or ‘soon’.

V.5.2.iii Metonymy, synecdoche and personification

Metonymy derives etymologically from the Greek and denotes ‘name change’. It is especially relevant in constructive strategies in which it is employed to create and/or indicate sameness or oneness. Wodak et al. define metonymy as the category that ‘replaces the name of a referent by the name of an entity which is closely associated with it in either concrete or abstract terms’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 43). Metonyms include such tropes as product for cause, object for user of the object, place for person, place for event, country for persons, persons for country, time for persons living under that time period, institution for events and others (Wodak et al., 2009: 43).

Synecdoche also comes from the Greek meaning ‘to take up with something else’. For Wodak et al., synecdoche ‘replaces the name of a referent by the name of another referent which belongs to the same field of meaning and which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44-45). The most important types of synecdoche are generalizing (‘totum pro parte’ – whole for part), particularizing (‘pars pro toto’ – part for whole), plural for singular, singular for plural, and species for genus.

Personification denotes a type of metaphor which following Wodak et al. ‘links two differing conceptual fields, i.e. a concept with the semantic feature’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). Such metaphors are well equipped to hint at important aspects in the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity not only because they have a ‘high suggestive force’ but also because their vividness ‘favours identification of the addressees with that of the personified collective subjects’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44).

V.5.3 The representation of social actors

The analysis of social actor representation is important in that it can detect ideological media positions. Billig (1995) and Wodak et al. (2009) suggest that the way social actors are represented in discourse reveals much about modes of reproduction of nations and nationalism in contemporary Western societies.

Elsewhere, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) also deal extensively with the representation of social actors, but mainly at the level of discursive strategies. In comparison, Theo van Leeuwen (2003: 32) attempts to create ‘a sociosemantic inventory of the ways in which social actors can be represented’ and offers a series of representational choices that authors of texts can make in this respect. Following van Leeuwen, the primary focus will be on the following categories:

-Exclusion can take the form of either *suppression* or *backgrounding* of the social actors. In the case of suppression ‘there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text’ (2003: 39). Linguistically, suppression is realized mainly through the following devices: passive agent deletion, non-finite clauses ‘which are meant to work as carriers of other attributive clauses,’ deletion of beneficiaries, nominalization and process nouns, and processes realized as adjectives (2003: 39). In the case of backgrounding ‘the exclusion is less radical: the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text’ (2003: 39). Linguistically, backgrounding can be traced following ‘simple ellipses in non-finite clauses with “-ing” and “-ed” participles, in infinitival clauses with “to,” and in paratactic clauses’ (2003: 41).

-Role allocation is important because representation can ‘reallocate roles’ and ‘rearrange the social relations between the participants.’ (2003: 43). Role allocation is manifested in two main forms: activation and passivation. ‘Activation can be realized by “*participation*”, or by “*circumstantialization*” [sic]. Passivation needs an important

distinction, because through it the social agent can either be “*subjected*” or “*beneficialized*” [sic]’ (2003: 44).

-*Genericization and specificization* refer to the making of generic and/or specific reference to the social actor(s) in question. Whilst specificization generally entails the specific mention of the actor’s name, genericization

may be realized by the plural without article, like in the example ‘Non-European immigrants make up 6.5 per cent of the population’, or by the singular with a definite or indefinite article, as in the examples that follow ‘Allow the child to cling to something familiar during times of distress’ and ‘Maybe a child senses that from her mother. (2003: 46-48)

-*Assimilation* ‘deals with the way social actors are represented. When they are represented as individuals we deal with *individualization*, when they are referred as groups, we speak of *assimilation*’ (2003: 48).

-*Association and disassociation*, deal with the ways social actors are associated to other social actors. Association is mainly effected through parataxis as in the example ‘They believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities, not for Australians as a whole’ (2003: 50-51). In this context ‘politicians, bureaucrats and ethnic minorities’ are associated in one group which is set in opposition to the other group, namely ‘Australians as a whole’.

-*Indetermination* is a mode of social actor representation that mainly operates through pronouns such as ‘someone,’ ‘some people,’ ‘somebody,’ thus leaving social actors unnamed. *Differentiation* on the other hand ‘explicitly differentiates an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the “self” and the “other”, or between “us” and “them” (2003: 52).

-*Nomination and categorization*, entail a basic category of representation in that they differentiate between nominal, unique identity representation, and representation in terms of the identities and functions social actors share with each other (2003: 52-53). Functionalization (when actors are referred to in terms of an activity) and identification (when actors are defined in terms of who they ‘more or less permanently are’) are two main forms of categorization (2003: 54).

-*Impersonalization* is a form of representation that can ‘background the identity and/or role of social actors; it can lend impersonal authority or force to an activity or quality of a social actor; and it can add positive or negative connotations to an activity or utterance of a social actor’ (2003: 60). Impersonalization can be mainly realized by objectivation (indicating a social actor by means of metonymic reference) and abstraction (representing actors by means of ‘a quality attributed to them by the representation’) (2003: 59).

V.6 Time periods, newspapers and data samples

V.6.1 Events and time periods under investigation

This thesis looks at the ways national identity is reproduced in British print media in specific debates about Europe. With respect to this, three major events in UK-EU relations have been chosen: the *Lisbon Treaty*, the *Fiscal Compact* and the *Brexit campaign*. The selection of the events or time periods under investigation has been made with great caution. The idea was to choose events of special relevance which have provoked extensive public debate and political cleavage. And the selection should reflect as wide a contextual difference between events as possible. For example, the first event consists of the process from initial proposal to official signing of the Treaty of Lisbon. It includes coverage occurring in specific months during

2007. The treaty represents an example in which Britain's position was in favor of further integration, irrespective of the controversy that accompanied it. Also, considering the paramount importance of the treaty as the document responsible for the entire legal framework of the union, its wide scope and the significant changes it entailed represented a genuine test for Britain's place in the EU.

The second event, a field-specific agreement widely known as the Fiscal Compact, occurred against an altogether different setting. Compared with the Lisbon Treaty, the Fiscal Compact is an intergovernmental agreement, a policy-specific document aimed at tackling acute problems in the wake of the 2007-2008 financial crisis. Although it does not cover anything like the range of aspects in the Lisbon Treaty, its strict rules on matters concerning fiscal policy and economic coordination made it case-sensitive for Britain. In contrast to the Lisbon Treaty, Britain refused to agree to the Fiscal Compact and was the only Member State alongside the Czech Republic to completely opt out. The third and final event, the referendum on Britain's EU membership, marks the first time in the history of the EU that a Member State has decided to withdraw. After 43 years of membership and a hard-fought campaign leading up to the referendum of June 23, 2016, voters opted by a slender majority to leave the union. Moments of deep divisions and high societal polarization provided especially fertile ground for raising questions of national identity and belonging. To some extent, each event represents a moment of social 'rupture', when pressing dilemmas regarding the national 'we' as opposed to the European 'other' came to the fore. This thesis aims to analyze and expose the ways the nation was reproduced in newspaper discourse through these various events and their contextual backgrounds.

V.6.2 Selected newspapers

The selection of data sources aims to be representative of the various ideological as well as economic affiliations in the British newspaper market. Both broadsheet and

tabloid format newspapers are included in order to reflect the differences associated with those genres. The broadsheet press is represented by *The Guardian*, as representative of the left wing and *The Daily Telegraph* as representative of the right wing. The tabloid press is represented by *The Daily Mirror* from the left wing and *The Sun* from the right wing. The profiles of the selected newspapers reflect a rich array of ideological positions, economic affiliations, and interests, associated with different, and at times opposing, discursive handling of the events in question.

V.6.2.i The Guardian

The Guardian is a quality daily owned by the charity foundation ‘The Scott Trust Limited’. Although the current owner is a limited company, it is not permitted to pay dividends, so as to ensure the paper’s financial independence. The mode of ownership is intended to ensure stability of the paper’s editorial stance (McChesney & Nichols, 2010: 176). Ever since its foundation by textile traders and merchants in Manchester in 1821, *The Guardian* has followed a liberal tradition; it is generally considered a well-established center-left daily traditionally supporting the Labour Party. Among the paper’s opinion writers the majority are center-left, although a few voices that tend toward the center-right are also included. According to the IPSOS Mori⁴ polls, during the 1992-2010 period over 45% of its readers were Labour Party voters and over 35% voted for the Liberal Democrats. Because of its labourist tradition the paper is perceived as a hub for the middle class. *The Guardian* won the National Newspaper of the Year award (British Press Awards) in 1999, 2005, 2010 and 2013.

V.6.2.ii The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph was founded in 1855 and is one of the leading British quality newspapers. It is owned by Barclay Brothers, who also own other profitable

⁴ <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/news-and-polls/overview>, last accessed October 2018

companies in the media, retail and property sectors. The commercial interests behind the paper have been spotlighted in recent cases such as the publication of the supplement ‘Russia Beyond the Headlines’, sponsored by the official newspaper of the Russian government *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, and the ‘China Watch’ supplement sponsored by the Chinese government. In its political stance, *The Daily Telegraph* is generally perceived as conservative. Because of its traditional affiliation with the Conservative Party the paper is often referred to as the ‘house paper’ in popular culture. According to IPSOS Mori⁵ polls, its readership for the period 1992-2010 is roughly 70% conservative electorate.

V.6.2.iii The Daily Mirror

The Daily Mirror is a center-left daily tabloid that mainly targets the working class. Since its foundation in 1903 the paper has undergone a series of ownership changes. Currently it is owned by the parent company Trinity Daily Mirror. Until 1978 it was the most widely circulating tabloid in the British newspaper market, but it was overtaken by *The Sun*, which has led the ranking to this day. In terms of political stance, the *Daily Mail* has consistently supported the Labour Party in every election since 1945. Accordingly, around 60% of the *Mirror*’s readers are declared traditional Labour Party voters, as the IPSOS Mori⁶ polls report for the years 1992-2010.

V.6.2.iiii The Sun

The Sun is Britain’s leading tabloid, although in 1964 it started as a broadsheet. It turned tabloid in 1969 after media mogul Robert Murdoch took it over. Originally, *The Sun* was left-wing and supported the Labour party. It showed signs of change in 1974, and then finally in 1979 when it supported Margaret Thatcher’s candidacy for

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ *ibid*

prime minister. It showed great support for Thatcher's policies in both the Falklands War (1982) and the miners' strike (1984-5) and remained faithfully conservative until the rise of New Labour in 1997 under Tony Blair. Blair's successor, Gordon Brown did not enjoy the same support. The paper turned conservative in 2000 and remains so to this day. Until 2011 it was published alongside *News of the World*, a sister paper that closed after investigations claiming that the paper had persistently hacked phones of prominent public figures. In 2012, *The Sun on Sunday* was introduced as the paper's Sunday edition. According to the IPSOS Mori polls⁷ covering the 1992-2010 period over 40% of the paper's readership are conservative voters.

V.6.3 Data sample

All data used in this thesis was retrieved via the NexisFlexis database, with the exception of the articles of *The Sun* which were not available on NexisFlexis and were consequently retrieved through the Factiva database, and the articles of *The Guardian* covering the Brexit period, which were not available in any of the aforementioned databases and were retrieved directly from the paper's web page archives. All articles concerning the Lisbon Treaty period and Fiscal Compact period were searched with the keywords 'EU' and 'Europe'. Articles covering the Brexit period were searched with the keywords 'EU' and 'Europe' and 'Brexit'. Because all data has undergone thorough filtering processes, articles containing these keywords but not extensively dealing with the specific topics, or mentioning them only in passing have not made it to analysis. The sample includes only articles published in the national print editions of the respective newspapers, disregarding articles published in specifically Scottish, Ulster or Eire editions. Only news section articles have been selected – articles pertaining to sections such as editorials, features, analysis, opinions or the like have been disregarded. However, opinion and feature

⁷ ibid

articles, as well as commentaries, appearing in news sections of these newspapers have been included. The decision to publish other articles than news reports in sections formally reserved for news hints at the editorial policy and ideological stance of the newspaper. Such pieces will be approached with caution in subsequent analysis.

Newspapers	Lisbon Treaty	Fiscal Compact	Brexit	Overall
Guardian	22	76	63	161
Daily Telegraph	35	31	24	90
Daily Mirror	8	31	10	49
Sun	20	61	28	109

Fig.3. Number of analyzed articles per newspaper

VI. The Lisbon Treaty Period

VI.1 Brief history and contextual setting of the Treaty of Lisbon

The Treaty of Lisbon is the solution that EU member states came to after failed attempts to agree an all-encompassing EU constitution. The idea of a European constitution was first launched in 2001 as a means of replacing all existing treaties with a consolidated, single text. If passed, the constitution would have made the Charter of Fundamental Rights legally binding and extended Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) to areas in which states had previously enjoyed veto rights. Following intensive negotiations between the member states, the treaty to establish a Constitution for Europe, was put up for signature in 2004. It was signed by all 25 (then) member states. The ratification process, which started well with positive referendums in Spain and Luxembourg, ended after rejection in referendums held later in France and the Netherlands. Following these negative results, it was decided

to embark on a ‘period of reflection’ and consideration of alternative possibilities for the legal future of the union.

Facing public resistance, the idea of the constitution was abandoned and proposals for a new treaty, which would amend all existing legislation, gained ground. However, the prospective treaty would contain many of the important changes outlined in the draft-constitution, including the following: the election of a politician in the position of the European Council, the appointment of an EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs, new voting weights among the Member States, extension of EU powers in previously intergovernmental policy fields, and the introduction of a co-decision procedure. In addition, the draft of the treaty also contained clauses that made the Charter of Fundamental Rights legally binding and gave the EU its own legal personality for the first time in its history. Symbolic matters, which were perceived as markedly ‘state-like’, such as an EU flag, anthem and observation of a Day of Europe, were left out. Besides materializing the political aim of ever-deeper integration, the treaty was also responsible for laying out a ‘blueprint’ that entailed vision and strategy for a more democratic, transparent and competitive union in the 21st century. The Treaty of Lisbon came into force on December 1, 2009.

The timeline which led to the treaty becoming law is rich in events, but for the purpose of this research project three months have been selected, *March, October and December 2007*, each representing an important moment in the timeline. The selection is based on a simple criterion – the number and relevance of events directly related to the treaty that took place in each of these months. In *March 2007* EU leaders came together with their proposals for a new treaty and adapted the Berlin Declaration. The setting of this moment is especially interesting because it marks the first major agreement reached after the failed constitution, following a two year long ‘period of reflection’. Also, the adoption of the Berlin Declaration corresponded with

the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the union, a symbolism that energized the national debates about Europe all the more.

October 2007 marks the political agreement reached between EU leaders regarding the new treaty. In the timeline I have adopted for this research, October marks the most intensive period in terms of debate about both the treaty in particular and Europe in general. New treaty provisions foresaw that issues falling within the fields of justice and home affairs would no longer be subject to intergovernmental cooperation, but rather to Qualified Majority Voting (QMV). This proved especially problematic for Britain, where justice and home affairs were a sensitive field. The Labour-led government under Prime Minister Gordon Brown in principle backed the treaty, but required exemption from provisions like the ones touching on justice and home affairs, which were considered as going against British national interests. A list of British opt-outs, famously referred to as the British ‘red lines’, also included a five-year transition before the court could exercise power over existing police and judicial provisions. Britain retained the right to opt-in, if it so wished, but for the time being the exemptions were the only condition under which the government of the time would commit to signing the treaty. On the other hand, the conservative opposition led by David Cameron, considered the treaty as only a differently-packed version of the failed constitution. The opposition considered that the new treaty surrendered powers crucial to British sovereignty and that it put the country in a disadvantageous position. The government’s ‘red lines’ were considered unstable, and as such irrelevant. Moreover, voices opposing the treaty, not only from the political spectrum, sought a referendum prior to agreeing on the treaty. The Labour government was held responsible for a promise made in its 2005 manifesto, in which it stated that it would hold a referendum if a new European constitution was proposed. The government argued that the new treaty was not a constitution,

therefore it did not consider it necessary to hold a referendum. During this period, as subsequent analysis will show, matters specifically related to the treaty were often used as a pretext to expose wide-ranging arguments, understandings and dilemmas about British national identity in the integration context.

In *December 2007* EU leaders signed the Lisbon Treaty and urged rapid ratification in national parliaments of Member States. The British prime minister of the time, Gordon Brown, did not take part in the official signing of the treaty alongside his European counterparts. He signed the treaty later on his own. His lack of presence in the official ceremony was criticized by all sides, including those in favor of the treaty. I intentionally leave out the month of December 2009 when the treaty came into force for the following reasons. First, as a matter of research economy: CDA, as a profoundly qualitative method, can be most successfully carried out when limited amounts of data are taken into consideration. Secondly, by the time the treaty came into force, it had already undergone a many-year-long process of negotiation, agreement and ratification, so the public debate on the matter was already well discussed and understood.

VI.1.2 Chapter structure and analytical approach

The textual analysis of the sample will be conducted in a two-step procedure. First, following the analytical categories as laid out in the methodology chapter, the subsequent analysis will start with a map of the dominant as well as counter-dominant discourses evidenced in the sample. The discursive strategies employed in each of the evidenced discursive patterns will then be charted. Finally, linguistic materialization will be analyzed in fine detail. In step two, the representation of social actors will be analyzed. Social actors will be divided into two main groups, ‘British and ‘EU. Both groups will then be analyzed using van Leeuwen’s (2003) categorization as operationalized for the purpose of this thesis. Each newspaper will

be analyzed separately. The rationale behind the analysis, as well as the main questions guiding it, are discussed below.

VI.1.3 Representing and reproducing the nation: Core questions

Textual analysis will examine in fine detail how understandings of the nation intersect with understandings of the EU throughout the selected sample. Waever (2002) suggests that core understandings of the nation and its coupling with the state are of structural importance for the ways the EU is accommodated in discourse. I will then look at the idea(s) of the nation proposed by the different newspapers and how these are related to the ways the EU is understood and represented. In investigating how each newspaper interprets and signifies the nation I will mainly follow the macro-strategies proposed by Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999).

Constructive strategies, which propose ideas of sameness and cast the nation as a homogenous entity, are the foremost category here. To this end, I will look at the ways in which newspapers perceive the national collectivity and suggest how it can be strengthened and promoted discursively. Strategies of perpetuation, which ‘attempt to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity, i.e. to preserve, support and protect it’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33), will be dealt with in a cautious way. It will be argued that such strategies are characteristic of viewpoints that construct Britain on the basis of a victimization paradigm, while projecting images related to threat and danger onto the EU. On the other hand, a counter-argument will be made pertaining to strategies of transformation – or most significantly destructive strategies which ‘aim at dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33) – as typical tools for shaping discursive positions that seek to project Britain and the EU outside of the established ‘victim – perpetrator’ framework.

VI.2 The Daily Telegraph

VI.2.1 Discourses of threat: ‘Treaty is a constitution’

The analysis of the sample reveals that *The Daily Telegraph* engaged primarily in constructive strategies and strategies of perpetuation (Wodak et al. 2009: 33).

Constructive strategies are mainly evidenced in discourses of sameness, i.e. discourses that appeal to a homogenous national collectivity and occur throughout the sample. Perpetuation strategies in particular, take this attitude a step further, projecting threat and danger on the national collective by conceptualizing the new treaty in a negative way as a disguised version of the old. According to van Leuween, recontextualization can be seen as a representation of social practices (van Leuween, 1993), while Fairclough considers that it has to do with ideation, inasmuch as particular recontextualizations of events are ideologically underpinned (Fairclough, 2011: 58). The underlying assumption here is that the old constitution was profoundly harmful for Britain, and therefore any similarity between the two documents makes the same case for the new treaty as well. Assumptions are of particular relevance in ideology in that

invisibility is achieved when ideologies are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of the text, but as the background assumptions which on the one hand lead the text producer to ‘textualize’ the world in a particular way, and on the other hand lead the interpreter to interpret the text in a particular way.

(Fairclough, 1989: 85)

Revival of key constitution provisions is presented as a unilateral German plan, while Germany in turn is established in the role of a hostile, even hegemonic ‘other’. By this token, the idea of what it means to be British at that specific moment in time is

mainly constructed with reference to an adversary. In the light of this threat, a sense of national solidarity is urged and British moral superiority is contrasted to the malicious acts of ‘others’. This pattern of discourses of ‘we’ versus ‘them’ is especially characteristic for the coverage during the month of March, when plans for the new document were officially launched. An article of March 9 is titled ‘Merkel’s push for EU constitution’ suggests both that Merkel is the mastermind behind the new document and that the document, despite its official language disguise, is indeed a new constitution. Thus the same article continues: ‘The statement, to be signed off at a special birthday meeting in Berlin on March 25, is likely to refer to the need for an “institutional settlement” – the new Brussels code for a slimmed down constitution mark two’ (March 9).

This particular representation is replicated in multiple ways throughout the sample. An article of October 8 bears the headline ‘EU treaty really is a revamp of failed constitution, say MPs’. The syntactic choice that leaves the source at the end suggests either that the statement possesses superior authority, or that the claim is not bound to its source. Elsewhere, an article of October 30 titled ‘EU treaty “rewritten to avoid referendum”’ uses the passive to exclude the source entirely so as to establish the utterance as a universal truth transcending any particular source.

As the treaty timeline progresses, other major themes emerge. During October the *Telegraph*’s main focus shifts toward the idea of a referendum as the only viable remedy for the harm caused by the looming treaty plans. One major way through which the paper argues for a referendum is by suggesting this is ‘the people’s will’. All the following articles have this as their major argument: (1) ‘Two thirds of voters want referendum on treaty’ (October 1), (2) ‘Seven in ten voters call for an EU poll but Brown insists: We don’t need one’ (October 18), (3) ‘Brown must be brave and give people a say on EU treaty’ (October 18), (4) ‘Let’s vote, say MPs study’

(October 18), ‘Calls for EU treaty poll ring all over Europe’ (October 19). In terms of perspectivation strategies, it is interesting how the same tactics of either leaving the source at the end or omitting it all together are recurrently employed. Throughout the articles, wordings such as ‘critics say’, ‘the majority of people think’, ‘two thirds of Britons believe’ (as in article (1)), or ‘most assessments’, ‘public opinion’ (as in article (3)) work on the same premises, that is, using undefined voices to expand and generalize the scope of the argument. Also, references to the paper’s online poll in almost every article are both explicit signs against the treaty and repeated attempts to build up momentum for a referendum. In terms of argumentation, dominant topoi relate ‘disadvantage (risk, threat, danger and loss), democratic deficit and illegitimacy and pressure. ‘As standardized argumentation schemes, topoi can become integral parts of strategic plans and serve to obtain a specific effect which has been the aim of the strategy’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 35). In this light, the treaty is represented as a paramount threat to British sovereignty, state competencies and the essence of being British. See, for example, the article below the October 18 headline ‘Brown must be brave and give the people a say on EU treaty’:

The surrender of sovereignty the treaty promises, not least on such sensitive matters as criminal justice and foreign policy, is unacceptable to many Britons. Opposition to the treaty is such that a defeat in any referendum would be highly likely. That is why Mr. Brown does not want one: yet it is the worst possible reason not to have one.

Lexical choices such as ‘surrender of sovereignty’ are direct means of suggesting loss and submission, which in turn hurt the idea of a sovereign, powerful nation-state, whereas the use of adjectives like ‘sensitive’ in conjunction with supposedly affected areas exacerbates the projected loss. Another article from the same issue – under the

headline ‘Seven in ten voters call for an EU poll but Brown insists: We don’t need one’ – takes a similar approach:

The treaty, which Mr. Brown says should be agreed by MPs in Parliament, will create a new EU foreign policy chief, a permanent president of the Council of Ministers, sweep away around 60 national vetoes and give the community new powers to sign international treaties.

The treaty is presented as a forced incursion into British affairs, as it will ‘sweep away’ vetoes, where ‘to sweep’ is a heightened and more emotionally charged version of for example ‘to cancel’, ‘revoke’ or ‘terminate.’ In a further step the treaty itself is personified: it will ‘give the community new powers to sign international treaties’. Fairclough suggests that representation of social events always entails a range of vocabulary choices. When systemic patterns and tendencies appear in particular texts they can cumulatively have important ideological consequences (Fairclough 2011: 109-110).

Because the projected damage if the treaty passes without a referendum is of such gravity, the topos of democratic deficit recurs constantly. Under the October 1 headline ‘Two thirds of voters want referendum on EU Treaty’ an article states: ‘Despite critics claiming the new treaty contains “90 per cent” of the Constitution, Mr. Brown has refused to offer the British public a referendum before its introduction.’ It is interesting how social actors referred to in strictly generic ways, as in ‘critics claiming,’ are attributed with claims entailing numerical accuracy such as ‘90 per cent’. Such structuring of propositions suggests that despite a consensual commonsense hesitation based on the treaty’s nature, the government is ready to circumvent a popular vote.

VI.2.2 Discourses of humiliation: ‘The irreparable damage’

Discourses of humiliation are ubiquitous in the coverage of events that occurred in December. While strategically the perpetuation of the nation is still prevalent, coverage related to the signing of the treaty evolves around an argumentation scheme thematizing humiliation and damage. The following headlines from this period illustrate this idea: ‘Brown bows to pressure to sign EU treaty himself’ (December 12), Britain signs EU treaty ... eventually – Critics attack dithering Brown’ (December 14) and ‘Brown's dithering has undermined Britain's status, says Mandelson’ (December 15). The Prime Minister’s decision to avoid signing the treaty during the official ceremony alongside other European leaders is presented both as an acknowledgment of the controversial nature of the treaty and as a humiliating act that puts Britain in a back seat position:

Gordon Brown finally signed Britain up to the European Union Reform Treaty yesterday after an embarrassing period of dithering over whether to attend the formal signing ceremony in Lisbon. (‘Britain signs EU treaty ... eventually – Critics attack dithering Brown. December 14)

followed by:

Mr. Brown signed the controversial document in a coach museum, having arrived late and missed a ceremony in the city’s 500-year old Jeronimos monastery, which was attended by all of the other 26 EU leaders. As Mr. Brown put pen to paper, most of the other leaders were still eating lunch. (Ibid)

In the first excerpt, personification as evidenced in ‘Brown finally signed Britain up to the...’ has the suggestive force of representing the signature as a national tragedy in which every member of the nation has their share. In excerpt two, the topoi of comparison and contrast, as a means of positing a degraded position of Britain,

suggest strategies of perpetuation based on assumptions that see the nation as threatened – which is obviously a revisited pattern. Remedy is granted through acknowledging the threat, locating the assumptive reason, and eventually creating momentum against the flow of events.

VI.3 The Guardian

VI.3.1 Discourses of membership as beneficial: ‘We’re better off in the EU’

Analysis reveals that, in contrast to its broadsheet counterpart, the approach endorsed by *The Guardian* is more varied in terms of both patterns of discourse and strategies. Dominance of single major themes in the representation of events is less evident, whereas both constructive as well as transformation strategies could be found. For example, the coverage of events in March 2007 offers a rich array of subjects and an equally differentiated way of treating them discursively.

In sharp contrast to *The Telegraph*, an article of March 24 exemplifies the paper’s positive perspective on the idea of the EU and integration in general. Written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the union, the article is a celebration of what it considers major common achievements: ‘Special report: European Union at 50: What the union has done for us, from A-Z’. In terms of themes, the article offers an overview of the main changes and accomplishments that have benefited Britain as a direct consequence of being a member state. The discursive handling is more complex. Constructive strategies are evident, but again, in contradistinction to *The Telegraph*, their aim is positive vis à vis the EU. Note the deictic use of the pronoun ‘us’ in the headline, which analyzed alone is a clear signification of constructive strategies that aim at national unification and sameness. Billig warns extensively about the importance of ‘becoming linguistically microscopic’ in that the greatest importance sometimes lies in the smallest of words – in the ‘us’ of this example

(Billig, 1995: 94). However, in a contextual setting, this collective ‘us’ is allocated the role of beneficiary, thus projecting the EU positively.

Detection and analysis of transformation strategies is more difficult, also because they come in implicit ways, or as Wodak et al. point out ‘by applying subtle rhetorical persuasion’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). To be more precise, the type of transformation strategies found here are dismantling or destructive. In comparison with transformation strategies at large, which ‘attack’ well-established national identities at more profound levels, these aim at ‘dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct, but usually cannot provide any new model to replace the old one’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). In this article’s case, the indication of benefits that Britain has gained out of membership in an A to Z list dismantles constructs that project Britain’s membership as inherently disadvantageous. Other articles replicate similar strategies. For example, two articles published in March (‘Politics: Cameron's global vision for Europe’, March 6 and ‘National: Cameron rules out Tory retreat from EU’, March 7) project risk not on the scenario of deepening the relation with the EU, but rather on the scenario of distancing from it.

VI.3.2 Discourses of political cleavage: ‘A battle of parties’

Although some of the dominant themes such as calls for a referendum, the British ‘red lines,’ or the treaty’s resemblances to the ‘old’ constitution are also present in *Guardian* reports, they are rarely dealt with in terms of strict ‘losses’ or ‘gains’ for Britain. Rather, a recurring pattern in the sample is the representation of events via topoi of political cleavage. Parties’ differing views on the treaty are discussed from the viewpoint of political debate, calculations, and tactics rather than within a framework of dramatic ‘pro et contra Europe’. Much of this is conducted in the light of the mounting pressure on Prime Minister Brown for his way of handling treaty

negotiations on the one hand, and attempting to come clear and justify the choices made on the other. See the following example from an article published on October 9:

Conservatives believe that the treaty is a potent weapon to wield against Mr. Brown. Polls show that voters want the referendum they were promised on the failed EU constitution, while the government argues that the new document is so different that no vote is required. ('MPs turn up pressure on Brown over EU treaty')

The first sentence reveals how the opposition aims to use the treaty against Brown, which exemplifies political calculations. However, the next sentence of the same paragraph confronts the government with what it presents as a voters' right to get what they were promised. Finally, through the use of the connector 'while', the government's perspective as to why a referendum would be redundant is also presented. The representation of the debate within the framework of political cleavages and tensions works strategically differently from representing it within a normative framework of 'right' and 'wrong' or 'national interest' vs. 'European integration'. It deconstructs debates about the treaty in particular and EU in general, not as paramount debates on the question of the nation and its fate in the context of integration, but as politics as usual. Both articles show a similar approach, as is suggested in their headlines: 'EU treaty: Brown plans to start the fightback by attacking Eurosceptic Tories' (October 12), 'Brown pledges to oppose further EU changes as Conservatives demand referendum – Prime minister says MPs can protect British veto – Britain to call for more liberalization of markets' (October 23).

VI.3.3 Other discursive patterns

Strategies of deconstruction have a more or less stable presence throughout the sample, although cases that deviate from the pattern were also found. The following

excerpt from the article of October 18: ‘Brown tries to shift summit focus from row over EU treaty: PM’s letter urges end to institutional navel-gazing: Cameron turns screw on eve of Lisbon meeting,’ is especially interesting:

The Conservative leader said the British public “overwhelmingly” wanted a referendum on a document which many EU leaders, the Labour-controlled European scrutiny committee and Labour's representative on the European convention, Gisela Stuart, all agreed was the same as the old constitution. But the prime minister insisted the amending treaty was entirely different from the now defunct constitution.

It remains unclear if the part of the sentence following the first relative pronoun consists of Cameron’s words – reproduced in an indirect reported speech – or if it is complementary information to Cameron’s statement. Read either way, such ambiguity disfavors Brown in that it represents his position as running against what seems to be a wide consensus among relevant stakeholders in the process. The same logic is applicable here, too:

European leaders reached agreement on the EU's new reform treaty early this morning, with Gordon Brown defying the polls, the opposition, unions and the Eurosceptic press to commit Britain irrevocably to greater European integration. (‘Defiant Brown commits Britain to EU treaty: Referendum rejected as leaders gather: “Red lines” have not been crossed, insists PM’, October 19).

At the ideational level, the lexical choice behind the words ‘to commit Britain irrevocably to greater European integration’ signifies some sort of fatalism and is a value judgment that works negatively for the EU and integration. Such examples, though exceptional in the sample, draw on perpetuation strategies that project the

nation as being under threat. A seemingly small, but actually highly relevant difference from *The Telegraph*'s use of the same strategies is that the fault for Britain's victimization is ascribed here not to an external other, which would typically be the EU, but to an internal actor – the PM himself.

The rest of the coverage, pertaining to events of December, is characteristic of argumentation strategies that draw on topoi of humiliation, mostly related to Mr. Brown's decision to sign the treaty alone. It is important to note that such strategies do not draw on victimization paradigms for Britain. Typical topoi of lost power, diminished sovereignty or threatened national identity are totally missing. Instead, the coverage bestows value on good relations with the EU, as in the following example:

With the prime minister saying that prior parliamentary duties keep him from taking part in the EU ceremony at a castle in Portugal, Britain's reputation as the EU's biggest troublemaker was reinforced yesterday when dozens of MEPs, many of them from the Conservative party and the UK Independence party, disrupted business in the European parliament in Strasbourg, heckling and protesting at EU leaders who signed the new EU charter of fundamental rights. ('National: British MEPs in treaty uproar at Strasbourg: Brown under fire for ducking out of signing: Parliament protesters "acted like football louts"' December 13).

Another article works on hope scenarios, suggesting that despite what has happened there are still viable remedies: 'All is not lost. Downing Street has several reasons to be hopeful, despite Mr. Brown's late arrival in Lisbon.' (Political briefing: Still hope for Brown in Brussels, December 14). Projecting value on good relations with the EU is an escape from discourses that vest in the qualities of a malign, oppressive 'other.'

It is also an escape from drawing on representations that prescribe Britain as threatened or endangered by the treaty.

VI.4 The Sun

VI.4.1 Discourses of oppression and victimization: ‘A giant (EU) against a nation (UK)’

Analysis of the sample reveals that one of the dominant patterns in *The Sun*’s coverage consists of discourses of oppression, in which the EU is allocated the oppressor’s role. In conjunction with, and/or as a consequence of that, discourses of British victimization were also found to constitute a substantial part of the sample. Strategically, both types of discourse oscillate between constructing the nation by generating ideas of sameness and homogeneity, and perpetuating it by projecting the treaty as a major threat to British sovereignty and interests. Discourses of oppression draw on a subtle process of ‘othering’ and shaming the EU by ascribing to it manipulative, coercive and illegitimate practices. Processes of ‘othering’ do not necessarily have to rely on explicit dichotomies expressed in pronouns such as ‘us’ and ‘them’; the mere juxtaposition of the collective national to an ‘outgroup’ has structuring power upon how events are represented (O’Donnell, 1994). Also, as will be analyzed in detail in subsequent chapters, social actor representation was conducted in unbalanced ways, in favor of opposing voices to the treaty.

Linguistically, discourses of oppression can be detected in the way categories such as lexical qualification, punctuation, modality and personification are used. An article of October 15 is titled, ‘EU’s secret attack on Brown vetoes; Two days to showdown’. In terms of lexical qualification, the use of military metaphors such as ‘attack’ conveys an imagery of war, both in the sense of emergency and in that of a hostile EU. Ivie suggests that metaphors play important roles in generating ‘perspective, or overall orientation,’ which in turn leads to ‘the formulation of

motives or interpretations of how to act in specific circumstances and situations' (Ivie, 1997: 73). Simultaneously, the 'attack' metaphor vests the EU with human-like characteristics (personification) which in this case connote aggressive and manipulative behavior ('EU's secret attack').

The EU's projected coercive and illegitimate nature is encapsulated in the following paragraph of the same article: 'GORDON Brown's guarantees to protect Britain from a Brussels power grab will be "rubbed out" within five years by EU judges, MPs will warn tomorrow'. Here, the term 'Brussels' is a clear metonym for the EU; however, as the rest of the sentence suggests, Brussels is a powerful, albeit latent short-cut for 'unaccountable EU bureaucrats'. Punctuation in the cluster of words 'rubbed out' serves more the function of accentuating the utterance as such than actually suggesting professional distancing from it. Interestingly, at times, features like those attributed to the EU in general are applied to Germany in particular. The following paragraph illustrates how the same tactics of othering, shaming and seemingly 'disclosing' the illegitimate practices of the EU are predicated of Germany as a country/nation: replacing the EU with Germany actually worsens the antagonism, in that it is an antagonism of equals (nation for nation):

'CRAFTY Germans are trying to shoehorn a European anthem into the EU treaty. They want us singing from the same song-sheet, regardless of our nation or flag. The anthem's tune – Ode to Joy – is by German composer Beethoven, below' ('EU must sign this', December 12).

Manipulative, coercive and illegitimate actions of a social actor automatically construct the victim as the object of such actions. Furnishing the national collective with a sense of solidarity, discourses of victimization are powerful carriers of constructive strategy (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). Throughout the sample such discourses

are generally embodied in paradigms of consequence, which come in two main forms: loss of sovereignty/power and economic loss. Loss of sovereignty is exemplified in the following: ‘The Treaty robs Britain of its veto in 61 areas. Brussels can end our vetoes in other areas in coming years – without our permission’ (‘We know Brits will vote no’, October 30).

As a linguistic materialization, the cluster ‘Treaty robs Britain’ is a personification articulated in the verb ‘robs’. Wodak et al. warn that personification ‘possess[es] high suggestive force’ (Wodak et al. 2009:44). In addition, the grammatical activation of ‘treaty’ accentuates Britain’s powerless, victim position, as does the usage of the possessive pronoun ‘its’ in the cluster ‘The Treaty robs Britain of **its** veto’. The deictic usage of the pronoun ‘our’ in the second sentence of the paragraph reminds the reader of the common national collective whose sovereign rights are jeopardized. Usage of personal deixis to indicate sameness and generate solidarity is a pattern repeated throughout the sample. The following example illustrates the economic consequence paradigm: ‘The Treaty will force Britain to surrender extra oil reserves to EU states in emergencies – costing us an estimated £6 billion’ (‘90% same’ as dumped Constitution; PM bulldozes referendum pleas’, October 19). Not only is the topos of economic loss employed here to materialize the disadvantageous nature of the treaty, the personal deixis – ‘costing **us** an estimated ...’ – turns it into an immediately personal experience. In terms of perspectivation strategies, use of personal deixis in this way usually connotes collusion between author and reader, with the author projected as both an integral part of the national collectivity that it proposes and the warrior whose role is to warn and protect this collectivity from the projected threat.

VI.4.2 Discourses of counteraction: ‘We have to stop this!’

The point of these discourses is to build momentum against the treaty. Such discourses were frequently found to draw on comparative perspectives, for example by contrasting PM Brown with other leaders. Thus in ‘Brave Mr. Ahern is the ONLY European leader giving his voters a say on the controversial treaty’ (‘You’re running scared Brown’, October 23) the *Taoiseach* (Irish PM) is described as possessing qualities missing in Brown. Ahern is ‘brave’ is clearly a subtext for ‘Brown is not’. Elsewhere, Brown’s claim that the treaty differs from the old constitution is questioned by referring to other sources: ‘GORDON Brown may claim the Treaty is not the same as the constitution – but that is not the view around Europe’ (90% as dumped Constitution; PM bulldozes referendum pleas’, October 19).

In terms of linguistic realization, the modal verb used to evaluate Brown’s position in the cluster ‘... Brown **may** claim’ raises fundamental questions about the PM’s honesty. Following Simpson, epistemic modality, as evident in this example, ‘is concerned with the speaker’s confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed’ (Simpson, 2005: 44); modals thus represent ‘a major exponent of the interpersonal function of language...’ (Simpson, 2005: 43). Consistently with this approach, Brown’s positions over time are compared and contrasted through topoi such as ‘betrayal’, ‘humiliation’ and ‘failure’:

TODAY Gordon Brown will betray every good thing he claimed to stand for when he became Prime Minister. He said he would trust the British people and consult them more. He said he would bring in a different kind of politics. (‘PM betrayal breaks vow to the public; EU to rule on asylum bids; Opinion’, December 13).

The use of hyperbole in the cluster ‘Brown will betray every good thing he claimed to stand for’ intensifies an already strongly declarative utterance. At the same time, the use of the future tense, with its subtext of ‘watch this happen,’ makes a quasi-mythical claim to prophetic truth as a touchstone of reliability.

Another feature of discourses of counteraction is the projection of a ‘consensual public pressure’. *The Sun* carried a campaign asking its readership to sign an online petition requesting a treaty referendum. Numerous articles bear references to the poll either as main subject or as background information. The paper’s engagement with the poll appeared to be two-fold: on the one hand readers were continuously asked to sign the treaty as a patriotic duty, while on the other, support for the poll was presented as piling legitimate and irresistible pressure on the government. Coining the poll as a patriotic duty reflected its motto, which echoes a saying of Winston Churchill’s, ‘Europe. Never was so much decided for so many by so few’. Presented as a history lesson from an authoritative figure, this short sentence encapsulates many of the discursive characteristics of *The Sun*’s coverage. It contains all three dimensions elaborated here: a negative projection of the EU, a victimization paradigm attached to the British nation, and a patriotic call for action.

VI.5 The Daily Mirror

VI.5.1. Discourses of relativization: ‘Nothing unusual here’

Following analysis of the sample, dominant discourses in *The Daily Mirror* were found to be substantially different from its tabloid equivalent, *The Sun*. A salient pattern here is that of relativization. In a Q&A section of an article published on October 14, 2007, some crucial questions regarding the treaty are answered in ways that relativize parts of the treaty perceived as problematic in order to generate an overall positive picture. At the macro level, relativization is a transformation strategy

challenging established components of national identity (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). However, as is often the case in this research project, even strategies of transformation aimed at changing particular aspects of national self-perception do so only in limited ways; thus transformation and constructive strategies often coexist. For example, in the following extract, transformation strategies are materialized in the relativization of controversial parts of the treaty that would otherwise be perceived as a threat to national sovereignty and well-being. Here, the deictic personal pronouns ('we', 'us' etc.) typical of constructive strategies represent ideational vehicles building a common national collective. A change of perception with regard to the treaty is forged, but that particular change is located within a national context in which the (national) collective 'we' is taken for granted:

Q. Will the Lisbon Treaty create an EU superstate?

A. No. A constitution would create a new legal body – this does not. The previous constitution, which was dumped, would have replaced previous treaties – this just amends them.

Q. Then what is the treaty's real purpose?

A. It is a reform treaty to make EU decision-making faster and easier now there are 27 members. The original EU rules were laid down when there were just six.

Q. So why are Eurosceptics upset by it?

A. Brussels will still get new powers in areas such as environment, transport and some policing and business policy. The same happened with the Maastricht, Nice and Amsterdam treaties which saw countries hand over power to Brussels on economic matters and set up the single currency.

Q. Are we going to get a vote on the treaty?

A. No. Brown said if there was a plan to scrap the pound or set up an EU constitution we'd get a vote. Instead, MPs will debate treaty details before it passes into UK law.

(‘MISSING EU; BROWN BLASTED FOR TURNING UP LATE TO SIGNING OF TREATY’, December 14).

The extract employs specific transformation strategies such as discontinuation and dissimilation. Following Wodak et al. such strategies rely on an emphasis on the difference between then and now (Wodak et al. 2009: 40). For example, the answer to question number two justifies the changes brought up by the treaty by implying that times have changed. A similar tactic is followed in the answer to question number three, only in reverse, suggesting that what is happening now has happened before, so there is nothing exceptional or controversial about it. Another characteristic of discourses of relativization is the promotion of British concessions, popularly referred to as opt-outs, as the ultimate warranty for the positive effect of the treaty, as in the answer to question four of the extract, but also in the paragraph below from another article: ‘Mr. Brown defended the UK’s “red lines”, meaning Brussels cannot interfere in crime, tax, social security and foreign policy’ (‘NO MORE; BROWN WINS 10-YEAR BAN TO STOP EU GAINING MORE CONTROL OVER UK’, October 20).

Linguistically, the connector ‘meaning’ acts as a value-free, dictionary-like description and as an objective bridge between the first and second clusters. In what follows, securing the red lines is equated with a guarantee for the maintenance and protection of British sovereign powers. In terms of strategy, Wodak et al. refer to such examples as ‘autonomisation’ strategies, emphasizing national autonomy and independence to alleviate fears (Wodak et al. 2009: 40). Elsewhere, the ‘red lines’ are elevated into a British victory. Not only are they the ultimate remedy to any worries

about national sovereignty – they are Britain’s trophy from the treaty too. This extract encapsulates the idea:

BRITAIN is heading for victory on the European treaty in next week’s showdown summit, the EU boss said yesterday. European Commission President Jose Barroso said he had “every reason to believe” the UK will get the concessions demanded’ (‘We’ll win on treaty’, October 12).

VI.5.2 Discourses of positive presentation: ‘We are better’

A recurrent discursive pattern consists of positive presentation of Prime Minister Brown – a concept that will be elaborated in subsequent chapters on social actor representation. It suffices for now to locate these findings in the general coverage of the treaty. At the ideational level, support for Mr. Brown translates into support for the treaty and vice-versa. Often, discourses that factorize one social actor positively do so to the detriment of another actor. In *The Daily Mirror’s* coverage much of the supportive stance on Brown is carried through strategies of discrediting his opponents through simplified, black and white portrayals (Wodak et al. 2009: 42), as in this extract:

Come the next election, Brown will promise to oppose further EU institutional changes. What will the Tories offer? The same. Yet Cameron's Europhobic right is now demanding a referendum on pulling out of the EU. Europe will wreck the Tories, not Labour, and foolish Cameron never saw it coming. (‘EU Dope, Dave’ October 24).

This insinuated dialogue, or set of rhetorical questions and answers, is as Wodak suggests, typical of such discursive strategies (Wodak et al. 2009: 42).

VI.5.3 Discourses of the future: ‘Future is all there is!’

Finally, a note on discourses of the future: In a number of articles, discourses shifting the focus from immediate effects of the treaty to the future perspective of Britain in the EU formed a substantial segment of the whole. Such discourses were found to work in two main directions: silencing current discontent, especially related to the lack of a referendum, and offering remedies to that. The first aim was partially achieved, in fact, by concentrating on the second. While themes such as the lack of a referendum are generally sidelined, government strategies on how to handle similar future cases are foregrounded: ‘GORDON Brown yesterday gave MPs the right to veto new moves to hand more power to the EU. He said they would be able to vote on any proposal to give up British powers in new areas’ (‘MPs win veto on EU grab’, October 23).

Here, Brown is positioned both as an authoritative figure who ‘gives rights’ to others – in what is presented almost as an act of benevolence – as well as a national guarantor of a safe future. In the following excerpt for example, there is no trace of arguing about present consequences of Brown’s past deeds; instead all that is deemed relevant is actions looking to the future:

GORDON Brown yesterday ruled out giving any more power to Brussels for at least the next decade.

Speaking after the European summit in Lisbon, he said the time had come for the EU to concentrate on increasing prosperity, boosting jobs and protecting the environment.

In a joint statement the European leaders said they would draw up a new set of priorities and drop plans for further integration.’ (‘NO MORE; BROWN WINS 10-YEAR BAN TO STOP EU GAINING MORE CONTROL OVER UK’ October 20).

However – and in addition to what has been said – concentration on future scenarios represents an attempt rather to silence present worries than to project the future as such. Wodak et al. refer to such strategies as ‘avoidance’: they work on the basis of the ‘greatest possible suppression’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 40). Through avoidance, current issues escape problematization; it is easier to project positive scenarios on a hypothetical future. Cumulatively, discourses that relativize the issues concerned, present Brown positively, or concentrate on the future project a positive image of the treaty. Such treatment represents a disruption of dominant representations of the treaty as a threat to the nation; accordingly, the nation ceases to be a victim.

VI.6 Summary

In sum, concepts of national identity constantly intersect with concepts of Europe and vary considerably across the newspapers. The most evident divide is across ideological editorial positions. Right-wing newspapers – here *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* – mainly employ constructive or perpetuation strategies signifying the nation under the paradigm of victimization. Dominant discourses evidenced in their coverage recontextualize events related to the treaty process under the banner of threat and danger, and assign the EU a negative role. In addition, they exploit contents of the treaty to foreground deeper integration dilemmas and present EU membership as counter to British national interests. In a considerably different take, newspapers of the left-wing spectrum – here *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror* – exploit and propose other facets and implications of national identity and of the EU. While they, too, employ constructive strategies that conceptualize the nation as a homogenous natural entity, they also engage in various forms of deconstructive strategies. Most crucially, their approach represents a substantial break from

narratives that paint the articles of the treaty as intrinsically linked to national identity and thus a ‘life or death’ matter.

VII. Lisbon Treaty Period - Social Actor Representation

VII.1 Analytical Procedure

In what follows I will offer a glance at the ways social actors were represented in the discourse in each of the newspapers cited. The relevant social actors for the analysis will be:

(1) British national leaders (both from government and opposition), relevant British stakeholders (such as non-government organizations, representatives of academia, public figures) and the British people

(2) EU officials and other European leaders

The categories of analysis consist of two distinctive sets. First, I shall look at the ways social actors’ statements were represented in the actual texts, by considering the peculiarities of reported speech. Here, of particular relevance will be speaking verbs as elaborated by Caldas-Coulthard (1994). Second, following Leeuwen’s ‘sociosemantic inventory,’ elaborated elsewhere in this thesis, a series of preset categories will be applied in order to analyze how social actors are represented discursively. The analysis will be systemic, based on each newspaper individually.

VII.2 Social Actor Representation in the Daily Telegraph

Analysis reveals that while in terms of reported speech social actors’ statements were reported in mixed ways, as regards their representation outside speech reporting, coverage favors anti-Treaty voices, while disadvantaging those in support of the treaty.

(1) Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

In direct speech, few to insignificant differences were found between how sources in support of the treaty were handled in comparison to those against it. Generally, neutral structuring verbs such as ‘say’, ‘ask’, ‘tell’ were used to present the quoted statements. However, in indirect speech, British leaders and stakeholders in support of the treaty were more often quoted via seemingly descriptive or illocutionary glossing verbs, that worked to undermine any questioning or criticizing of their stances. For example, reported speech of Prime Minister Gordon Brown, as a central figure in the process, was often characterized by usage of verbs as in the example below:

He **claimed** to have fought successfully to defend the so-called "red lines", which he **insists** mean Britain can run its own foreign, justice and social security policies as well as preventing the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights from encroaching on UK law. (‘Calls for EU treaty poll ring all over Europe’, October 19)

Here, ‘*claimed*’ entails a choice that questions the truthfulness of the statement, whereas the verb ‘*insists*’ complements the idea that PM’s statements lack authenticity, stability and honesty. Voices from the opposition parties are also often articulated through indirect reported speech by means of either illocutionary glossing verbs or descriptive ones. However, in such cases the effects were found to work mainly negatively for the government, as illustrated in the extract below:

Mr. Hague **accused** the Government of one of the most "bare-faced and deliberate misrepresentations in the modern annals of political deceit" for **pretending** the new treaty was less far-reaching than its predecessor. (‘Hague promises law on EU votes ‘by law’’, October 3)

The verbs '*accuse*' and '*pretend*' are linguistic fortifiers to Hague's statements, which are highly critical of the government. A similar pattern was found in the ways stakeholders other than politicians were represented in indirect speech. In one example, a pro-integration source was cited disagreeing with the government's handling of the situation in the following manner:

Hugo Brady, of the Centre for European Reform think-tank, **criticized** "very ham-fisted diplomacy" on the part of Mr. Brown. ('Britain signs EU treaty... eventually. Critics attack dithering Brown', December 14)

Outside speech reporting, the findings are more diverse. Non-government sources in support of the treaty were generally excluded, or as in the case below, contextualized negatively.

Fairclough suggests that analysis should be sensitive to absences in the texts just as much as it is to what is present (Fairclough, 2011: 106). In this area, exclusion of non-government sources in favor of the treaty helps establish the perception that the government is the sole supporter of the document. On the other hand, sources critical of the treaty are often cited to complement statements pointing at treaty shortcomings, its disadvantageous nature, or its projected negative effects. Interestingly, such sources are often represented in indeterminate ways, as in the extracts below:

(1) Despite **critics** claiming the new treaty contains "90 per cent" of the Constitution, and a pledge by **Labour** to hold a national poll at the last election, Gordon Brown has refused to bow to the pressure. ('No need for referendum, says Blair adviser', October 5)

In '*critics*' social actors are represented as a large, homogenous group so as to strengthen credibility of the claim. Following van Leuween, this is called the premise

of assimilation, or referring to actors in groupist terms (2003: 48). On the other hand, the word '*Labour*' is a metonymical use for Labour party members which, yet again, by being represented as a unique category of social actors are endowed with a higher relevance rate.

(2) **Opposition** to the treaty is such that a defeat in any referendum would be highly likely. ('Brown must be brave and give people a say on EU treaty', October 18).

In the second extract, the word '*opposition*' represents a nominalization of the social actors who are the carriers of the action. Nominalization in this case works on the premise of impersonalization, inasmuch as social actors are represented by means of 'a quality attributed to them', i.e. they are what they do (Leuween, 2003: 59). The author of the text often identifies with this indeterminate opposition, and takes it as a responsibility and duty to speak for what it considers the 'British people's interest':

However, unlike, it seems, the Government, we understand that Europe as an entity can succeed only with **the consent of the people**. If Mr. Brown genuinely believes in a European future, he will argue his case – as should the rest of Europe – and seek to convince **the British people** why the treaty is right for our country. ('Brown must be brave and give people a say on EU treaty', October 18)

In this extract, the author of the text appears both as part of '*the people*' and an authority that advocates the rights of '*the people*'. '*The people*' is a remarkably vague concept which – following van Leuween – relies on strategies of representation that assimilate social actors due to high degrees of indetermination (van Leuween, 2003: 48).

2) *Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders*

Analysis of news media indicates that EU officials and European leaders, such as prime ministers or presidents of EU Member States, are cited in mixed ways. However, in cases of indirect speech a preference for illocutionary glossing and descriptive verbs was evidenced. In such cases, it was found that the choice of verbs was in harmony with the ideas generally proposed in the text. The following extracts are taken from an article that is highly critical of Brown's handling of the signing ceremony of the treaty:

- (1) The Portuguese prime minister, Jose Socrates, **joked** about Mr. Brown's absence as he welcomed David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, to the summit, **asking**: "Where's Gordon Brown?"

While, the quote is preceded by a neutral verb such as '*asking*', the stress is on the glossing verb '*joked*', which suggests how Mr. Socrates remark should be read.

- (2) Nicholas Sarkozy, the French president, also **launched a coded swipe** at Mr. Brown's late arrival "We've all got problems to deal with. I think that we need Britain in **Europe**," he **said**. "We need Gordon." ('Britain signs EU treaty... eventually. Critics attack dithering Brown', December 14)

Here again, the strategy of using a neutral verb directly before the quote is used, as is the case with '*he said*'. Nevertheless, in the cluster '*launched a coded swipe*' a far from neutral guide to reading the quote is provided. Such functionalization of glossing verbs to serve the overall idea proposed by the text was found to compose a repeated pattern. For example, the extract below is taken from an article that suggests the new treaty differs from the old constitution only in name, as a strategy to avoid British rejection. Consequently, the source is cited as follows:

He **made clear** that the purpose of the rewritten treaty, called the Lisbon Treaty, was to make people think the new version did not merit being put to referendums. ('EU treaty 'rewritten to avoid referendum', October 30)

The cited source is Giscard d'Estaing, the chair of the body that was in charge of framing the old constitution. By choosing '*made clear*' instead of other neutral verbs such as '*said*', '*declared*' or '*stated*', d'Estaing's claim is reinforced and so is the suggestion proposed in the text that the new treaty is new only in name. Outside the realm of speech reporting, EU-related actors are also represented in ways that support an image of (1) their being a unique entity/collectivity that (2) acts unfavorably toward UK interests. See two of the following extracts taken from the same article:

(1) Tony Blair will join **Europe's leaders** today to declare, amid great pomp and ceremony, that "**we the citizens**" are ready for an EU Constitution Mark II within two years.

(2) The declaration and talks come as the first ever opinion poll across all the EU's member states shows a growing gulf between **Europe's elites** and **citizens**. ('Europe's leaders to announce new treaty', March 24)

In extract (1), '*Europe's leaders*' is a genericization using a plural without article which, in the light of the rest of the sentence, is allocated an active role in the form of participation, whereas '*we the citizens*' represents an assimilation tactic in which '*the citizens*' are allocated the passive role of the subjected. In extract (2), a dichotomy based on disassociation is realized. First, both '*Europe's elites*' and '*citizens*' are assimilated into groupist terms; second the two groups are set at opposing ends of a relationship that favors the first. Both examples, work in favor of an imagery in which EU-related social actors are an elite category who aim to

illegitimately represent and decide on behalf of the not-so-advantaged other category of social actors, namely '*the citizens*'. Genericization tactics are also employed when EU-related sources are quoted in support of one of the *Telegraph*'s dominant discourses: namely that the new treaty and the old constitution are practically the same. The following paragraphs, extracted from two different articles, encapsulate this idea:

(1) A new European Union Reform Treaty, which **most other leaders** admit is essentially the same as the old constitution. ('Q&A Further shifts of powers to Brussels officials', December 14).

(2) **European leaders** took the first steps toward reviving elements of the European Union constitution last night as they prepared to make a "clear commitment" to look again at how to strengthen its role in the world. ('Merkel's push for EU constitution', March 9)

Both, '*most other leaders*' and '*European leaders*' are used in indeterminate or genericized ways so as maximize the effect of the claims. Analysis found that EU-related sources were represented negatively even in cases when they were referred to in specific, nominal ways. In such cases the roles allocated to such social actors are often negatively situated toward British social actors or Britain in general. See the following example:

Jose Manuel Barroso accused the Prime Minister of putting at risk the international community's drive to tackle terrorism. He has been angered by Mr. Brown's insistence that Britain will not sign up to the part of the EU Reform Treaty that deals with security. (Britain's red lines anger EC chief', October 15)

In both sentences, as in the headline itself, European Commission chief, Jose Manuel Barroso, whether allocated with active or passive roles, is represented as a hostile figure whose aims are at odds with British interests. In turn, such representations are in harmony with dominant discourses as represented elsewhere, in which a rivalry between EU and Britain is projected and proposed.

VII.3 Social Actor Representation in ‘The Guardian’

1) Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

As in the *Daily Telegraph*, there were more nuances of authorship perspectivation in indirect reported speech, where usage of illocutionary glossing and seemingly descriptive verbs constitutes a large aspect of the sample. However, unlike the *Daily Telegraph*, there are fewer signs of disparity as to how sources in support and against the treaty are presented. The following extracts from the same article, featuring both opposing and supporting voices, is illustrative of this idea:

- (1) The shadow foreign secretary **accused** the prime minister of a "cynical betrayal of promises" because the government pledged a mass vote on the document's predecessor, the constitutional treaty which had to be abandoned.
- (2) Gordon Brown **insists** the new document bears little relation to the old one, largely thanks to the "red lines" the UK has established. (‘MPs point to flaws in Brown's 'red line' EU treaty safeguards: As crucial Lisbon meeting nears, pressure mounts on PM to hold a referendum’, October 10)

In both cases, verb choices are indicative of author perspectivation. While in the case of shadow foreign secretary (a voice against the treaty) the verb ‘*accused*’ is used as an indication of the seriousness of his criticism, the following paragraph uses the verb

'insists' to report speech of the Prime Minister (a voice in favor of the treaty), which as a verb signals repeated attempts to convince about the truthfulness of the claim that is to follow. No significant representative differences between the sides were found in terms of social actor representation either. Both supporters and opponents of the treaty were often represented in ways that cast them as groups instead of individuals. In the following paragraph, pro-, and contra-EU actors were equally referred to in groupist terms (the principle of assimilation) and in generic ways (plural without article):

Gordon Brown's cack-handed handling of yesterday's EU reform treaty signing achieved a difficult double. It won him no brownie points among **pro-Europeans**, at home or beyond Calais. But **hardline UK Eurosceptics** also gave his efforts a raspberry. ('Political Briefing: Still hope for Brown in Brussels', October 14)

Categorization of social actors in terms of functionalizing an activity they are related to is also evident, in that we do not know who the pro-Europeans or the hardline UK Eurosceptics are, other than the identification they get out of their respective positions toward the EU. Examples of impersonalization were also found in the sample, as the extract below illustrates:

As the president of the European commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, the president of the European parliament, Hans-Gert Poettering, and the Portuguese prime minister, Jose Socrates, signed the charter – which Britain says will not apply in the UK – the British-led band of **Europhobe MEPs** unveiled banners and T-shirts demanding a referendum on the treaty. ('British MEPs in treaty uproar at Strasbourg: Brown under fire for ducking out of signing: Parliament protesters **'acted like football louts'**', December 13)

Of special relevance are the highlighted phrases. In the term, *'Europhobe MEPs'*, parliament members opposing the treaty are not only referred to in groupist terms, but here, most crucially, they are impersonalized in terms of the qualities that are attributed to them. Following van Leuween, impersonalization is a form of representation that can, among other things, 'add positive or negative connotations to an activity or utterance of a social actor' (2003: 60). It is unclear who is behind the claim that "*Parliament protesters 'acted like football louts'*", as the quote is presented without attribution; nevertheless, the way it is presented subjects the protesters to a negative comparison. Opposing political actors are also cast in groupist terms, either as 'the government', standing for the treaty, or the 'Tories', standing against it, in which cases the personification trope is exemplary:

(1) **Tories argue** that the charter of fundamental rights will allow EU judges to decide on British laws by the back door – potentially overruling the government on issues such as working hours and the secondary picketing ban.

(2) **The government says** the charter merely sets out the existing rights of EU citizens and does not give national or European courts any new powers to strike down or reinterpret EU law. (National: MPs point to flaws in Brown's 'red line' EU treaty safeguards: As crucial Lisbon meeting nears, pressure mounts on PM to hold a referendum, October 10)

'Tories' and *'the government'* are used metonymically, and in addition endowed with human-like qualities, such as the capacity to 'argue' and 'speak'. The rather balanced ways of social actor representation are reminiscent of dominant discourses in the *Guardian's* overall coverage, as elaborated in previous chapters. Discourses of intra-, and inter-party cleavages are reflective in the ways both opposing and supporting

sides are represented in the sample. The British people, as a quasi-neutral category of social actors, are also referred to in generic ways, as in the example below:

The letter was clearly intended to shift the focus of the two-day summit from the domestic controversy over the new EU treaty and Mr. Brown's refusal to offer **Britons** a referendum on the issue. ('Brown tries to shift summit focus from row over EU treaty: PM's letter urges end to institutional navel-gazing: Cameron turns screw on eve of Lisbon meeting', October 18).

Nevertheless, in comparison to the *Daily Telegraph*, examples like the one above are rather marginal. Also, few authorial attempts to speak on behalf, or be projected as part of the totality of the British people were found in the sample.

2) *Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders*

Regarding the ways EU-related social actors were quoted in direct or indirect reported speech, no peculiarities signaling relevant discursive positions were found. In direct speech, neutral structuring verbs constituted the norm, whereas usage of illocutionary glossing verbs or verbs represented as descriptive ones in indirect speech did not reveal relevant ideological underpinning. In terms of social actor representation, generic references dominated the sample. Actors of specific nationality were referred to in national terms such as 'the French' or 'Portuguese officials'. In a similar fashion, EU officials were represented as a homogenous group standing for the entirety of the EU, as in the following:

Officials in Brussels expected Italy and Poland, not Britain, to be the biggest troublemakers potentially spoiling a smooth summit... ('Brown tries to shift summit focus from row over EU treaty: PM's letter urges end to institutional navel-gazing: Cameron turns screw on eve of Lisbon meeting', October 18),

or alternatively as 'European leaders':

Gordon Brown provoked ridicule among EU supporters and critics alike yesterday as he bowed to pressure from **European leaders** and agreed to attend the signing of the controversial Lisbon treaty, but arrived late and missed the main ceremony.’ (‘Brown will now go to Lisbon and sign EU treaty – but by himself’, December 12’)

In terms of dominant discourses and discursive strategies, the paragraphs expose the tension that characterized the interplay of orders of discourse in the *Guardian*’s coverage, or expressed in Gramscian terms, the ‘struggle for hegemony’. Narrowly analyzed, from the specific social actor representation perspective, these representations, though seemingly balanced and benign, help cast the actors in fixed groupist terms, which when contrasted with the equally groupist references to British stakeholders, paint an imagery that is suggestive of a ‘given’/‘natural’ dichotomy between national and EU actors.

VII.4 Representation of Social Actors in the Daily Mirror’s coverage

1) Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people
Analysis reveals that representation of British social actors complements the paper’s overall discursive handling of the treaty process, which – as previously elaborated – was generally positive. In this sense, British actors in favor of the treaty were treated more benignly and vice-versa. In indirect speech, Prime Minister Brown’s positions were represented in ways that highlighted positive aspects, while relativizing sensitive and potentially negative ones. For example, in the light of heated debates about the lack of a treaty referendum, the paper shifts focus to a prospective commitment of Gordon Brown to share more negotiating responsibilities with the MPs with regard to future integration:

Gordon Brown yesterday **gave MPs** the right to veto new moves to hand more power to the EU. He said they would be able to vote on any proposal to give up British powers in new areas. ('MPs win veto on EU grab', October 23)

The cluster '*gave MPs the right to veto*' is problematic in that on the semantic level it suggests that the PM decided to share a right he owned out of good will. In a similar fashion, Brown's position with regard to his European counterparts is projected as both advantageous and winning:

Gordon Brown yesterday **ruled out** giving any more power to Brussels for at least the next decade. Speaking after the European summit in Lisbon, he said the time had come for the EU to concentrate on increasing prosperity, boosting jobs and protecting the environment. ('No more: Brown wins 10-year ban to stop EU gaining more control over the UK', October 20)

Yet again, the EU's formal commitment to halt further integration in the upcoming decade is featured as a direct result of Brown's '*ruling out*' of the idea. The only occasion when the paper's portrayal of Brown does not correspond with the rest of the representation is related to his decision to miss the official signing ceremony. However, in this particular case, the focus appears to be more on the harm that that particular action might have caused to UK-EU relations than on Brown's wrongdoing per se. On the other hand, voices against the treaty – mostly Tory figures – are granted continual negative representation. This is best encapsulated in the following extract, which features Conservative leader David Cameron:

Europe is blowing up in the face of the **Tory toff**. The slippery Old Etonian yesterday **wriggled like an eel** fighting to stay out of the pot. David Cameron's refusal to promise the referendum he demands from the government was

laughable. So much for the great issue of "trust" and fulfilling promises. ('EU Dope, Dave', October, 24)

The extensive metaphorical language in representing Cameron is reminiscent of 'impersonalization' techniques. In this specific context, his persona is abstracted, as he is referred to by means of a quality attributed to him by the representation (van Leuween, 2003: 59). The same applies to other Tory figures, of which foreign shadow Secretary William Hague is another example:

Failed former leader William Hague lurched to the right again yesterday – 30 years after his first conference rant as a 16-year-old Tory boy. Hague, who led his party to humiliation at the polls in 2001, reverted to anti-EU obsessions which helped cause that disaster. (EU still don't get it, Hague; The Tories at Blackpool 2007', October 3).

Not only is '*failed leader*' an attribution thereafter characterizing Hague, but – as van Leuween suggests – through impersonalization his actions are given negative connotations (2003: 59). Apart from government and opposition figures, the sample is rather poor in other national social actors, who are either completely excluded or largely backgrounded.

2) Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders

With the exception of a few examples in which EU-related social actors are either 'subjected' or 'beneficialized' – i.e. allocated passive roles in the discourse – their presence in the sample is almost insignificant. But, following van Leuween, exclusions in the text are important signifiers of its ideological foundations. In the *Daily Mirror's* coverage, the backgrounding of EU social actors signifies the foregrounding of internal actors, primarily pro-treaty ones. Cumulatively, foregrounding and activation of internal actors supports imagery in which the British

side is ‘in charge,’ in contrast to portrayals which allocate Britain the role of a beneficiary of actions from the EU side.

VII.5 Social Actor Representation in The Sun’s coverage

1) Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

Following analysis, it was found that social actor representation replicates the overall discursive standpoint of *The Sun* on many levels. To begin with, other than government representatives, voices in support of the treaty are generally absent, while with opposition representatives a rich array of other sources standing against the treaty persistently appears in the coverage. Differences between the sources were also disadvantageous toward those standing for the treaty. In a distinct way from the other headlines analyzed here, verbs indicating considerable author perspectivation were also used to introduce direct speech in the texts, as the extract below demonstrates:

Last night leader David Cameron **fumed**: "This Prime Minister says let battle be avoided wherever possible – especially if it involves people having their say. (‘You’re running scared Brown’, October 23).

In indirect speech, the presence of illocutionary glossing or descriptive verbs is even more evasive. Verb choices such as ‘*insists*’, ‘*claimed*’, ‘*tried to*’ or ‘*warned*’ constitute a well-established pattern throughout the coverage, which, quite importantly, could also be related to the tabloid-characteristic style of *The Sun*. Nevertheless, in a contextual setting in which the *Sun* is actively engaged in the treaty process, such choices produce ideological effects that reach further than stylistics. Outside the realm of speech reporting, metonymical uses in which institutions were named in reference to individuals represent common configurations. In the same sense, the personification trope also constitutes a well-established presence. See the extracts below:

- (1) Last week the **European Scrutiny Committee embarrassed** Mr. Brown by declaring that the EU Treaty is a carbon copy of the hated Constitution. (EU's secret attack on Brown's vetoes: Two days to showdown', October 15).
- (2) Last night the **Open Europe think tank described** the vote as "a huge embarrassment for Gordon Brown on his own turf". ('Scots treaty blow for PM', December 20)

In both examples, institutions are used as metonymical references that replace specific/individual social actors. In turn, through personification, such institutions, i.e. formal entities, appear as the carriers of the utterances quoted in the texts. As will be shown later, similar metonymical references combined with the personification trope were found in the representation of EU-related social actors. Personification, besides having a 'high suggestive force' also has other important functions, most importantly the capacity to favor 'identification of the addressees with that of the personified collective subjects' (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). In this light, via such strategies, painting the divergences between the relevant social actors is easier when specific and multiple individuals are systematically replaced with single, fixed institutions. This simplifies the dilemma of identifying the opposing sides in the debate, sharpens the divergences between them and, as already stated, lessens the identification process of the addressees (the readership) with the actors featured in the texts. Representation of the British people on the other hand, is effected in typical ways. At times, they are referred to as '*the nation*', elsewhere this is traded for simple pronouns such as '*us*' or the possessive equal '*ours*', in what Billig (1995) would qualify as prime examples of banal nationalism. At other times, Britain is used metonymically in allusion to the entirety of '*the British people*', and in specific cases, as in the following excerpt, the level of abstraction is raised to equation of 'the British people' with elusive notions such as '*public feeling*':

The tidal wave of **public feeling** will pile pressure on Gordon Brown to keep his promise of a vote. ('100,000 back *Sun* call for say on EU', October 2).

2) *Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders*

As far as reported speech is concerned, the use of illocutionary glossing verbs also stands out as a peculiarity with regard to EU social actor representation. Two examples revealing how such uses were functionalized in favor of dominant discourses in the coverage are:

- (3) Last night the campaign became more urgent after Mr. Giscard d'Estaing **warned**: "When the day comes that men and women with sweeping ambitions for Europe decide to make use of this Treaty, they will be able to rekindle from the ashes of today the flame of a United Europe." ('We know Brits will vote no', October 30).

The verb choice being '*warned*', instead of the classic neutral speaking verbs such as '*said*', '*declared*' or '*stated*' in cases of direct speech, could be, as formerly argued, a stylistic matter. However, even if that was the case, as Caldas-Coulthard suggests, such choices 'are highly interpretative and convey the author's presence in the text' (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 306). For example in the following, beyond a peculiarity of style, the verb '*warned*' entails ideological underpinnings that suggest urgency and raise the relevance expectations of the utterance that is to follow. The second example contains reported speech of the German chancellor, Angela Merkel:

German leader Angela Merkel **sparked fears** of a revived EU constitution last night as she talked of "institutional reform", **adding**: "We need more Europe, not less." ('German leader Angela Merkel sparked fear of a revived EU constitution', March 9).

While '*sparked fears*' is not the verb located closest to the quoted utterance (that verb would be the discourse-signaling '*adding*'), it does represent an important suggestive guidance as of how the rest of the sentence should be read. With few exceptions, when EU social actors are named, the persisting pattern consists of assimilation tactics or metonymical references. As above, actors were generally referred to in generic ways, either in the customary plural without article as in '*EU leaders*' or indeterminately as in '*some EU leaders*' or '*other EU leaders*'. In terms of role allocation, social actors were mainly activated in the discourse. However, EU social actor activation stood in a mutually-exclusive relationship to British social actors' role allocation. That is, when EU social actors were activated, British social ones were either 'subjected' or 'beneficialized' (van Leeuwen, 2003: 44). In turn, passivation of British social actors was carried in ways that projected victim status on them. The following extracts from the same article illustrate the idea:

(1) MPs predict that the **European Court of Justice will start to make laws for Britain** based on the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

(2) The **European Commission will be able to impose new laws on all nations** if a majority of member states agree. ('90% as dumped Constitution; PM bulldozes referendum please', October 19).

In both cases, EU institutions are active agents represented in the form of metonyms of the type 'institution for persons'. Also, in both cases Britain is either explicitly or allusively the subject upon which the actions of the former fall. Common metonymical reference of the type 'place for persons' or 'place for processes' was also found in the ways the city of 'Brussels' was represented in the coverage. In the sample, 'Brussels' is not a value-free geographic reference; instead the term comes to represent a politically charged concept used as a metonym for a conglomerate of social actors related to the integration process in general. The following paragraph

exemplifies this trope:

The report also warned Treaty proposals would let **Brussels** seize powers to make "substantial changes" without an EU summit. ('10 days to save Britain', October 9).

As already indicated, '*Brussels*' is used as a metonym in combination with the trope of personification and actively situated in the discourse. In this sense, Brussels is a metonym that replaces many other social actors, either individually or in combination and is repeatedly used as a conceptual short-cut signifying a hostile 'other', whose actions would be illegitimately detrimental to Britain.

VII.6 Summary

It was found out that representations of social actors mirror the overall discursive positions held by the newspapers. In this light, the right-wing press tends to foreground actors against the treaty at the expense of actors in support of it. In *The Telegraph* for example, sources in support of the treaty are only voiced in the context of confrontation with sources against the treaty and very rarely in a proactive manner. When it comes to EU-related social actors, their representation is generally carried in ways that reinforce an image of the EU as the negative 'other'. In a similar way, *The Sun* omits sources in support of the treaty other than the ones stemming from the immediate circle of politics, and which, due to the scale of their involvement in the process, can hardly be suppressed. EU-related actors are mainly referred to in indeterminate ways and their speech is generally recontextualized negatively. On the other hand, left-wing newspapers hold either a more balanced approach, as in the case of *The Guardian*, or draw on representational tactics that support voices standing for the treaty, as in the case of *The Daily Mirror*. Nevertheless, it is important to note that even left-wing newspapers like *The Guardian* represent social actors in fixed groupist

terms. In doing so, an image of fixed dichotomies between Britain and the EU is forged in the representation.

VIII. The Fiscal Compact Period

VIII.1 Brief history and contextual setting of the Fiscal Compact

The Treaty on ‘Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union,’ widely referred to as the Fiscal Compact, is an intergovernmental treaty signed in March 2012 by all EU Member States except the UK and the Czech Republic. The agreement entails a stricter version of the Stability and Growth Pact. Its core aim was to make closer budgetary coordination legally binding by imposing stricter sanctions for countries that failed to meet the ‘balanced budget rules.’ The Fiscal Compact came as a direct response to the 2007-2008 financial crisis that hit the EU as one of the biggest challenges in its history. The UK asked for an opt-out from the agreement, but it was denied one. In response, British Prime Minister of the time, David Cameron refused to sign the agreement on grounds that its provisions endangered the City of London, an important international financial center. He made clear that the UK had no intentions in joining the pact in the future and that his government had many concerns, especially regarding a clause that mandated EU institutions to monitor and guarantee the implementation of the agreement although it was an intergovernmental one.

As was the case in the Lisbon Treaty period, and on the same grounds, I have selected three specific months in the timeline that led to the agreement. These are December 2011, January 2012, and March 2012. *December 2011* marks a period of lengthy talks, accompanied by heated debates, discussions on alternatives and many pros and cons. In *January 2012* all EU leaders, with the exception of the British and the

Czechs, agreed on the final version of the pact. The agreement was a momentous event, both internally, by setting a stricter mechanism to monitor the financial well-being of individual Member States, as well as externally, by helping to restore the image of the EU in the world. In *March 2012*, The Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union was signed by all agreeing parties.

VIII.1.1 Analytical Procedure

The same analytical procedure and analytical categories as evidenced in the Lisbon Treaty period have also been applied here. That is, dominant as well as other or counter-dominant discourses in newspaper coverage are identified. The discursive strategies carrying such discourses are then disclosed. Finally, recurrent traits in linguistic materialization are singled out and their ideological potential is discussed.

VIII.2 The Daily Telegraph's Coverage

Analysis suggests that in the coverage of the Treaty on 'Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union,' herewith referred to as the 'Fiscal Compact,' dominant discourses reside on ideas of protecting, preserving and promoting British interests in the light of momentous events within the European Union. Such discourses concur with discourses that aim at demarcating, and often alienating, British interests from those of 'the continental rest' of the union. In so doing, deeper dilemmas pertaining to Britain's membership in the EU and how that is related to understandings of own national identity are explored and foregrounded. In the following pages, dominant discourses are presented in nuances, along with their constitutive discursive strategies and the linguistic materializations.

VIII.2.1 Discourses of protecting British interests, guarding national sovereignty and maintaining power

Discourses of protecting British interests and preserving Britain's power-position represent a recurrent pattern throughout the sample. Portrayal of the compact foregrounds its threat to British financial services, otherwise considered the backbone of British economy. Consequently, David Cameron's decision to veto the plan, despite the risk of isolating the country, is justified as proportional considering the gravity of the threat.

Discourses that view national interest as a homogenous category are nourished in assumptions that articulate and construct the national collective on grounds of sameness, cohesion and continuation. Constructive discursive strategies aim 'linguistically to create a temporal, interpersonal or spatial (territorial) similarity and homogeneity' (Wodak et al., 2009: 33) of the nation in its entirety, which is inclusive of its collective present and future interests. Thus a lengthy article, illustrating in fine dramatic detail the chronological order of the final negotiations that ended with David Cameron vetoing the compact, is titled as follows:

Cameron makes his euro stand, in splendid isolation; Conference delegates joked about wife swapping but the Prime Minister remained firmly wedded to Britain's financial services. (December 10, 2011)

The metaphor '*remaining wedded to Britain's financial services*' is a rhetorically forceful way of accentuating PM's indubitable commitment to the British financial industry. Regarding structural metaphors in particular, Lakoff and Johnson point out:

Structural metaphors allow us to do much more than just orient concepts, refer to them, quantify them, etc., as we do with simple orientational and ontological metaphors; they allow us, in addition, to use a highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 61)

In the present example, the highly delineated concept of marriage as a union of trust and eternity is used to render meaning of Cameron's veto based on similar traits of loyalty and foreverness. On the other hand, the magnitude of the threat projected in the discourse works as a functional remedy to the undesirable side effects of the veto, most importantly the prospect of British isolation. In addition, via substantial voicing of first-line conservatives and their hard-core rejection of the plan, a momentum of pressure is built up, facilitating an understanding of Cameron's veto as the only politically viable solution. An example from an article preceding the veto illustrates this idea:

The far-reaching plans have put Mr. Cameron under intense pressure to deliver clear changes in Britain's relationship with the EU in exchange for his consent to changing the EU's rule book. Mr. Duncan Smith, the Cabinet's leading Eurosceptic, made clear he expects Mr. Cameron to put any significant change in the treaties to the British people. ('Time for public vote on Europe, urges IDS; PM told that failure to hold EU poll would be a breach of trust', December 5)

Of particular interest here are lexical qualification, passivization and indirect quotation, as forms of linguistic realization that in the given context support particular meanings. In the extract, the lexical choice employed to describe the compact is '*far-reaching*', thus accentuating its alluded wide scope of effect on the suggested national collective. Additionally, grammatical passivization as in the cluster '*...have put Cameron under intensive pressure*', deletes specific agency; the reader does not know who specifically has put Cameron under pressure. In turn, the projected pressure is framed not as generated by any specific group of social actors, but rather as the natural consequential effect of the plan being too '*far-reaching*'.

When agency is stated, as in the second sentence of the extract, it comes in the form

of an indirect quotation, which is indicative of active author involvement in the text. For example, Mr. Smith's quote is represented with the verb '*made clear*', which in contrast to any neutral speaking verbs, such as '*said*', '*declared*' or '*stated*', enables the author to intensify the urgency of Smith's demand. In another line of argument, the thematic dominance of 'pressure upon the Prime Minister,' as evidenced in numerous articles is, at the semantic level, a relativization of the negative side effects of the veto. Functionally, such relativization works as a legitimization strategy of providing 'good reasons, grounds, or acceptable motivations for past or present action' (Van Dijk, 1998: 255). In other words, if the plan was so '*far-reaching*' and threatening to vital British interests, and the PM was under intense pressure from members of his own party, the veto, despite its consequences, is the most reasonable and plausible move at the given moment. Interestingly, as far as the theme of negative consequences emerging from the veto is elaborated, that is done strictly through the perspective of British interests. For example, there are no discursive perspectives whatsoever pointing at the veto as an act of turning the back on important allies in times of deep crisis. Indeed, the discussion of the veto from a moral viewpoint is totally absent in the sample. On the contrary, the only concern is how the veto would enable the rest of the member states to marginalize Britain and move ahead with processes from which the latter would be excluded. An article published on December 20, voices business representatives to warn about the direct threat facing the British economy:

- 1). 'AT LEAST three million jobs will be at risk if Britain does not remain at the heart of Europe, a group of leading businessmen have warned.
- 2). In a letter to *The Daily Telegraph* today, 20 of the country's most successful wealth creators said it was "imperative" that Britain has a place at the

negotiating table when major decisions about the European Union are taken'.
(EU vital to 3m UK jobs, big business warns, December 20)

In paragraph one, business representatives' claim is represented via the verb '*warn*'. A lot has been previously said on the role of glossing verbs, such as is '*warn*', in accentuating one or another ideological representation of events. In paragraph two, punctuation is crucial, as '*imperative*' is the only word of the entire indirect quotation appearing within inverted commas, thus making a clear value judgment regarding which part of the quotation is most relevant. Additionally, lexical qualification of the business representatives in question as the nation's '*most successful*' is a tactical suggestion of authority and rank.

VIII.2.2 Discourses of 'sameness': Generating ideas of national cohesion and unity

Much has been discussed in discourse studies regarding the construction of binary 'us' and 'them' relations in the service of various ends. It is particularly relevant here how an indexing of 'us' versus 'them' functions at the level of constructing sameness and generating a sense of belonging and solidarity within the 'in-group', which is, in this case, the national collective. In their discussion of constructive discourse strategies, Wodak et al. emphasize the role of such constructs in generating similarity and homogeneity (Wodak et al., 2009). In line with Billig's theory of banal nationalism and the underlying assumption of the nation as a taken-for-granted category, Lewis suggests that strict delineation of 'us' and 'them' 'makes natural and unproblematic 'our' place and purpose within the world of nations' (Lewis, 2008: 415).

Given the highly national framing of the coverage of the Fiscal Compact, I will present, in what follows, some of the dominant modes through which ideas of national cohesion, sameness and continuity were proposed in the actual texts. Here,

relevant forms of linguistic materialization consist of metonyms and personifications. In numerous articles throughout the sample, the term ‘Britain’ and its contextual semantic concomitants such ‘the City of London’ or simply ‘the City’ are used as metonymic references denoting the British nation as an inseparable, integral whole with a common fate and future. In particular, the City of London does not refer to the financial service industry or the group of actual banks and businesses operating behind the name. Instead, ‘the City’ is used as a symbolic reference for the common national interest, a semantic category endowed with the highest of values, as the following extract shows:

If Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy do anything that threatens to hurt the City of London, he will defend our island, whatever the cost may be. He will exercise his veto on the beaches. He will exercise his veto on the landing grounds. He will exercise it in the fields and in the streets, he will exercise it in the hills. He will never surrender. (An answer? I'm sorry, that's out of the question; Churchillian Cameron takes up defensive position at PMQs, Sketch, and December 8)

The extract is taken from an article published on December 8th, preceding Cameron’s veto. Although in terms of genre it is not a news report, the article appears in a section marked as ‘News’, which is why it is taken into consideration here in the first place. In the first sentence, the ‘*City of London*’ is equated with the nation, which is exchanged in turn for the more emotionally appealing metonym of the ‘*island*’. In the given context, ‘*island*’ is less of an indicator of Britain as an island in the geographical sense of the word, and more of a mental delineator of the insular nature of the British nation as ‘a different people’ from the inhabitants of the European mainland. It is at the same time a cultural reminder of Shakespeare’s iconic ‘jewel set in a silver sea.’ The writer here plays on powerful emotive resonances. Even more

obvious than the implicit Shakespearean allusion is the explicit Churchillian one – the famous summoning of national spirit in the dark days of the Second World War with the (again iconic) words ‘we shall fight them on the beaches’ and so on. The rest is mainly sentences romanticizing about Cameron’s determination to fight the suggested ‘European injustice.’ In other texts, the trope of personification is used to attribute human-like qualities to non-human entities.

As Wodak et al. point out, personification is a type of metaphor that possesses high suggestive force, as it ‘favours identification of the addressees with that of the personified collective’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). See the example below:

BRITAIN will take part in fresh talks about the European treaty next week in a sign that David Cameron's veto has not left the country out in the cold.
(‘Whitehall joins the treaty talks’, December 16).

Two times within the same sentence, by means of personifying first ‘*Britain*’ and then ‘*the country*’, the reader is given cues to identify with the national collective. In the first case, suggesting that Britain, instead of say, government representatives, will take part in fresh talks, it is a way of expanding the net of inclusiveness to all members of the national collective. Hence the negotiations are not an exclusive government affair; rather each and every member of the nation is projected as a personal stakeholder. In the second case, also by means of personification, members of the suggested national collective are reassured that their country is ‘*not left out in the cold*’, a double metaphor, which prompts the readers to think of themselves as part of the country while at the same time giving them comfort in this role. Finally, linguistic materializations in the form of deixis are generally absent in the sample. They appear in limited and unrepresentative ways, mainly within the framework of the so-called ‘editorial we’ (Fairclough, 2001) as in the example below:

The tone of public utterances towards Britain has indeed become bitter in recent weeks. Their private comments, we may safely assume, are unprintable. Unfortunately, the feeling is mutual. ('The day Europe took revenge on Britain', December 10)

Usually, the 'editorial we', when appearing as in the example above, is reader inclusive. Unless otherwise specified, it is generally used to denote a national community to which both author and reader belong.

VIII.2.3 Discourses of 'othering': France, Germany, and Europe in the role of the 'hostile other'

While the previous heading dealt with the functional effect of the dichotomy of 'us' vs. 'them' in generating ideas of sameness, here I am exclusively dealing with how such binary representations function at the level of constructing self-positive images by attributing hostile traits to the 'outside-group', i.e. by processes of 'enemy construction.' Van Dijk observes that strategies of positive self-representation in tandem with negative representation of the 'other' are characteristic of a 'biased account of the facts in favor of the speaker's or writer's own interests, while blaming negative situations and events on opponents or on the Others...' (Van Dijk, 2006: 373).

In their work on discursive strategies in the construction of in- and out-groups, Wodak et al. speak of predicational strategies as means of more or less positive, or negative evaluation of social actors, phenomena, events or processes via the attribution of positive or negative characteristics (Wodak et al. 2001). In another study, Collet finds that the creation of narrative dichotomies that oppose specific concepts to their absolute negations is one of the main ways of effecting processes of 'othering' (Collet, 2009: 472). With respect to the present case, processes of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation were characterized mainly by 1)

legitimation of one's own actions as a form of positive self-evaluation and 2) continual 'othering' of the EU, most specifically France and Germany, by means of hostility projection. While the first typology is less pronounced, the latter constitutes a dominant pattern throughout the sample. Let's consider the following examples:

Extract 1.

So we may be witnessing a new era of Anglo-German antagonism. How will people in both countries react to the prospect of Germany re-emerging at the helm of something very like a United States of Europe, with Britain banished to the sidelines? Berlin is not Germany. Some Germans with long memories are aghast. Helmut Schmidt, the most Anglophile of the post-war Chancellors, has come out of retirement to warn his successor against throwing her weight about. But the anxieties of old men, however prescient, count for little. ('The day Europe took revenge on Britain', December 10)

On closer inspection, the extract includes no pronominal contrasts of 'we' vs. 'them'; however the editorial 'we' at the opening of the extract is indicative of the assumed national homogeneity of the text's readership. In line with Anderson's suggestion that the 'we' in national newspapers cues readers to imagine a national community to which they also belong (Anderson, 1991), Brookes highlights that – given national distribution – the 'we' can be understood as a clear reference to the nation (Brookes, 1999: 256). The evocation of earlier Anglo-German antagonism and other historical references also suggest national homogeneity. As Bishop and Jaworski point out, 'a fundamental process in the imagining of the nation and a generation of a sense of collective belonging is the articulation of past national exploits' (Bishop and Jaworski, 2003: 251-252). This serves as a starting point in mobilizing readers to think of themselves as active agents in what is to follow. On the other hand, such

historical references work actively in elevating ideas of difference within the binary set-up of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ by means of framing present cases as extensions of former hostilities. In addition, in terms of functional ends, such representations of events help pave the path for the legitimization of future acts. By hinting at illegitimate, unfair and unjust actions from the European – more precisely German – side, the case is made for Britain having no other choice but to reject such plans. Similar legitimization tactics are found in discourses that draw on tactics of pointing at the internal pressure that Cameron faced at the prospect of the Compact agreement. See the following excerpt, for example:

DAVID CAMERON faced a further Conservative revolt over Europe yesterday as a Cabinet minister and the Mayor of London told him he must hold a referendum on the fiscal union being created to save the euro. Tory anger will be further inflamed today by a German rejection of Britain's demand that the Eurozone rescue deal must include legal protections for the City. (Cameron faces another revolt from the ranks as Tory rebels demand referendum on euro deal’, December 8)

Here the journalist suggests that German rejection of British demands will exacerbate the situation. Sowinska and Dubrovskaya maintain that one of the distinguishable goals of authors of discourses regarding the promotion of specific ideological positions is preparing ground for future activities (Sowinska and Dubrovskaya, 2012). In this context, the cumulative effect of the mounting pressure on the PM on the one hand and the unjust actions of Germany and Europe on the other, legitimate any future rejection of the plan. The following excerpt is most representative of such strategies:

Most European countries found these requests reasonable but, determined from the start to make the new "fiscal compact" a matter for the Eurozone alone, Nicolas Sarkozy branded them unacceptable, giving Britain little option but to back away from wider treaty change. ('Don't blame UK for Eurozone's failure to put its house in order'; Analysis, December 10).

Generally, the definition of legitimation is the capacity to provide 'good reasons, grounds, or acceptable motivations for past or present action' (van Dijk, 1998: 255), which is what the excerpt aims to achieve. By the same token, processes of enemy construction aim at highlighting the moral discrepancy between Britain and the rest. In turn, this weakens the representation of events via narratives of 'good' versus 'bad'. Consider the examples below:

Extract.1

FRANCE is 'the biggest threat to the unity of the European Union', a former Belgian prime minister has warned, after Nicolas Sarkozy succeeded in his mission of splitting Britain from Europe to cement French power. ('Sarkozy's push for power poses 'biggest threat to EU unity'; Breakaway Pact', December 10).

Extract 2.

THE plan by France and Germany to build a separate fiscal union after Britain blocked changes to the European Union's treaty is an "abuse of power", according to confidential legal advice. ('Franco-German plan 'abuses power'; The legal view', December 10).

Extract 3.

In a tactic to isolate Britain and split the 10 non-Eurozone EU members, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy yesterday invited the 23 members of a "Euro Plus" economic pact to monthly summits. The move will lead to decisions on economic policy being taken without British involvement. ('Cameron faces another revolt from the ranks as Tory rebels demand referendum on Euro deal', December 8).

Extract 1 is from an article titled '*Sarkozy's push for power poses 'biggest threat to EU unity'; Breakaway Pact*'. If we consider the headline alone, lexical qualification and punctuation are especially illustrative of the discursive strategies engaged in the production of this particular representation. The Fiscal Compact is metaphorically referred to as a '*Breakaway Pact*', suggesting that the agreement is the opposite of what its proponents claim. On the other hand, putting the cluster '*biggest threat to EU unity*' within inverted commas is a way of engaging president Sarkozy in politically incorrect behavior, while at the same time ensuring a 'buffer' zone between the author of the text and the voiced social actor. In addition, selective quotation of the sources of statements without precise attribution makes the specific quotes sound more like commonsense considerations. Especially when used in headlines, severing utterances from their sources increases their suggestive force.

A similar case is present in Extract 2; only in this case the source behind the quote within inverted commas is vaguer. While it is not uncommon for news reports to cite confidential sources, the grammatical configuration of the sentence is problematic. The source, not only vague – a confidential report stemming from sources unknown to the reader – is preceded by the claim itself. Quite simply, when the claim is presented before the source, it overshadows the source. In the case in point, the stress is on the claim that the Franco-German plan represents an '*abuse of power.*' Fairclough warns that structuring of propositions dealing with how events,

relationships and situations are represented, and sequencing of propositions concerning the way clauses are combined, entail important choices that reveal ideological standpoints (Fairclough, 2011: 104).

Finally, Extract 3 is particularly problematic as regards at least two discursive strategies: perspectivation and perpetuation. In terms of perspectivation, the author's presence in the actual text is marked by lexical qualifications that adamantly insist on deconstructing the Franco-German alliance as a pact against Britain. The consideration that the latest moves from Merkel and Sarkozy are tactics to isolate Britain are positions stemming directly from the author's perspectivation. In turn, such perspectivation of events collides with perpetuation strategies. Wodak et al. consider such strategies responsible 'to maintain and to reproduce a threatened national identity, i.e. to preserve, support and protect it' (Wodak et al., 2009: 33). Projection of hostility upon France and Germany has as end-effect the projection of Britain as the victim. It is left open whether Britain is to be interpreted as a metonymical reference to the government, or a wider concept yet, namely a metonym of 'country for people', in which case reader solidarity is mobilized. Either way, by means of putting the 'others', France and Germany, in a causal as well as correlational relationship with the suggested victim, discourses of divergence, animosity and hostility regarding Europe are proposed, fueled, and promoted.

VIII.3 The Guardian's Coverage

Analysis suggests that at all layers of analysis the *Guardian's* coverage of the Fiscal Compact differs substantially from that of its broadsheet counterpart, the *Daily Telegraph*. For example, the sample includes discursive patterns that are guided by a tendency of pan-European perspectivation. That is to say, in contrast to the *Daily Telegraph's* mainly nationally framed coverage of the compact, the *Guardian* is more

flexible in crossing the ‘national boundaries’ of reporting, thus tending toward a wider, pan-European outlook on events. Nevertheless, this does not suggest that the *Guardian*’s coverage was not informed by national preconceptions. Indeed, analysis shows that the wider pan-European perspective in some parts of the coverage is no hindrance to an intensely national discourse in other parts. Specifically, discourses on Britain’s role in Europe, an aspect pertaining to traditional integration, and discourses of ‘subtle differentiation’ between ‘us’ and ‘them’, pertaining to processes of national identity, constitute substantial aspects of coverage.

VIII.3.1 The ‘pan-European’ perspective

‘Pan-European’ refers here to discursive patterns in which procedural concerns related to the crisis overshadow nationally framed inputs. To begin with, there is a pattern in the coverage showing that numerous articles consider the wider European arena as their contextual setting. Following relevance and newsworthiness criteria, the British viewpoint is mostly in such cases either cast as ‘one of many’ or not at all. For example, at the peak of the final deal negotiations, numerous articles focused on the main stakeholders such as France, Germany, or leading EU officials, without dwelling on discourses of British exclusion or victimization. Consider the extract below:

Europe's leaders were faced yesterday with a stark deadline of 10 days to save the euro or face the disintegration of the European Union itself. The warning from Olli Rehn, EU economic and monetary affairs commissioner, came after central banks intervened to prevent a complete freezing-over of the west's financial sector because of the politicians' continued failure to resolve the sovereign debt crisis. (‘World Economy: Crunch Point: Ten days to save the euro or see the EU disintegrate, ministers are warned’, December 1)

Two aspects are particularly relevant: 1) framing the events from an emergency perspective and 2) de-nationalized references to social actors. Regarding the first aspect, by excluding national considerations, the focus is shifted to the crisis itself. Lexical qualification in the headline, where a countdown reminds the readers that there are only '*10 days left to save the euro*', generates a sense of urgency that transcends particular national interests. Regarding the second aspect, references to social actors as in '*Europe's leaders*' or '*politicians*' without further qualification, indicate a certain category of pan-European social actors, which, most importantly, is British-inclusive.

Specific representations of events as evidenced above reveal the author's involvement in the discourse, or as prescribed by Wodak et al. in their consideration of perspectivation strategies, their precise position and point of view (Reisigl and Wodak, 2005: 45). Elsewhere, an article of December 9 featuring statements of assorted leading figures is titled '*EU Summit: Divided we stand*'. Although the article is published in a section titled *Guardian Home Pages* and no British politician or official is among the cited figures, the deictic choice is not the exclusive pronominal reference '*they*', but rather the inclusive '*we*,' which without further qualification will be understood as British-inclusive. Characteristics of a 'pan-European' perspectivation of events persist even in scenarios in which the British viewpoint is voiced separately from that of other EU Member States, as the following examples from the same article shows:

Extract 1.

David Cameron, for whom the talks over closer fiscal union threaten to be politically perilous, was in Paris for talks with the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy. The prime minister, concerned about the impact of a chaotic breakup

of the euro on an already fragile UK economy, said he was not opposed to Merkel's plan.

Extract 2.

Sarkozy is reluctant to cede too much control over the ability of Paris to set its own budget, and some analysts warned that next week's European heads of government summit in Brussels could end with only the flimsiest of agreements

Extract 3.

Merkel is pushing for a new enforceable regime under which countries using the euro would ultimately need to sacrifice budgetary and fiscal powers to a European authority that would monitor and then either endorse or veto budgets. It would penalize those whose debt levels are deemed to be destabilizing the currency. She said, however, that there was no quick fix to a crisis that had taken years to develop, and stressed there was no danger for German budgetary sovereignty. ('Front: Merkel takes action to stop euro collapse: German chancellor demands budget controls in decisive week for currency', December 3)

In the first extract, David Cameron is indirectly quoted in what is a commentary-ridden passage. With the exception of the indirect quotation saying Cameron was not opposed to the German plan, the rest is author perspectivation on Cameron's position. Isolated, the extract could be interpreted as contradicting the presumed 'pan-European' perspective, as it strictly speaks of the British position. Nevertheless, in Extracts 2 and 3, the French and German positions are also represented with similar perspectivation tactics and linguistic devices.

In line with my argument above, when the British perspective is separately voiced in the sample, that is done as ‘one of the many’. Such occurrences in the sample point to transformation strategies, more specifically their sub-categories. Wodak et al. view such strategies as aimed at transforming ‘a relatively well-established national identity and its components into another identity the contours of which the speaker has already conceptualised’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). While this is evidently not the case in the present *Guardian* sample, the mere circumvention of the strictly-national perspectivation of events represents a challenge to traditional binary conceptualizations of Britain vs. ‘the European rest’. More precisely, what is evidenced here are strategies of destruction, which are not aimed at dismantling the larger national-identity construct, but rather evolve around ‘dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct’ without suggesting ‘any new model to replace the old one’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). In this area, the representation of Britain as an equal player in a European context marks a departure from discourses that understand Britishness in adversarial terms vis à vis the EU.

VIII.3.2 Discourses of subtle differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’

Lee et al. maintain that ‘The discursive binding of a national community shines at critical moments or around special occasions that function as a reference point and furnish a rich repertoire of cultural symbols’ (Lee et al. 2001: 346), and suggest that media play a pivotal role in such processes. A large body of work (Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995; Wodak et al. 2009; Law, 2001) also highlights the ‘malleable, fragile [...] ambivalent and diffuse’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 4) role of the media in hosting the daily reproduction of national identities.

The events evolving around the Fiscal Compact represent one such moment of crisis for Britain, foregrounding deeper integration dilemmas that are closely intertwined with particular understandings of ‘us’ and ‘them’. In particular, processes evolving

around ideas of sameness, cohesion and national solidarity, and/or foregrounding differences between ‘us’ and them’, were characteristic of the sample. Here, analysis does not reveal manifest expressions of national cohesion or explicit attempts to generate a sense of solidarity among national peers – as would, say, the use of the ‘editorial we.’ However, subtle ways of conceiving Britain as an all-containing, homogenous entity are frequently used as a containing synecchode. Wodak et al. view synecchode as a trope that ‘replaces the name of a referent by the name of another referent which belongs to the same field of meaning and which is either semantically wider or semantically narrower’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44-45). In the sample, ‘Britain’ is frequently used for other referents. The following extracts illustrate this idea:

Extract 1.

Britain is concerned because such legislation is decided on the basis of qualified majority voting in which Britain has no veto. (‘EU summit: Treaty talks: A jolly by the sea, then leaders tackle summit’, December 9)

Extract 2.

German sources said they were surprised by the British veto, although in the run-up to the summit they had received "different signals" from the British. (‘European union: ‘I really don’t believe Cameron was ever with us at the table’: Merkel accuses PM of negotiating in bad faith; Britain accused of getting its tactics wrong on talks’, December 10)

In the first extract, Britain is a synecchode for a referent that remains unknown to the reader; this could be semantically narrower like the ‘government’, or wider like the ‘nation’. Either way, the lack of precision and the use of Britain as a synecchode in the first place trigger a sense of solidarity and boost reader identification with the

reported event. The synecdochical use of ‘Britain’ is additionally combined with personification, assigning human-like qualities to a clearly non-human referent, as in *‘Britain is concerned’*. Following Wodak et al. personification is the sort of metaphor that ‘links two differing conceptual fields, i.e. a concept with the semantic feature’ and ‘favours identification of the addressees with that of the personified collective subjects’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 44). The pattern is repeated in Extract 2, in the headline *‘Britain accused of getting its tactics wrong in the negotiation’*. First, ‘Britain’ is again a synecchdode replacing another referent from the same field, supposedly the wider national community. Secondly, the trope of personification is again activated, suggesting Britain is ‘accused’. Finally, the subject-action relationship is presented in a grammatically passive form whose important aspect is that Britain is accused, thus drawing on victimization narratives. Other traces of tactics aimed at generating ideas of sameness and triggering reader identification are implicit in the ways the word *‘British’* is used. Extract 2 speaks of the veto as a British property (*the ‘British veto’*) and considers ‘the British’ a taken-for-granted category (*‘... they had received ‘different signals’ from the British’*). These are strategies that ‘attempt to construct and to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33).

Regarding the second aspect, namely processes of differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’, a rich repertoire of examples emerges from the sample, e.g.:

Extract 1.

David Cameron was at the centre of a furious row with Nicolas Sarkozy early this morning after Paris tried to isolate the prime minister at the EU summit by suggesting that Britain is seeking to exempt the City of London from all

European regulations. (Front: Cameron and Sarkozy clash as leaders wrangle over euro deal: French accused of setting Britain up as ‘fall guy’ in attempt to ringfence eurozone: Cameron and Sarkozy clash at euro summit’, December 9)

Extract 2.

In a move dismissed by officials in Brussels as an attempt to set Britain up as the fall guy, senior French figures said Cameron wanted an opt out from EU financial services regulation. (Front: Cameron and Sarkozy clash as leaders wrangle over euro deal: French accused of setting Britain up as ‘fall guy’ in attempt to ringfence eurozone: Cameron and Sarkozy clash at euro summit’, December 9)

Extract 3.

France is keen for the treaty changes to be agreed just among the Eurozone’s 17 members, as a way of marginalizing Britain. (‘EU Summit: Treaty Talks: A jolly by the sea, then leader tackle summit’, December 9)

Extract 4.

This explains why Paris embarked on what was being described in Brussels as a "frantic spinning exercise" to claim that Britain was demanding an opt-out from single market regulations for financial services. "The French are totally isolated," one Brussels source said. "They need a fall guy to ensure that a treaty at 27 does not work." (‘EU Summit: Treaty Talks: A jolly by the sea, then leaders tackle summit’, December 9)

It emerges from these extracts that most of the projected adversaries are related to France, or the French president of the time, Nicolas Sarkozy. Metonymical uses of ‘France’ and ‘Britain’ for the French and British governments already signify the

binary position between ‘us’ and ‘them’. By representing relations between the two governments as extensions of wider Franco-British tensions, the reader is cued to interpret current events in the light of former opposition. The gravity of the situation is thus deepened and the level of reader implication in the process is increased. In Extract 1, the ‘*furious row*’ in which the British PM finds himself, is represented as a reaction to previous Paris attempts to ‘*isolate the prime minister*’. A similar causal relationship is projected in Extract 3, in which France’s push for a treaty of Eurozone members only is represented as ‘*a way of marginalizing Britain*’. Such occurrences in the sample are reminiscent of strategies of perpetuation based on the assumption that the nation is under threat and seeking to ‘preserve, support and protect it’ (Wodak et al., 2009: 33). In Extracts 3 and 4, projections of threat are complemented with projections of enmity. Lexical qualification suggests the French are being unfairly positioned against Britain and ready to employ ‘*frenetic spinning exercises*’ or use Britain as their ‘*fall guy*’ to push forward their own agendas. Tentative disclosures of unjust actions of the opponent are characteristic of processes of positive self-representation and negative other-representation, which in turn project moral superiority on the national ‘in-group’.

VIII.4 The Sun’s coverage

The *Sun*’s coverage is deeply engaged in constructive and/or perpetuation strategies that negotiate new meanings of the nation in relation to others. Such strategies evolve around three archetypical types of discourses: discourses of national sameness and solidarity, discourses of ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ and discourses of legitimacy and democracy. It is revealed that *The Sun* recontextualizes events related to the compact to exploit older integration dilemmas and foreground adversarial positions toward the EU. The main linguistic devices employed are deixis of person and space, metaphor, lexical qualification, and punctuation.

VIII.4.1 Discourses of a proud but lonely nation

The case has been made in this thesis for an understanding of national identity not as a fixed concept, but as a fluid, contingent and ever changing one (Hall 1996a, Anderson 1991, Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009) conveyed in and through discourse. However, as Brookes suggests ‘dominant representations of nationhood deny such complexity and contingency’ (Brookes, 1999:248), aspiring to generate ideas of sameness and internal cohesion that cast the nation as a single whole. In the present case, feelings of national belonging are evoked by a) invoking national pride and b) urging solidarity in times of crisis. The following extract encapsulates how a cohesive national collective is represented as the natural state of being, and what superlative attributions are ascribed to it in generating a self-positive national imagery:

Extract 1.

EURO-bullies France and Germany think they've cast Britain into the outer darkness, alone and adrift in dangerous waters.

In fact, they have done us a huge favour. This great trading nation is now free to paddle its own canoe while the EU Titanic steams on to inevitable doom.

(‘Brit bulldog right to bite EU bullies’, December 10).

Ideas of sameness materialize linguistically in the use of deixis and metonymy. The metonymic use of Britain, as in ‘country for people’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 43) is a common vehicle of constructive strategies aimed at creating and enhancing sameness and oneness. Deixis of persons as ‘they’ and ‘us’ in paragraph two of the extract not only construct nation-based dichotomies but also, and primarily, invoke a sense of commonsense belonging within the national collective. In addition, by casting the problem in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, agency is extended to the reader, who is compelled and welcomed to identify themselves as one of ‘us’. By the same token, attributions of superlative traits to the national collective also facilitate reader

identification. The metaphorical comparison of a '*great trading nation*' that is finally able to '*paddle its own canoe while the EU titanic steams on to inevitable doom*', map differences and boost positive self-perceptions. Recalling Britain's past as a 'great trading nation' is an attempt to dig into the national consciousness by means of exploiting events that are perceived as historically pivotal. Using Hall's 'foundational myth' (Hall 1996a) as a departure point, Wodak et al. maintain that 'narratives about nations portray concepts of history which, through certain linguistic means, identify and designate particular historical events and facts which are deemed relevant for a large number of human beings and establish chronological and causal relations' (Wodak et al. 2009: 83). Rewriting the past, especially aspects of it that are seen as glorious and honorable, is common currency in generating national sameness. In a similar vein, Churchill's iconic V-sign (V for victory during World War 2), which he eventually changed due to its negative connotation, is echoed in praising Cameron as '*the bulldog PM*'. Consider the following extract:

Extract 2.

DAVID Cameron has blasted the bullyboys of Europe with a sensational Winston Churchill-style "Up Yours".

The PM vetoed a new treaty and kept Britain out of a dodgy deal to save the euro.

But his bulldog spirit left the nation facing an unknown future and risking an EU backlash. ('UP EURS; CAMERON'S HISTORIC VETO, Bulldog PM sticks up for Britain... but risks backlash', December 10).

Here, present actions of the present prime minister overtly mirror the actions of a former prime minister, thus drawing on a collective memory that enables readers to interpret such references. Moreover, metaphorical resonances that compare

Cameron's stance to that of the 'bulldog spirit' borrow from repertoires responsible for portraying the nation and its traits. For example, in a study of nationalism in sport, O'Donnell (1994) considers traits such as 'the bulldog spirit' as classically positive British stereotypes. Thus, the depiction of Cameron's behavior as an example of national qualities is highly suggestive. Another strategic line evidenced in the sample consists of portrayals of Britain as a 'lonely stander' against European 'bullyboys'. Narratives that frame Cameron's veto as an act of heroic resistance against European bullies urge the nation to come together in response, as in the following:

Extract 3.

Defiant Mr. Cameron insisted he was RIGHT, as the deal threatened the City of London financial hub.

He said: "We were offered a treaty that didn't have proper safeguards for Britain and I decided it was not right to sign it."

But EU chiefs turned on him last night for daring to stand up for Britain. And the Coalition was rocked when Nick Clegg warned Britain could end up marginalised in a two-speed Europe.

One Brussels insider warned: "This will cost the UK dearly. They have antagonised everyone."

The PM stuck to his guns during ten hours of bruising negotiations in which he faced intense pressure from French president Nicolas Sarkozy and German chancellor Angela Merkel. (NEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE, PM tells Germans and French: we won't sign treaty', December 10).

Depictions of the situation as one of conflict and of French and German reactions as unjust impositions on a sovereign nation facilitate the mobilization of feelings of solidarity. Tajfel and Turner, whose social identity theory also informs this study,

suggest that conflict situations with other groups increase positive identification within the in-group (Tajfel and Turner, 1983). The role of threatening situations and moments of crisis in accentuating feelings of national solidarity is also highlighted in the works of Lee et al. (2001) and Fishman (1999). The main assumption is that in the prospect of conflict, comradeship and solidarity create an uplifting sense of self-defense and fortitude.

VIII.4.2 Discourses of ‘othering’: France and Germany as principals

Analysis of the sample suggests that another hallmark in the discursive handling of the compact consists of processes of ‘othering’ France and Germany by attributing imperious and/or hegemonic traits to them. O’Donnell (1994) argues that juxtaposing the nation to a negative ‘out-group’ has a structural effect upon how events are represented, and Collet (2009) warns that contrasting concepts with their absolute negations is a vital means of ‘othering.’ These arguments resonate with the ways France and Germany are depicted in the coverage. For example, an interesting way of representing Germany consisted of specific recontextualizations of critical moments in past relations between the two countries. In an article published on December 19, shortly after Cameron’s veto, TV star Sir David Jason’s comments that Germany is harboring desires for a ‘Fourth Reich’ are given a prominent spot in the coverage:

Extract 1.

TV star Sir David Jason has accused Germany of trying to run Europe as a "Fourth Reich".

The actor, best known as Del Boy in *Only Fools and Horses*, said Brits are sick of EU chiefs bossing them around. (‘Del Boy takes a swipe at Germans’, December 19).

A substantial body of work shows that events are what they are said to be, and that

source selection in the first place is an ideological statement aimed at one or other line of representation (Caldas-Coulthard 1994, Schudson 1986, Fairclough 1995). Foregrounding the voice an outsider to the process and his claim of Germany's hegemonic aspirations indicates a perspectivation strategy counter to the compact. Perspectivation, in the sense of author involvement in the narration of events and utterances, is particularly problematic in the way the following paragraph from the same article is laid out:

Extract 2.

"What is it? Is this the Fourth Reich?" His outburst came as David Cameron's tough stand over the Eurozone put him six points ahead of Labour in a poll.

While the first sentence is a direct quotation of Jason, the second is mere author perspectivation. Jason's comment on Germany's hegemonic appetite is projected as correlational with Cameron's 'tough stand' against the EU. While such relations between clauses and sentences might pass unnoticed, they are important indicators of ideology. Fairclough specifically maintains that '...questions of sequence – what precedes or follows what – are a central concern...' (Fairclough, 2011: 105). The projection proposed here is that a tough stance was indeed the right choice considering what Germany was genuinely trying to achieve. The following example is a further illustration:

Extract 3.

GERMANY'S central bank provoked fury yesterday by insisting Britain must pay billions to bail out the ailing euro.

In a highly provocative move, Andreas Dombret, a board member of the Bundesbank, said the UK "has to be aware of its importance in the EU".

(‘Germans: UK must help Euro’, January 3).

The use of personification to represent the German central bank signals the suggested interpretation of the event. Personification, as elaborated in previous sections of this thesis, enables readers to connect more easily with the subject in question.

Personifying the central bank as a superior authority demanding more cash from Britain, implies that Germany is the authoritarian agent in the process. Moreover, Dombret’s move is considered ‘highly provocative’, although it is unclear who (other than the journalist) makes this judgment. In other parts of the coverage, the existence of a Franco-German alliance whose most prominent mission is working against British interests is seen as hard fact. The headline of a front-page article published on December 2, reads ‘*Le big 2: Bring in new €U*’, and continues in the opening paragraph with the following statement:

NICOLAS Sarkozy last night unveiled plans for French and German domination of the EU in a bid to save the euro.

In the headline, the ‘e’ in the abbreviation for ‘EU’ is replaced with the Euro symbol. Although this thesis generally excludes semiotic analysis, it cannot pass unmentioned that this specific semiotic layout suggests the new EU consists only of the Euro countries, which means Britain is excluded. The complementary information provided in the opening paragraph of the article is meant to bring the claim into perspective by explicitly noting that the Franco-German master plan is to dominate while pretending to save the euro. Similar representational tactics are also evidenced elsewhere:

Extract 4.

DESPERATE plans by France and Germany to save the euro with a massive EU shake-up could devastate the UK's financial hub, a think tank has warned.

In a hard-hitting report, Open Europe urged David Cameron to hit the "emergency brake" on a move towards further financial integration that would freeze out Britain. Angela Merkel will meet Nicolas Sarkozy, right, in Paris today to thrash out the bid before a special EU summit in Brussels on Friday. ('Wrecks & the City', December 5)

The first paragraph projects a narrative of a Franco-German alliance with devastating effects on Britain. The lexicon engaged to present the claims is loaded with value judgments. Franco-German plans are considered 'desperate' and their impact 'devastating', although it is extremely vague, due to the use of indirect speech, whose claims these are. Then, in conclusion, the report is considered 'hard-hitting' in what is presented as an eye-opening demand for the PM to act in a bid to save the country. Examples as presented above indicate strategies of perpetuation whose discursive aim is to protect and preserve a threatened national identity (Wodak et al., 2009), after the threat has been established as factual and serious in the first place. The 'othering' of France and Germany lends force to such threat projections and in turn urges self-defense.

VIII.4.3 Discourses of lack of legitimacy and democratic deficit

Another repetitive line of representation was found to consist of strategies that pointed out the lack of legitimacy in the way the EU conducts business. Numerous articles deal with the EU's bureaucratic nature from a perspective that tries to establish and foreground ideas of democratic deficit and lack of legitimacy. Such portrayals draw on deeply-rooted public assumptions that consider democracy and parliamentarism as exemplary traits of the British way of doing things. Indeed, a large body of work suggests that democratic values and the principle of parliamentarism are considered paramount to the understanding of Britishness (Colley 2003, Klug et al. 1996, Black 1996, Lloyd 2001, Julios 2008). Thus,

discourses that focus on raising issues of democracy and legitimacy as EU deficits are in turn functional ways of suggesting the EU's incompatibility with British values. One way of generating such discourses in the present sample consists of strategies of perspectivation, mainly materialized in practices of source selection. Fairclough maintains that source selection is highly ideological (1995) in that who gets to speak is indicative of the representational practices of the discourse. For example, sources pointing to EU shortcomings in tackling the crisis are quoted almost exclusively throughout the sample. Consider the following example:

Extract 1.

Angela Merkel will meet Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris today to thrash out the plan ahead of a special EU summit in Brussels on Friday.

The German Chancellor wants the 17 eurozone countries' tax and spending decisions to be merged in a bid to cut debt — effectively creating a two-speed Europe.

And she wants new rules on this "fiscal union" to be agreed by all 27 EU members.

But Open Europe director Mats Persson said the plan risked "isolating" Britain from crucial financial decisions.

He added: "The eurozone is likely to develop into an increasingly dominant political force and push its own agenda'.

"To generate growth, the City must be allowed to compete in Europe and across the globe."

The City boosts the nation's coffers by £53.4billion a year.

But it will soon be hit by 49 new EU financial regulations — "very few" of which will help growth, the report said. ('Wrecks and the City; Fear EU-Shake up will devastate Square Mile. Plan to rescue Euro could 'freeze out' Britain',

December 5).

In the second paragraph, Merkel's position is represented as that of an authoritative figure whose stances are imposed on the rest. The verb '*wants*' is especially illustrative of such tactics as it suggests the issue is about Merkel's wishes. Then, by force of value judgment, her wish is considered as a means of '*effectively creating a two-speed Europe*', an alluded example of illegitimacy. In paragraph four, five and six of the extract, an attempt to discredit such plans is made by voicing Mr. Persson's concern that the eurozone countries might turn into an '*increasingly dominant political force*', another hint at practices of democratic deficit. In the final seventh and eighth paragraphs background information reminds the reader of the value that the City has for the nation. The metaphor '*nation's coffers*' is an emotionally appealing way of tempting an imagery of the nation as an all-encompassing entity with a single money pot. Therefore, when in the last paragraph the phrasing suggests that the '*nation's coffers*' will '*be hit by 49 new EU regulations*,' the reader is cued to take issue with such undemocratic and harmful proceedings. During December 2011 and January 2012 various articles, either unrelated or only loosely related to the fiscal compact proceedings, draw on similar scenarios that either point out the corrupt nature of the EU ('*£26m TV for MEPs slammed as waste; EXCLUSIVE*', December 5) or focus on evaluations of EU laws and regulations as controversial, harmful and illegitimate ('*PM URGED TO DUMP EU LAWS*', January 30). Cumulatively, an imagery of the EU as a bureaucratic giant prone to manifold deficits is established.

VIII.5 The Daily Mirror's coverage

The prevalent discourse spectrum of the *Daily Mirror's* coverage is wider than that of its tabloid-format counterpart, *The Sun*. For example, discourses positioned at opposite ends were found to coexist in the coverage. As an illustration, discourses of

sameness pertaining to in-group building – also by means of negative projections of ‘others’ – constitute a substantial part of the coverage. However, discourses of interdependency between the UK and the EU, relying on generally negative evaluations of Cameron’s veto, also recur in the sample. Finally, a third pattern pertains to discourses of drama, tension and pressure. Such discourses occur throughout the sample and are often more than indicative of discursive positions whose representational practices signal genre-specific peculiarities.

VIII.5.1. Discourses of ‘Britain’ vs. ‘the rest’

According to Wodak et al. (2009: 33), constructive strategies ‘attempt to construct and to establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation.’ In the *Daily Mirror*’s case, the promotion of national sameness was less pronounced in pronominal contrast (‘us’ vs. ‘them’) as means of setting interpersonal distance between the groups. Rather such processes were carried through the casting of ‘Britain’ as a homogenous agent with a life and destiny of its own. Afterward, and in what seems a separate process, this agent is exposed as a victim to actions of others, most prominently France and Germany. Consider the following excerpts:

Extract 1.

FRENCH President Nicolas Sarkozy yesterday branded David Cameron an "obstinate kid" who he out-maneuvered in Brussels last week.

His comments came as it emerged Britain could have to pay £10 billion extra to rescue the eurozone. (‘You obstinate kid’, December 15)

Extract 2.

BRITAIN faced being sidelined yesterday as German Chancellor Angela Merkel set out plans for a new "euroland".

She will use a summit next week to demand a "fiscal union" so all 17 eurozone countries are bound by the same budgetary rules.

A new treaty, forcing governments in the single currency to give up tax and spending powers, was essential to rescue the eurozone, she said.

But the power-grab by France and Germany may create a two-tier European Union and see Britain – not in the single currency – lose its place at the top table. ('On EUR own; Power-Grab by France and Germany may sideline UK', December 3)

Extract 3.

Could we leave the EU?

Some say that is the logical result of what has happened. Britain will be on the sidelines and could end up having no say on other decisions made by the Eurozone countries. If so, it will be hard to justify why we are staying in the EU. ('Q&A, What it means', December 10).

Extract one demonstrates how the relational component between relevant actors is established. While portrayals of Cameron and Sarkozy will be the subject of thorough analysis in the social actor representation section of this thesis, for now, it is important to note how Britain is personified as generating inclusiveness. The grammatical structure of the sentence positions Sarkozy's comments as running simultaneously with a process in which '*Britain could have to pay £10 billion extra to rescue eurozone*'. The formulation is particularly problematic. First, via personification, the suggestive force of the cluster '*Britain could have to pay*' is much higher than any other plausible alternative, like for example, 'the government could have to pay,' a formulation which the reader would find harder to identify with,

whereas when Britain is cast as the agent that is meant to be reader-inclusive. Second, it is unclear what '*paying extra*' means and why or how that is decisive for saving the eurozone. Fairclough warns that 'Any text is a combination of explicit meanings – what is actually 'said' – and implicit meanings – what is left 'unsaid' but taken for granted as given, as presupposed' (Fairclough, 2011: 106-107). In the case in point, the reader has to give meaning to what '*paying extra to rescue the eurozone*' means by borrowing from pre-existing presuppositions about what it means to be in the EU. Extract two builds on similar tactics. Britain appears again as a metonymical reference for all of its citizens, and the trope of personification is also evident. But in this particular example the victimization paradigm is exploited further, in that the underlying suggestion is that Britain's position in the union is jeopardized by the actions of others. The metaphor of '*euroland*' in particular is reminiscent of a fenced community, restricted to euro countries only, and which in effect would be Britain-exclusive. Paragraph four of the second extract is considerably more explicit in its claims. Franco-German plans are qualified as '*power-grabs*' that are causally positioned to Britain losing its place '*at the top table*'. This action-consequence setup has multiple ideological implications. It not only draws on an implied adversarial relationship between Britain and the two other countries, but it also hints at the unjust, even forceful nature of the Franco-German actions. In turn, Britain is victimized while the two are ascribed hegemonic traits. Finally, extract three hosts a range of classical devices pointed toward generating ideas of sameness and raising a sense of solidarity in times of crisis. Here, the use of deixis as in the pronoun 'we' is a powerful means of cuing reader identification. It is also interesting how the prospect of leaving the EU is not only raised as a legitimate one, but also proposed as some sort of a natural remedy to the situation. Because the extract stems from a Q&A session, it suggests more strongly where the paper stands ideologically. In sum, as the

extracts illustrate, constructive strategies constitute a pertinent presence in the sample. A sense of national comradeship is bred throughout the texts and this is especially foregrounded in the light of adversarial relations with ‘others’ whose interests and aims are represented as inconsistent with those of Britain.

VIII.5.2 Discourses of interdependency

Discourses pertaining to British interdependency with the EU are especially salient in articles following Cameron’s veto of the compact. The majority of such articles draw on the scenario of Britain remaining an isolated country and point at the levels of interdependency with the EU. While various forms of deixis (‘we’, ‘our’, ‘us’) are pervasive in the texts and speak of constructive strategies, strategies of transformation could also be detected. The representation of the veto as a disadvantageous move for Britain is an escape from discourses that represent it as a victorious act of sovereignty and state power. In turn, such viewpoints avoid interpreting integration as harmful for the national well-being and/or threatening to the national collective. While such coexistence between constructive and transformation strategies appears paradoxical, Wodak et al. are meticulous in clarifying that strategies of transformation generally come in very elusive forms and ‘by applying subtle rhetorical persuasion’ (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). While they are not aimed at changing the overtly national contextual setting in which events are represented, they do aim at ‘dismantling or disparaging parts of an existing national identity construct (Wodak et al. 2009: 33). Therefore representations of the veto within the framework of topoi of disadvantage already challenge constructs that view Britain’s EU membership as incompatible with Britishness and harmful for the proposed national collective. The following extract encapsulates this idea:

BRITAIN was left isolated and friendless in Europe last night after David Cameron refused to sign a deal to protect the single currency.

His stubborn demands for something in return meant we were the only one of the 27 EU member states not to back a new treaty.

The Prime Minister refused to sign the pact following a 3am bust up with French President Nicolas Sarkozy – and our dramatic veto of the "do or die" package has thrown our future in the EU into doubt. ('Billy no mates; Tories' Eurocrisis; UK stands alone', December 10)

By means of grammatical structure and lexical qualification, Britain's isolation is presented as a direct consequence of Cameron's veto. Nor is the veto considered an act of sovereignty – and therefore definitely not a victory. On the contrary, it is interpreted as an act of bad faith, as some sort of insensitivity in times of crisis. By the same token, Cameron's demands are not hailed as the heroic acts of a tough leader, but rather as unreasonable requests with inconvenient results. The level of drama expressed in the third paragraph of the extract shows some sort of 'mourning' for the state of the nation; the fear of marginalization is raised and the future is questioned. Although the veto is generally assessed from the viewpoint of its effect on national interests, it is precisely the view of British national interests as intertwined with those of the EU that marks a break from discourses that suggest Britain is best served when not following the European pathway. As analysis of social actor representation will show, source distribution was also in favor of voices opposing a distanced relationship with the EU, and although such viewpoints generally appear within the confines of political cleavages and inter-/intra-party differences, their prevalence here signifies counter-dominant views in which Europe, from being an unfriendly 'other', becomes a necessary friend.

VIII.6 Summary

Significations of the nation appear to be carried differently throughout these newspapers. Some of the basic discursive positions that divide right-wing and left-wing organs from one another, as also evidenced in the Lisbon Treaty period, are maintained. For example, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* maintain their positions with regards to recontextualizing aspects related to the Compact as intrinsically linked to national identity and the fate of the nation. Both newspapers use constructive strategies to propose ideas of national sameness and cohesion. In addition, *The Daily Telegraph* employs such strategies in discourses of threatened national identity and combines them with perpetuation strategies in discourses of ‘othering’ France and Germany. By the same token, *The Sun*’s coverage hosts discourses of ‘othering’ France and Germany, as well as discourses pointing to the illegitimate and undemocratic nature of the EU. Interestingly, slight shifts in position are evidenced in the left-wing newspapers. For example, in *The Guardian*, the presence of pan-European discourses is evident. However, discourses of subtle differentiation between Britain as ‘us’ and the EU as ‘them’, along with the related set of assumptions, also recur in the coverage. Similarly, *The Daily Mirror* employs discourses of interdependency and represents the nation’s well-being as positively linked to the EU. However, discourses that paint the situation as ‘Britain against and/or versus the rest’ compose a relevant pattern in the coverage of these papers as well.

IX. Fiscal Treaty Period - Social Actor Representation

IX.1 Analytical Procedure

In line with the analytical steps applied to the Lisbon Treaty period, analysis of the current period will focus on two main aspects of social actor representation. First, the way social actors are quoted in the sample will be examined by analyzing the specificities of speech reporting. In particular, Calthas-Coulard's (1994) classification of speech verbs will be used to analyze how the quotes are integrated in the actual texts. Van Leeuwen's (2003) 'sociosemantic inventory' will then be used to analyze social actor representational practices with regard to 1) British social actors, including politicians, other stakeholders, and the British people and 2) EU social actors, including EU officials and leaders.

IX.2 Representation of social actors in the Daily Telegraph

1). Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

Social actor representation in the *Daily Telegraph* mirrors the paper's overall coverage of the compact. With this regard, sources in support of Cameron's veto, mainly from Eurosceptic ranks, were given priority over those standing against it. Although sources critical of Cameron's decision were not entirely excluded from the coverage, they were generally backgrounded in the day-to-day coverage. When such sources make it to the actual texts, they usually include members of the Liberal Democrat coalition partners. Only rarely do such voices stem from politically non-affiliated sources such as civil society or business representatives. As regards the modes of quotation, analysis suggests that in cases of direct speech little author perspectivation could be detected. In such cases, natural speaking verbs were mainly used and the quotation appeared within more or less clearly demarcated quotation marks. However, in cases of indirect speech, illocutionary verbs clearly dominate over other types. The following examples, extracted from various articles illustrate

how David Cameron, the leading British figure in the process, was voiced in the coverage:

Extract 1.

Shortly before leaving Brussels at 3pm, Mr Cameron sat down with reporters to discuss the summit. Showing few signs of having had less than 90 minutes sleep, **he teased** those who had slumped into bed before his press conference. **Recalling** how he made his "very reasonable asks" to the meeting, **he banged** his hand on the table for emphasis.

And far from following a policy of splendid isolation in Europe, **he insisted** that Britain would remain engaged in the EU, for as long as **he judged** to be in the national interest. ('Cameron makes his euro stand, in splendid isolation; THE SUMMIT – Conference delegates joked about wife swapping but the prime minister remained firmly wedded to Britain's financial services', December 10).

Extract 2.

David Cameron **warned** countries planning to join France and Germany that they would not be allowed to use the EU's summit venues and offices when holding meetings. ('Franco-German plan abuses power', December 10).

Extract 3.

DAVID CAMERON **has accused** the European Union of ignoring his proposals to tackle its debt crisis by cutting red tape to free markets and unleash economic growth. ('Cameron's plan for EU growth to solve debt crisis ignored', March 2).

Extract 1 is taken from an article published right after Cameron's veto, following long negotiations in Brussels. The vivid language used to describe Cameron's state at that moment consists of praise for the PM, in lexical qualifications such as '*showing few signs of having had less than 90 minutes sleep*', or in vibrant descriptions of his banging his hand on the table. In the second paragraph of the extract he is quoted with verbs such as '*insisted*,' which fortifies his claim, and 'for as long as he *judged*', which suggests he is in command of the matter. In Extract 2, again, the use of the glossing verb '*warned*' instead of other plausible alternatives like 'reminded', 'notified', 'informed', his stance appears tougher – and with it his political persona as well. By the same token, in Extract 3, the choice of the binding verb '*accused*' makes Cameron's remark toward the EU look firm and assertive.

Other than the PM, sources heavily quoted in the sample include representatives of Parliament, mainly from the ranks of Eurosceptic conservatives. Generally, their statements regarding Cameron's handling of the situation are presented in ways support the PM. When that is not the case, it usually has to do with requests for the PM to be even more assertive with the EU, for example:

Mr. Cameron also **suffered embarrassment** in the Commons as his backbenchers **urged him** to fight harder to win back powers from Brussels. Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, **mocked** the Prime Minister for failing to deliver on promises. ('Cameron faces another revolt from the ranks as Tory rebels demand referendum on euro deal', December 8).

First, as regards role allocation, the PM is passivated by being the object in the cluster '*Mr. Cameron also suffered embarrassment...*' Recalling van Leeuwen's remarks, role allocation is crucial in the realignment of social relations among the participants (2003: 44), and in the present case shows the PM as vulnerable to such requests. In

addition, the verb choice of *'urge'* entails high suggestive force, as does the other verb *'mock'* reporting Miliband's speech. In both cases, the foregrounded aspect is not criticism of the veto per se, but rather the mounting pressure on Cameron. In cases when critics of the veto are voiced in the coverage, that is usually done in ways that undermine or question their credibility. The examples below encapsulate this idea:

He **was lauded** by Conservative MPs for showing "bulldog spirit", but **faced Labour allegations** of Coalition disunity.

Mr. Clegg and other Liberal Democrats **have openly criticized** Mr. Cameron's decisions in Brussels, even though Mr. Clegg **initially backed** the outcome. ('Coalition at odds as Clegg snubs PM; PM attempts to soothe Lib Dem anger over veto', December 13).

Criticism coming from the Labour party in opposition appears in the form of *'allegations'* – an allegation being generally understood as an assertion without proof. By the same token, Nick Clegg of the Liberal Democrats is represented as somewhat untrustworthy, in that he is reported to have openly criticized Cameron's veto, but only after having backed him up initially. To summarize, when sources from within the political arena opposed to the veto are cited, that is mainly represented as an extension of political cleavages rather than as genuine disapproval confined to the veto. Sources outside the political spectrum in favor of British engagement in the EU crisis are rarely voiced in the coverage. When they appear, it is generally related to direct leverages for Britain, as in the example below:

AT LEAST three million jobs will be at risk if Britain does not remain at the heart of Europe, a group of leading businessmen have **warned**.

In a letter to *The Daily Telegraph* today, 20 of the country's most successful wealth creators said it was "imperative" that Britain has a place at the negotiating table when major decisions about the European Union are taken. ('EU vital to 3m UK jobs, big business warns', December 20)

While a level of interdependency with the EU is denoted, that is done from a strictly British perspective alarmed at the prospect of loss – hence the verb '*warn*' as an emergency signifier. Regarding aspects of social actor representation other than those related to speech reporting, it is noticeable that sources were generally functionalized in terms of their position with regard to the EU, or in other words functionalization based on a selected activity (van Leeuwen, 2003: 54). That is especially salient in the representation of members of parliament, as in the example below, in which sources are divided based on where they stand regarding the wider integration question, as 'Eurosceptics' and 'Europhiles' respectively:

Eurosceptic Conservatives lined up to praise Mr. Cameron for defending the "national interest" and called on the Prime Minister to take the opportunity for a referendum on a "fundamental renegotiation" of Britain's relationship with Europe. There was no public reaction from Kenneth Clarke, **the famously Europhile** Justice Secretary. ('Duncan Smith leads Eurosceptics' praise of 'right thing for Britain', December 10).

Another pattern consists of genericization instead of indetermination. Using the extract above as an illustration, indetermination of the type '*Eurosceptic Conservatives*' cues the reader to understand the Eurosceptic Conservatives as a large and homogenous community. Interestingly, in cases of hesitation or skepticism about the veto, tactics of indetermination are used in ways that belittle the group in question. In the following the determiner '*some*' is used to convey that:

Some Conservatives fear that a "core" Europe of the 17 euro members could unite to push harmful redtape on the City. ('Time for public vote on Europe, urges IDS; PM told that failure to hold EU poll would be 'breach of trust'', December 5).

Finally, the representation of the British people is mainly carried via impersonalizations materialized in metonyms, an aspect that has already been thoroughly elaborated in previous analysis.

2) Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders

The main European sources voiced in the sample consist of leaders of other EU member states, in particular French president Nicolas Sarkozy and German chancellor Angela Merkel. In direct speech, no particular nuances in the ways the quotes were introduced in texts could be detected. However, as is generally the tendency, when sources are cited indirectly, the use of illocutionary glossing verbs rises significantly. Following Calthas-Coulard (1994), such verbs are highly interpretative and convey the author's presence in the text. Most prominently, French president Sarkozy is cited by means of illocutionary verbs in what is represented as explicit anti-British determination. Consider the extract below taken from an article on the lengthy negotiations prior to the British veto:

At 3.30am, Herman Van Rompuy, the EU president chairing the meeting, allowed the leaders a break: five minutes after more than six hours of debate.

If that was meant to cool tempers, it failed. At about 4am, messages leaking out of the summit suggested a breakdown. The French **began to whisper** that Britain was "out of the talks".

Not long after 5am, Mr. Sarkozy had the first public word, **blaming** Britain and Mr. Cameron's "unacceptable" demands. (Cameron makes his euro stand in splendid isolation; THE SUMMIT – Conference delegates joked about wife swapping but the Prime Minister remained firmly wedded to Britain's financial sector', December 10).

In paragraph three, Sarkozy is cited via the verb '*blaming*' which insinuates some sort of attack on Britain, while his claim is put within inverted commas, casting doubt on its truthfulness. In paragraph two, '*the French*' are cast as a single actor and cited as such. The choice of '*began to whisper*' is again an insinuation of an act of bad faith performed in secrecy. Elsewhere, Sarkozy and Merkel are represented as authoritative actors, acting rigorously on Britain:

Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, and Nicolas Sarkozy, France's president, yesterday **warned** David Cameron that they would push ahead with their new treaty whether or not Britain signs up. ('Sort crisis or lose credit rating, EU told; Tories call for vote on new EU treaty', December 6).

Instead of a set of possible alternatives such as 'told', 'informed' or 'reminded', the verb choice is '*warned*', harshening the tone of the assertion. Similar verb choices are evident in cases when the source is represented in group terms:

EUROPEAN leaders yesterday **warned** Britain that its decision to veto a new EU treaty would not protect it from far-reaching financial regulation. ('Brussels threatens to target City', December 13).

In the present example, an additional process of differentiation is also evident. Following van Leeuwen, differentiation occurs when social actors are explicitly distinguished from other social actors (2003: 52), thus leading to dichotomies such as 'European leaders' on the one hand and 'Britain' on the other. Unspecific ways of

representing EU related social actors were also found to dominate in examples not pertaining to peculiarities of speech reporting:

Despite support from 11 countries for the Prime Minister's growth plan sent to Brussels 10 days ago, Herman Van Rompuy failed to include any of the proposals in a draft text to be agreed at a summit today.

Instead, said **diplomats**, the President of the European Council, who runs EU summits, included proposals from France and Germany "almost word for word". (Cameron plan for EU growth to solve debt crisis is ignored', March 2)

In this case, '*11 countries*' and '*diplomats*' are examples of genericization; elsewhere the lack of specificity comes in the form of indetermination, expressed either via pronouns or definite articles that leave the source unnamed:

"It is going to be a bonanza for lawyers and will create an even bigger backlog at the EU courts," said **a diplomat**. (Franco-German plan 'abuses power'; THE LEGAL VIEW', December 10)

Analysis suggests that lack of specificity in naming the sources works mainly to highlight the utterance rather than the one who makes it.

IX.3 Representation of social actors in the Guardian

Social actor representation in the *Guardian's* coverage is conveyed in mixed ways. In comparison with the *Daily Telegraph* source selection is considerably more prolific on both sides, British and European. While in the *Telegraph* only a limited set of actors is repeatedly voiced, in the *Guardian's* case multiple sources appear in the sample, increasing the complexity of representation. Also, no stable pattern of usage of illocutionary verbs was found. While dichotomies between British and European actors are recurrent, the characteristics attributed to them are less fixed than in the

Telegraph; British social actors are not predominantly represented as positive, nor does the opposite hold for EU actors. Nevertheless, similarities with the *Telegraph*'s representation were also found. For example, the *Guardian* also exhibits a tendency to functionalize sources according to their stance on Europe, that is as 'Eurosceptics', 'Europhiles' or 'Euro enthusiasts'.

1). Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

Usage of illocutionary glossing verbs in indirect speech is evasive in the sample, although, as noted, no stable patterns could be found or linked to particular ideological positions. In fact, sources with different opinions are similarly handled in indirect speech:

Iain Duncan Smith, the work and pensions secretary, **even suggested** on Sunday that Britain should hold a referendum if EU leaders agree to "major treaty change". ('Eurozone crisis: New treaty, new danger for Cameron as he faces down Conservative right: PM makes clear he will table modest demands He hits back at Duncan Smith over referendum', December 6)

The business secretary, Vince Cable, who **warned** the prime minister in Cabinet last Monday against the strategy he went on to follow in Brussels, is concerned that global companies including banks and pension funds will now shun investments in the UK, having previously favored it as a "gateway" to the continent. ('Front: Europe in crisis: Clegg lashes out at Cameron and vows to rebuild ties with Europe: 'Bitterly disappointed' deputy PM joins Lib Dem chorus of outrage at EU veto', December 12)

Both sources are members of the government, only Smith is a hardline Eurosceptic from the Tory ranks, whereas Cable a supportive voice of integration from the Liberal Democrats. In both cases they are quoted via verbs that suggest author involvement,

because to say '*even suggested*' is to ascribe a degree of exaggeration to his statement, just as '*warned*' denotes a cautionary remark with higher suggestive force. By the same token, sources for and against the compact are also represented evenly with regard to van Leeuwen's (2003) sociosemantic inventory of analysis. One characteristic is the generic and/or indeterminate representation of sources either via the plural without article or with pronouns such as 'some', 'a few' or 'one'. With regard to functionalization, actors with negative views on the EU are more often identified by that stance. Here are some examples:

Some Eurosceptic MPs are also examining plans for what is being dubbed a two-stage "sandwich referendum".

The Eurosceptics hailed an intervention by Chris Grayling, Duncan Smith's deputy at the department of work and pensions.

One Eurosceptic said: "Chris deliberately misinterpreted what the prime minister said. Chris said he had said he would repatriate powers. Cameron did not say that." ('EU Summit: Tory right gears up for a fight on regaining power from EU', December 8)

While a dichotomy between British and European actors is suggested, the former are not endowed with fixed positive attributes.

As Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel **called on** all 27 EU leaders to agree to a revision of the Lisbon treaty in order to enforce tough new fiscal rules in the eurozone, the prime minister **indicated** that his main aim would be to protect the City of London. ('Eurozone crisis: New treaty, new danger for Cameron as he faces down Conservative right: PM makes clear he will table modest demands; He hits back at Duncan Smith over referendum', December 6)

Both sides of the story are quoted indirectly via descriptive verbs - '*called on*' and '*indicated*' - and Sarkozy and Merkel are not represented as acting maliciously toward the British PM. Other types of dichotomy include the metonymical references 'Britain' and 'Europe', which are repeatedly cast as autonomous actors:

The result is that **Europe** is advancing toward its integrated destiny, with **Britain** in its rear-view mirror. The two-speed Europe has arrived, with Britain in a slow lane of one. (Front: European Union: The two speed Europe is here, with UK alone in the slow lane: 'Europe has many rooms', Cameron said. It looks as if Britain is in the basement, if not an outside WC, says Jonathan Freedland', December 10)

Yet Britain is not subjected to what could be projected as inept European actions, because although European progress is projected as correlational to Britain's backslide, no causality blaming Europe for the slip-back is established. Further traits of European actors' representation will be presented in the upcoming section.

2) Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders

As already noted, European actors, like British ones, are represented in mixed ways. While no persistently negative representation could be found, particular actors are at times presented in more nuanced ways than others. For example, while German chancellor Angela Merkel is often described as authoritative, strong and demanding, that is usually counterbalanced by mentioning the challenges, difficulties and obstacles she has to face. The same does not hold for French president Nicolas Sarkozy. Of all relevant actors from the European side, Sarkozy is most often quoted with the help of verbs that indicate author disapproval. Consider the following:

David Cameron was at the centre of a furious row with Nicolas Sarkozy early this morning after Paris **tried to isolate** the prime minister at the EU summit

by suggesting that Britain is seeking to exempt the City of London from all European regulations. ('Front: Cameron and Sarkozy clash as leaders wrangle over Euro deal: French accused of setting Britain as the 'fall guy' in attempt to ringfence eurozone: Cameron and Sarkozy clash at euro summit', December 9)

In the extract, Sarkozy is referred to interchangeably with France, which aggravates the suggested conflict; the clear implication here is that an entire France is set against Cameron. Indeed, the row is presented as a consequence of Sarkozy's or France's attempt to isolate the PM. Finally, the verb '*suggesting*' constructs the claim as allusive, as a presumption more than a reasoned position. By the same token, France is again presented in a negative context:

The others balked, France most vocally, **accusing** Cameron of putting Britain's perceived interests ahead of resolving the EU's worst crisis. ('Cameron cuts UK adrift: EU lines up against Britain to save euro: PM says veto was used to protect City: Lib Dems pour scorn on Tory MP's delight', December 10)

Sarkozy is also represented in negative ways in cases not dealing with quotation. For example, below he is allocated a passive role when subjected to '*a blow*' received by EU lawyers.

Sarkozy **received a blow** when EU lawyers ruled that imposing automatic sanctions on budget sinners are illegal if approved by only the 17 eurozone members. ('Front: Cameron and Sarkozy clash as leaders wrangle over euro deal: French accused of setting Britain up as 'fall guy' in attempt to ringfence eurozone: Cameron and Sarkozy clash at euro summit', December 9)

Relignment of relations between social actors is directly related to author perspectivation. In the present case, via such realignment, the lawyers' positions is represented as a verdict directed against Sarkozy, although in reality it is unclear if

that is the case. However, in effect, the reader is cued to understand Sarkozy's position as running counter to legal expertise. Another finding is related to the generic, indeterminate and often functionalized ways of representing EU social actors in general. Despite a wide and prolific range of actors' presence in the coverage, a persisting pattern is the casting of actors in ways that escape explicit naming in favor of vaguer ways of representation:

After initial surprise about the market reaction to the UK veto of the early hours of Friday, **some EU officials** fear the lack of certainty about the real scope of the new deal could severely unsettle them. ('Europe in crisis: Markets prepare for turmoil over fears of new credit crunch: Brussels worries that higher capital ratios for banks could choke off lending and has doubts over legal basis of EU deal', December 12)

In Brussels, **senior officials** in the European commission and in member countries describe Cameron's tactics and aims as "obnoxious and disruptive". (Front: Crunch time for Cameron on Europe – at home and abroad: Backbench MPs raise pressure for treaty referendum: Senior Brussels officials say PM's tactics 'obnoxious', December 8)

By casting actors in generic ways, an image of the EU as a homogenous entity is forged, so that when phrases like 'EU officials' or 'senior officials' occur, the reader is cued to equate them with the entirety of the EU. This reduces complex situations into simplified versions of 'us' (Britain) vs. 'them' (the EU).

IX.4 Representation of social actors in The Sun

The *Sun*'s representation of social actors favors voices against the compact over those in support of it. That is evident both in reported speech and with regard to the categories of van Leeuwen's (2003) inventory. On the British side, PM Cameron

along with other Tory representatives is given pride of place. Members of the coalition partner, the Liberal Democrats who supported Cameron in principle are less frequently voiced and usually in reactive ways. Members of the opposition or other non-politically affiliated sources in support of British participation in the compact are almost completely absent. The EU side is mainly represented by individual politicians such as French President Sarkozy or German Chancellor Merkel. They are generally quoted in ways that convey author disapproval of their actions and are mainly allocated negative roles.

1). Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

PM David Cameron appears as the leading figure in the coverage. Even when he is not directly voiced, he is ‘subjected’ or ‘beneficialized’ (van Leuween, 2003:44) over others, as the following example illustrates:

A TORY civil war erupted last night after David Cameron's MPs accused him of ducking a golden chance to win back Brussels powers.

Their anger deepened when he also ruled out holding a referendum on whether Brits wanted to remain in the radically reshaped EU.

The PM's worst nightmare came true yesterday as Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy confirmed they would draw up a new EU treaty to try to save the euro.

(‘TORIES AT WAR WITH CAM OVER EU TREATY; PM accused of ducking fight and referendum’, December 6)

In both the first and third paragraphs Cameron is given a passive role in that he is represented as “‘undergoing’ the activity, or as being ‘the receiving end’ of it” (van Leuween, 2003: 44). Cameron’s figure becomes the center of opposing demands from Tories and EU. He is generally foregrounded in reported speech and quoted with verbs that invoke author support for his position. The following is a part of a

quotation containing Cameron's justification of the veto:

Defiant Mr. Cameron **insisted** he was RIGHT, as the deal threatened the City of London financial hub. (NEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE; PM **tells** Germans and French: We won't sign treaty', December 10)

'*Defiant*' is a quality – clearly, a positive attribute in the present context – assigned to the PM by the author of the text (2003: 59). The verb '*insisted*' signals perseverance, especially in a context where Cameron's veto is presented as vital in saving the City from threat. Similarly, the verb '*tells*' in the headline is meant to invoke power and determination in the face of the Germans and French. Especially this last aspect is used to elevate Cameron at the expense of negative portrayals of his counterparts:

DAVID Cameron **has blasted the bullyboys of Europe** with a sensational **Winston Churchill-style "Up Yours"**.

The PM **vetoed a new treaty and kept Britain out of a dodgy deal** to save the euro.

But his **bulldog spirit** left the nation facing an unknown future and risking **an EU backlash**. ('UP EURS; CAMERON'S HISTORIC VETO, Bulldog PM sticks up for Britain...but risks backlash', December 10)

Initially, David Cameron is the subject of a positive comparison with Winston Churchill, a reputable historic figure in what is represented as a fierce confrontation with the hostile 'other'. The modality, that is, author's attitude toward the event and/or situation described (Simpson, 2005: 43), is also highly affirmative of Cameron. His rejection of the compact is represented as a '*blast*' against what are described as '*the bullyboys*' of Europe, while the veto is established as an act of keeping Britain '*out of a dodgy deal*'. In a similar fashion, semantically non-human linguistic forms, like the qualification '*bulldog spirit*', are abstractions that speak directly of author perspectivation. By the same token, sources in favor of Cameron

are foregrounded, whereas those against him are either backgrounded or negatively represented, for example:

Some Tories said it was time to rewrite Britain's relations with Brussels.

Eurosceptic Bernard Jenkin said: "This is the moment when we have to start completely renegotiating our relationship. "We are going to be a satellite on the edge of what is going to be an economic superpower."

Ex-Cabinet minister Lord Tebbit said: "There is no easy path ahead. All the roads look rocky. Thankfully, we have taken a step along the right one."

Harlow MP Robert Halfon declared he was "delighted Cameron has shown bulldog spirit." And London Mayor Boris Johnson enthused: "David has played a blinder. He has done the only thing really open to him."

But **Lib Dem peer Lord Oakeshott said** the PM had "seriously undermined Britain's influence". ('NEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE PM tells Germans and French: We won't sign treaty', December 10).

Four sources in support of the veto are voiced before one against it, which is moreover represented in a reactive/responsive way. By means of de-emphasizing opposing sources, the anti-EU line is in effect foregrounded and boosted in the representation.

2) Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders

EU related actors represented in generic ways appear less frequently in the sample; in turn specific leaders such as French President Nicolas Sarkozy or German Chancellor Angela Merkel are the usual representatives of the EU side. In indirect speech, they are mainly depicted negatively. Sarkozy and Merkel are often used interchangeably with France and Germany respectively, alluding to a union aimed principally against British interests:

NICOLAS Sarkozy last night said France and Germany may "merge" in a desperate bid to save the euro.

The extraordinary plan would see Europe's two powerhouses pool tax and spending in a huge shake-up that would freeze out Britain. ('Sarkozy reveals plans for a new EU', December 2)

The metaphor of '*powerhouses*' is suggestive of excessive power with potentially devastating effects for Britain. Moral superiority of the 'self' vs. inferiority of the 'other' is also forged in the ways Sarkozy and Merkel are represented as individuals. In indirect speech Merkel appears imperious as in,

Mrs. Merkel **wants** all EU states to hand Berlin control of their economies. ('Brit bulldog right to bite euro-bullies', December 10)

whereas Sarkozy is often depicted as both commanding and arrogant,

'Earlier Mr. Sarkozy had **blamed** Britain's "unacceptable" demands for torpedoing the treaty. At one point during a meeting of leaders yesterday, the French president appeared to "blank" Mr. Cameron. (BNEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE PM tells Germans and French: We won't sign treaty', December 10)

As noted, in limited cases, EU actors other than Merkel and Sarkozy, are usually represented in vague ways by means of generic representation or assimilated in groupist terms. In such cases, too, dichotomies of the type 'Britain' against 'the rest' are persistent, e.g.:

Last night the EU's other 26 countries were set to press ahead with their own treaty — leaving Britain on the outside. (aNEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE PM tells Germans and French: We won't sign treaty', December 10).

IX.5 Representation of social actors in the Daily Mirror

Actors were represented in mixed ways in the *Daily Mirror's* coverage of events. On the British side, a relatively prolific choice of actors of different political affiliations could be detected. However, PM David Cameron is foregrounded as the leading figure in the process. On the EU side, in a marked difference from other newspapers, individual leaders such as French president Sarkozy or German chancellor Merkel do not dominate the coverage. Numerous other leaders and officials are voiced continually.

1). Representation of British leaders, other stakeholders and the British people

PM David Cameron, the leading actor on the British side, is most often passivized in the representation. His figure is subjected to actions of others, either internally from his own Tory MPs, governing partners or members of the opposition, or externally from EU officials, institutional representatives, and other European leaders. The following extract encapsulates this idea:

LET'S hope the local chemist near Downing Street stocks plenty of Nurofen because David Cameron has been given a major headache.

The plans put forward by Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy may end up saving the euro – but they threaten to plunge the Tories into a new war over Europe. ('Dave's the pawn in the EU chess game', December 6).

As illustrated, Cameron's figure is presented as between two fires: Tory requests for a harder line in dealing with the EU on the one hand, and EU demands for more cooperation in tackling the crisis on the other. As such, he appears powerless, under pressure and subject to the commands of others. In contrast with its tabloid

counterpart, the *Daily Mirror* does not support Cameron's veto and usually portrays it as an act of isolation. See the following examples:

Extract 1.

THE Coalition was under massive strain last night after David Cameron's decision to veto a European rescue package.

The Prime Minister's tough stance began to unravel hours **after he turned his back on a deal to save the euro**, claiming the tough Europe-wide budget rules were not in Britain's interests.

As more details emerged of the late-night bargaining in Brussels, it was reported that **Mr. Cameron had flunked the negotiating process**. ('EU've gone too far...; Cam lashed for veto', December 11)

Extract 2.

BRITAIN was left isolated and friendless in Europe last night after **David Cameron refused to sign a deal to protect the single currency**.

His stubborn demands for something in return meant we were the only one of the 27 EU member states not to back a new treaty.

The Prime Minister refused to sign the pact following a 3am bust up with French President Nicolas Sarkozy – and our dramatic veto of the "do or die" package has thrown our future in the EU into doubt. ('Billy no mates; Tories' Euro crisis, UK stands alone', December 3)

The veto and Cameron's handling of the situation in general are not presented as assertive acts in protecting the national interest and restoring state sovereignty. Rather, they are perceived as a betrayal of state allies in a time of crisis, as in '*after*

he turned his back on a deal to save the euro’ and *‘David Cameron refused to sign a deal to protect the single currency.’*, or serious shortcomings in his negotiation skills as in *‘Mr. Cameron had flunked the negotiation process’* or *‘His stubborn demands for something in return...’*. A critical stance toward Cameron’s decision is also detectable in reported speech tactics, where his actions are questioned and challenged with illocutionary glossing verbs, as in:

DAVID Cameron last night **threatened** to veto the eurozone rescue package.

The Prime Minister put himself on a collision course with Europe after declaring he would not back the plans put forward by Germany and France if they damaged British interests. (*‘I’ll steal the deal; Cameron’s EU treaty veto threat as right wingers talk up referendum’*, December 7)

The verb *‘threatened’* suggests Cameron’s act was not heroic but a menace that puts him and the country *‘on a collision course with Europe’*. In the headline, supporters of Cameron’s stance are marked as *‘right wingers’*, a derogatory term for Tory conservatives. Negative portrayal of Tory MPs and other actors supporting Cameron is manifest in predominantly generic references, e.g.:

“The Deputy Prime Minister slammed Mr. Cameron's tactics, hit out at **eurosceptic Tory MPs** and said isolating the country was "bad for Britain" (*‘VETOTAL WAR; EURO CRISIS CON DEMS' BIG SPLIT’*, December 12), or their functionalization based on their general EU stance as in **‘Tory backbencher** Andrew Rosindell said the PM needed to show some "bulldog spirit". (*‘TORIES AT WAR; EURO CRISIS MPS' MUTINY’*, December 8)

The negative momentum against the PM is also evident in the way he is compared to other actors, as in *‘Mr. Clegg may be running scared, but Mr. Cameron is running backwards.’*, or in criticism for his performance, as in:

Ed Miliband, in perhaps his best performance as Labour leader, pointed out that for all Mr. Cameron's posturing, he failed to secure a single safeguard for Britain's financial services. ('Verdict', December 13)

2) Representation of EU officials, European leaders and other stakeholders

Analysis shows that European actors were also represented in mixed ways. One of the peculiarities lay in the less accentuated presence of individual leaders like French President Sarkozy or German Chancellor Merkel. In turn, multiple other sources are frequently referred to in the coverage, as in the following examples extracted from the same article:

Extract 1.

French foreign minister Alain Juppe **claimed** there was a danger of Europe being torn apart by war unless the debt crisis is resolved. He said the collapse of the single currency could lead to "the explosion of the European Union itself".

Extract 2.

European Council President Herman Van Rompuy **described** the eurozone as being in the grip of a "full-blown crisis of confidence".

Extract 3.

Christian Noyer, France's central bank governor and a governing council member of the European Central Bank, **said**: "We are now looking at a true financial crisis – that is a broad-based disruption in financial markets." ('That's EUR lot; British banks urged to get set for single currency failure', December 1).

Source selections provide important hints about the ‘cultural belief systems and power structures’ (Caldas-Coulthard, 1994: 304) that shape representation. In the present case the choice helps decentralize the process and cues the reader to think of other identification alternatives. In this sense, the process is not portrayed as utterly owned by major national players, but rather as one in which multiple other actors are also stakeholders. On another note, when major players such as Merkel or Sarkozy are voiced, they are presented in less fixed ways. For example, Sarkozy is quoted in a neutral way here

And French President Nicolas Sarkozy underlined Britain's isolation, saying: "We did everything, the Chancellor Angela Merkel and I, to allow the British to take part in the agreement. But there are now clearly two Europes." (NICK CLEGG'S IT!; LIB DEM BOSS HIDES AS DAVID CAMERON DEFENDS EU TREATY VETO TO MPS, December 13),

but in a highly suggestive one here

In an astonishing onslaught about our ailing economy, French president Nicolas Sarkozy claimed the UK has "no industry". (CAMBUSHED; EURO LEADERS AND TORIES GANG UP ON BUNGLING PM', January 31).

The same holds for German chancellor Merkel, who at the same time appears sometimes as hegemonically authoritative, as here

BRITAIN faced being sidelined yesterday as German Chancellor Angela Merkel set out plans for a new "euroland". ('ON EUR OWN; POWER-GRAB BY FRANCE AND GERMANY MAY SIDELINE UK December 3)

but understanding and comforting at others, as here

But the German Chancellor Angela Merkel yesterday offered solace to Mr. Cameron by saying that Britain remained an "important partner in the European Union". ('You obstinate kid', December 15)

Such manifold representational practices mark a departure from 'black and white' portrayals that are predestined to bestow negative traits on those perceived as 'others' or 'outsiders'.

IX.6 Summary

Analysis suggests that right-wing newspapers are generally favorable to voices supporting Cameron's treaty veto. *The Daily Telegraph* gives Eurosceptic voices priority over those that maintain critical stances to the veto. As far as EU-related actors are concerned, high-profile state leaders of other member states, such as France and Germany, are mainly negatively foregrounded. *The Sun* also voices specific high-ranked politicians instead of EU bureaucrats, and generally does so in ways that show author disapproval over their acts. Left-leaning newspapers take a different path. In both *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mirror* a more prolific database of sources makes it to the coverage. In neither newspaper is there a stable pattern in the way actors are represented; moreover, the dichotomies between British and EU actors are less pronounced, and quotations are carried in ways that suggest less author involvement and judgment.

X. The Brexit Period

X.1 Introduction

On June 23, 2016, 51.9 % of the participants in the referendum on the UK's membership in the EU voted to leave. Nearly a year later, on March 29, 2017, the

British government led by Theresa May triggered Article 50 of the Treaty on the European Union, officially launching Britain's exit. All these events occurred while this thesis was being written. A Brexit period was obviously not included in the initial research plan but, as the process unfolded, it became clear that an event of such magnitude could not be passed over in silence. Adding the Brexit period offered a unique opportunity to present fresh data on the theme of British-EU relations and to map new patterns in the discourse of Europe. Conclusions from the two original periods could put Brexit into perspective and offer complementary readings. Conversely, Brexit presented a conclusion to UK-EU relations as we have come to know them for the past half century. In short, Brexit made the research cycle more complete. Nevertheless, I will deal with the Brexit period with great caution and in a considerably more cursory way than with the two first periods. Brexit occurred after all data for the first two periods had been retrieved and was in the process of analysis. Adding a third equivalent period of analysis would have exhausted the research economy and exceeded the intended scope of this research project. Hence the analysis of the Brexit period includes both a smaller sample and bypasses some of the analytical steps applied in the two other periods.

X.2 Brexit: Brief history and context

Ever since the initial 1975 referendum on joining the Common Market, calls for a popular vote related to Britain's membership of the EU have been a recurrent feature of public debate, but without ever materializing in actual measures. However, in light of intensified engagement, mainly from the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the Eurosceptic Conservatives, new momentum was built in the last decade or so. In 2013 Prime Minister David Cameron promised that a Conservative government would hold a referendum on EU membership by 2017 if it won the 2015 elections. And it did win, so Cameron introduced the European Union Referendum Bill in the

British parliament. However, the PM stated that he personally was in favor of remaining in the EU and laid out a plan to renegotiate UK membership in the union prior to a vote being held.

The four pillars that the Prime Minister aimed to renegotiate were protection of the single market for non-eurozone countries, reduction of ‘red tape’ at the EU level, ensuring exemptions for Britain from the ‘ever-closer union’ clause and, most importantly, restrictions on EU immigration. The limited results of these negotiations were presented to the public in February 2016, about the same time as the date for the referendum was set. Cameron evaluated the outcomes as satisfactory and urged the British people to vote to remain in order to continue renegotiating and advancing the British position from inside the EU. In political terms, his position was rather weak considering that he only had the support of part of his Conservative party.

The referendum campaign that followed revealed major rifts within and between political forces. In one of the exceptional cases in British history, members of both major parties, Conservative and Labour, crossed party lines. The cross-party ‘Leave’ organization was officially named ‘*Vote Leave*’ and consisted of MPs and affiliates of the Conservative, Labour and UKIP parties. Another relevant grouping was ‘*Leave.EU*’, also endorsed by UKIP leader Nigel Farage. The *Leave* front was mainly focused on economic and immigration aspects. The central claim was that Britain’s contributions to the EU were disproportional to its gains. In this regard, one of the strongest messages of the *Leave* side consisted of a slogan that read ‘*We send the EU £350 million a week, let’s fund our NHS instead*’. In addition, immigration was raised as a prominent campaign issue. *Leave* suggested that much of the burden stemming from immigration was a direct effect of the free movement clause. In this sense, immigration was framed as a major threat that could be avoided by voting to leave the EU. The opposite front, favoring EU membership, was led by the advocacy group

'Britain Stronger in Europe', otherwise known as *'Remain'*. Many other smaller groupings such as *Conservatives In*, *Labour in for Britain* and *#INtogether* also campaigned to remain.

The *Remain* side, too, campaigned heavily on economic grounds. *Remain's* arguments relied on the high level of interdependency between Britain's continued well-being and prosperity, and EU membership. Benefits stemming from the single market were foregrounded in *Remain's* campaign messages. *Remain* also drew on isolation scenarios, warning that Britain would remain marginalized and lose its place on the table if it left the EU. The campaign was marked by high levels of divergence between the sides and displayed deep polarizations. In end result, 51.9 % of the voters backed *Leave*, whereas 48.1 % supported *Remain*. PM Cameron, whose advice to stay in the EU was overturned, resigned shortly afterward. The, until then, Home Secretary and *Remain* supporter, Theresa May, was appointed as Prime Minister. In March 2017, May officially triggered Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union with a letter sent to the European Council president, Donald Tusk. To this day, the withdrawal negotiations have not been concluded.

X.3 Data sample, time period and analytical procedure

The Brexit campaign period as treated in this thesis consists of an analysis of articles published in the four selected newspapers within a window of seven days, starting from June 16 until the actual referendum day, namely June 23, 2016. The selection of the time period is justified on grounds of the relevance that the final days of the campaign had on voters' decisions, especially considering the tight race that went on up until the final day and the general unpredictability of the vote. Also, the week before the referendum was marked by intensive campaigning on both sides, exposing the various discourses in play and their relation to each other.

In terms of sample collecting, articles published in *The Daily Telegraph* and in *The Daily Mirror* were retrieved from the LexisNexis database, those published in *The Sun* from the Factiva database, whereas those published in *The Guardian* from the paper's own online archives. The search words for all retrieved articles were 'EU' and 'Brexit'. Following the same criteria as in the first two phases, only articles published in sections marked as news or similar (home news, Brexit news) were taken into consideration, disregarding all those published in editorials, comments, features or similar sections. Also, only articles appearing in the national editions of the respective newspapers were taken into account.

As noted elsewhere, the Brexit period does not, in the present analysis, follow the steps applied in the two other periods under investigation, although it obeys the same analytical principles and relies on the same categories. In this light, an analysis of dominant discourses and their specific linguistic materializations is the sole focus. The aim in this section is not to offer a comprehensive or meticulous analysis of the entire campaign, but rather to present a cursory look at salient discursive patterns and shifts in comparison with the first two phases.

X.4 The Daily Telegraph's Coverage

X.4.1 Introduction

The *Daily Telegraph* made a public statement in support of the *Leave* side; but the examination of the effect of this endorsement on reporting and the establishment of potential correlations between the two areas is beyond the scope of the present research project, which is focused solely on news reporting and excludes editorial comments. Central to the analysis here will be the discursive level, that is, the ways in which the Brexit case was used to produce, reproduce, negotiate and renegotiate meanings and understanding of the national question, i.e. what it means to be British

in a European context. In this regard, it was found that discourses hinting at the seemingly commonsense view of the EU as an inherently flawed entity constituted a recurring pattern in the sample. In turn, the proposed shortcomings are used as grounds justifying British withdrawal. The same reasoning is applied to the EU's postulated democratic deficit, a matter in which Britain – implicitly or explicitly – claims moral superiority. Similarly, discourses relativizing negative aspects of Brexit occurred significantly throughout the coverage. These discourses, along with their strategies and linguistic materializations, will now be considered in more detail.

X.4.2 Discourses of 'flawed' EU (vs. 'superior' Britain)

Discourses that seek to build on a seemingly wide consensus pointing to the EU's shortcomings in light of the upcoming referendum constitute a dominant pattern in the coverage. Such discourses draw on a prolific range of sources, including actors from the European arena, and contrast the EU's 'flawed nature' with Britain's 'legitimate' structures and reasoned disapproval. Although explicit constructive or perpetuation strategies, materialized in typical deictic forms are rarely found, the foregrounding of the EU's alleged shortcomings suggests an 'us' and 'them' discourse gradient. It is especially interesting how, by drawing on voices from outside Britain, the case is made for such considerations being both 'objective' and 'consensual'. The following examples are extracted from an article titled *'French, Italian and Dutch want own referendum'*, dated June 23:

Extract 1.

VOTERS in France, Italy and the Netherlands are demanding their own votes on European Union membership and the euro, as the continent faces a "contagion" of referendums.

Extract 2.

"Imposing trade barriers, imposing protectionist measures between our two countries – or between the two political centers, the European Union on the one hand and the UK on the other – would be a very, very foolish thing in the 21st century." In Italy, the anti-establishment Five Star movement on Tuesday declared it would demand a referendum on the euro. The party wants the euro to be split – one for the rich north and one for the south.

Beppe Grillo, the party's leader, has called for a full referendum on EU membership. He said: "The mere fact that a country like Great Britain is holding a referendum on whether to leave the EU signals the failure of the European Union."

Extract 3.

In France, Marine Le Pen, the Front National leader, last night called for France to have its own referendum on the "decaying" EU. "I would vote for Brexit, even if I think that France has a thousand more reasons to leave than the UK," she said.

Extract 4.

In the Netherlands, polls show a majority of voters want a referendum on membership, and voters are evenly split over whether to stay or go.

Extract 1 suggests that calls for referendums in the respective countries stem from the wider public, or as it is specifically put, the '*voters*'. However, contrary to this suggestion, Extracts 2 and 3 reveal that the only actors to have made such demands are actually politicians of the far-right spectrum. In Extract 4, a similar attempt to draw on genericization tactics is evidenced, in that unidentified polls are used as a reference for what is claimed to be a voters' will. While this suggested wider 'urge'

for referendums is not explicitly linked to the British one, and in terms of perspectivation strategies no value judgments are attached to it, it does, however, serve as a strong presupposition for there being ‘justifiable’ grounds to question membership in the EU based on the union’s deficiencies. Fairclough suggests that presuppositions help ‘anchor the new into the old, the unknown into the known, the contentious in the commonsensical’ (1995: 107) – cuing the reader, in this particular case, to consider the membership dilemma commonsense and consensual, i.e not related only to Britain. Another extract points to similar strategies. German and Austrian officials are voiced in what is presented as an ‘objective’ – and with regard to the referendum, ‘impartial’ – evaluation of the EU’s way of working:

Extract 1.

‘WOLFGANG Schaeuble, the German finance minister, said he sympathizes with British Leave voters, as he insisted that "self-regarding" Brussels needs to change its ways whatever the outcome.

Mr. Schaeuble said European integration had gone "too far" and warned the EU had lost touch with voters.

It came as the Austrian foreign minister warned that the EU was not controlling its migration policy and had put people smugglers in charge.

"The fact is that we have lost control. At the moment it is not us as the EU that is deciding who comes into Europe, it is the people smugglers," said Sebastian Kurz.’ (‘German minister expresses sympathy with Leave voters’, June 22).

Mr. Schaeuble is cited in mixed ways, in that the neutral structuring verb ‘*said*’ appears two times. However, it is the illocutionary glossing verbs ‘*insisted*’ and ‘*warned*’ that are foregrounded in the immediate context of the clauses. Both verbs

serve as amplifiers denoting the urgency of the matter and hinting at the alleged corrupt nature of the EU. Moreover, the specific sequencing of the clauses evidenced in linking Schaeuble's comments with those of the Austrian foreign minister is also ideologically relevant inasmuch as Fairclough warns 'what precedes or follows what, and why – are of central concern' (1995: 105). From a linguistic perspective, the connector '*while*' projects the two clauses as belonging to a simultaneous flow of events, although it is unclear when precisely they took place. From a logical perspective, such structuring recontextualizes Schaeuble's remarks in light of similar ones, thus cumulatively building on a projection of the EU as 'internally rooted'.

X.4.3 Discourses of relativization

Discourses that relativize voices critical of Brexit were also typical throughout the sample. Such discourses either undermine, question or trivialize positions that consider a vote to leave as disadvantageous for Britain. The example below is extracted from an article that deals with a letter signed by 1,000 major business leaders warning of the economic risks of Brexit. However, the letter itself does not constitute the primary subject of the article. Instead, Michael Gove, a leading figure of the *Leave* side, is allocated the primary active role; his remarks on the letter are foregrounded and thematized in the article:

ECONOMIC experts who dismiss Britain's chances of success outside the European Union are like Nazi propagandists "in the pay of the government", Michael Gove suggested last night.

The Justice Secretary, a leading Leave campaigner, warned voters not to be influenced by economists and big business leaders who have forecast dire consequences in the event of a Brexit.

It comes as more than 1,000 business leaders and 50 FTSE 100 bosses signed a letter urging people to vote to stay in the EU ahead of tomorrow's referendum. ('Gove's 'Nazi' jibe at Remain; Brexit leader compares pro-EU experts to German propagandists 'in pay of government' as FTSE chiefs make call to stay In; Business leaders to make case for staying in Union', June 21).

Interestingly, in the first paragraph the economic experts are grammatically active, although they are only bearers of a claim made by another subject. Disclosing the source after the claim is a tactic that shifts primacy from the former to the latter, thus cuing the reader to understand the statement as of principal importance in comparison to its maker. Elsewhere, the credibility of the letter is questioned by foregrounding allegations of the *Leave* side that the signatories have been corrupted by Cameron.

DAVID CAMERON is offering business leaders government contracts and honours in exchange for their support in the EU referendum campaign, Boris Johnson has claimed.

Dozens of Britain's biggest business leaders are today expected to sign a letter urging people to vote to stay in the European Union amid concerns about economic security.

However, Mr. Johnson yesterday claimed that a Downing Street "operation" is being used to put "pressure" on business leaders to stop them supporting a Brexit.('PM 'offering contracts' to secure Remain support from bosses', June 22).

In terms of social actor representation, the signatories and the PM alike are backgrounded, whereas the claims of corruption are foregrounded. Following Schudson 'news is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen' (1986: 15), highlighting the ideology underlying particular texts. As in the

former extract, Cameron is grammatically active, although from the logical perspective he is only in the subject of claims made by other social actors. Turning voices critical of Brexit from active agents in the discourse to passive subjects, especially from perspectives that challenge and/or contest the legitimacy and validity of their claims, provides latent support to the *Leave* side. Moreover, such choices draw on representational practices that contrast the allegedly flawed nature of the EU with the moral rectitude of its opponents.

X.5 The Guardian's Coverage

X.5.1 Introduction

Unlike its broadsheet counterpart, *The Guardian* was a vocal supporter of the Remain side and ran numerous articles in its editorial pages backing 'Vote In.' However, as has been already argued, this thesis is solely concerned with articles pertaining to news reporting, therefore the paper's official endorsement of *Remain* is insignificant as far as analysis of the sample is concerned. Regarding analysis, it was found out that the predominant discursive pattern in the sample was of latent support for the *Remain* side, generally materialized through the voicing of sources backing EU membership and/or warning against the risks of Brexit. The *Leave* side on the other hand, was mainly granted negative coverage: a prevalent pattern of articles that challenged and/or discredited its main positions was also found throughout the sample.

X.5.2 Discourses of latent support: 'celebrities' back Remain

Sources supporting the *Remain* side were considerably more highlighted in the coverage than sources backing *Leave*. It is especially characteristic how personalities outside political life were represented as authoritative voices whose stances regarding Brexit were deemed of public interest. This does not include only personalities whose

activity is loosely affiliated to politics, but also celebrities whose fields of interest are typically apolitical. For example, a note on the personal website of the Harry Potter author, JK Rowling, is granted news status in an article dated June 21, two days before the referendum. There, Rowling's particular experience in creating fictive villains is borrowed to negotiate new ways of giving meaning to the campaign and the sides involved:

JK Rowling has said the EU referendum rhetoric has been “uglier than any I can remember in my lifetime”, urging voters to reject the depiction of the union as a faceless monster.

Writing on her personal website, the Harry Potter author, who was an outspoken opponent of independence during the Scottish referendum, said the EU referendum campaign had been “one of the most divisive and bitter political campaigns ever waged” and made her consider how fairytale villains had been created by political storytellers. (‘JK Rowling condemns ‘ugly’ rhetoric of EU referendum campaign’, June 21).

Coming from a popular writer like Rowling, such remarks bear a suggestive force in the way *Leave* campaigners and their intentions are to be read and interpreted. Similarly, an intervention from football star David Beckham is granted primary focus in an article published on June 22, titled “*David Beckham backs remain ‘for future of our children’*”. The way Beckham is quoted, most particularly the extracted part of his statement being ‘*for future of our children*’, is emotionally appealing in a two-fold way: first, in that it involves children and the future, both matters perceived as sensitive to the general public and second, the deictic pronoun ‘*our*’ is constructive of a collectivity of which readers are cued to think themselves members. A similar example includes billionaire Richard Branson, whose efforts to keep Britain in the

EU are also deemed newsworthy. An article published on June 20 is titled '*Richard Branson starts own campaign to keep Britain in the EU*', while the opening paragraphs read as follows:

Billionaire founder of the Virgin empire is **warning** Britons about economic and political dangers of a Brexit.

Sir Richard Branson is stepping up his pro-EU efforts, launching a nationwide campaign **to urge** people to back remain and warning of the economic and political pitfalls of a Brexit vote.

The way Branson is quoted, via verb choices such as '*warning*' or '*to urge*', is indicative of a perspectivation that projects urgency. In addition, because of the specific nature of the reported speech, it is unclear if the wording as in '*about economic and political dangers of a Brexit*' and '*economic pitfalls of a Brexit vote*' are Branson's or the author's interpretations/reformulations. In any case, cumulatively, such choices cue the reader to think of the intervention as an emergency plea from a figure of established authority. The examples presented above reflect the ideological assumptions of source selection. Foregrounding voices in support of Britain in the EU provides latent support for the *Remain* side, and at the same time presents the EU as a positive factor in Britain's sustained well-being.

X.5.3 Discourses of discrediting Leave

Analysis of the sample suggests a pattern in which claims of the *Leave* side are continually challenged. In Extract 1 this materializes in discrediting tactics regarding one of the leading figures of Leave, UKIP's Nigel Farage:

Extract 1.

As someone who has failed to get elected to parliament seven times at current tally, Nigel Farage would not be in the House of Commons for the tributes to Jo Cox. Instead, the Ukip leader opted to tour the airwaves, **where his statesman-in-waiting software appeared to be malfunctioning**. Asked by BBC Radio 4's Today programme to address widespread revulsion at his "Breaking point" poster last week, Nigel suggested the killing of the Labour MP hours later made it "unfortunate timing". Agreed. It would have gone over a lot better in 1936. ("Farage dons the tinfoil as his '**Brex appeal**' begins to **falter**", June 21).

The paragraph encapsulates an overtly negative take on Farage and his actions. Initially, he is metaphorically referred to as '*a statesman-in-waiting*', whose art of political engagement resembles that of '*malfunctioning software*'. Then, his remarks about the killing of Labour MP Jo Cox are ironized in what is represented as a highly insensitive and opportunistic reaction to Cox's death. Finally, in the headline, via the trope of personification, his appeal to leave the EU is considered '*faltering*'. Elsewhere, discourses of challenging the *Leave* front appear in the form of thematizing some of the most sensitive aspects of its campaign, such as the alluded racist and anti-Muslim rhetoric. Let's consider the following examples extracted from an article titled '*Vote Leave board member quits over anti-Muslim retweets*', dated June 21.

Extract 1.

A Vote Leave board member has resigned **after it emerged that she promoted anti-Muslim material on social media**, including an image of a white girl in the middle of a group of people wearing burqas saying: "Britain 2050: why didn't you stop them Grandad?"

Arabella Arkwright, a businesswoman who sat on the board and finance committee of Vote Leave, stepped down after the *Guardian* asked her about a series of tweets and retweets from her account.

Extract 2.

Meanwhile, Vote Leave has been trying to distance itself from a Ukip poster that has been compared to Nazi propaganda.

Leading Vote Leave figures have stressed in recent days that they are completely separate from Ukip and strongly pro-immigration, while wanting to take back control of Britain's borders. Boris Johnson, the former London mayor, even repeated his old call for an amnesty for people who entered the country illegally more than 12 years ago, **in an apparent attempt to neutralize accusations the Brexit campaign is anti-immigrant.**

The Remain campaign **has been trying to frame the choice in the referendum as a choice between an open, liberal Britain and the Britain of Farage.**

In the first extract, the article establishes as a fact that the referred board member of the *Leave* campaign has been engaged in anti-Muslim rhetoric while revealing that the inquiry and exposure has been an initiative of *The Guardian*. In Extract 2, Arkwright's specific case is contextualized in what is represented as a pervasive problem of the *Leave* campaign regarding racism. Johnson's old call for an amnesty for people who entered Britain illegally more than 12 years ago is demarcated as an '*attempt to neutralize accusations the Brexit campaign is anti-immigrant.*' While the same is valid for tactics employed from the other side, as it appears in the suggestion that *Remain* '*has been trying to frame the choice in the referendum as a choice*

between an open, liberal Britain and the Britain of Farage’, the *Remain* side is put only in a reactive position to what is otherwise established as a proactive *Leave*.

Other examples questioning the basis of *Leave*’s claims are reminiscent of the tactics, mentioned above, of foregrounding sources outside the political scene to back up certain positions, an example Being the car manufacturer Nissan’s reported reaction to references in some ‘Vote Leave’ flyers:

Nissan, which wants Britain to remain in the EU, announced on Monday it was issuing legal proceedings to stop Vote Leave from using its name and logo and to “prevent them making any further false statements and misrepresentations concerning Nissan”. (‘Nissan to sue Vote Leave campaign over EU referendum flyer’, June 21).

While it is made clear that Nissan backs *Remain*, it is also suggested that its name and logo have been misused, which caused the company to take legal action in the first place.

The most blatant example of *Leave* being discredited is related to an article concerning a claim made by Michael Gove, Justice Secretary and *Leave* supporter, that his father’s company was ruined as a result of EU policies. Upon *Guardian*’s own initiative, in what appears as an internally investigated case, the claim is presented as utterly false:

Michael Gove’s father has contradicted claims made by his son that the family’s fish processing firm in Aberdeen was destroyed by the European Union’s fisheries policies.

Ernest Gove told the *Guardian* that he sold the business voluntarily because the fishing industry in Aberdeen was being hit by a range of different factors.

These included competition for space in the port from North Sea oil vessels, the Icelandic cod wars, dockworkers' strikes and new 200-mile limits to control over-fishing.' ('Michel Gove's father denies his company was destroyed by EU policies', June 16).

X.6 The Sun's Coverage

X.6.1 Introduction

The Sun has a tradition of declaring its stances on major issues, and Brexit was no exception. The paper's decision to endorse *Leave* was grounded on arguments of national freedom and independence from Brussels. Accordingly, the campaign coverage was run under the motto '*BeLeave in Britain*', in a clear indication of the vote promoting national fulfillment and prosperity. Close analysis of the sample offers a view of the dominant discourses that characterized the recontextualization of that one week's events in the coverage. Within this timespan it was found that dominant patterns include discourses signifying ideas of national uniqueness, cohesion and sameness. A recurrent derivative is discourses relying on themes of national pride and superiority. Both types of discourse operationalize strategies and categorizations of 'us' versus 'them'. Finally, discourses aimed at disputing and discrediting *Remain* to the benefit of *Leave* were also found to constitute a pattern in the coverage.

X.6.2 Discourses of sameness: a proud British nation

A substantial part of the sample consists of articles which draw on constructive and perpetuation strategies as expounded by Wodak et al. (2009: 33). Such strategies are responsible for the generation and promotion of ideas of national cohesion and generally materialize in simple forms of deixis such as the personal pronouns 'we' and 'us' or the possessives 'our' and 'ours'. Generally, categorizations of the nation

as a cohesive whole are conveyed simultaneously with the active projection of an ‘outgroup’, usually in the form of a hostile ‘other’. Analysis suggests that such discourses appear in two distinctive, but sometimes overlapping steps: first, the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ are established and as far as possible fixed; secondly, the ‘in group’ (‘us’) is attributed with positive characteristic whilst the opposite is done with the ‘out group’ (‘them’). Generally the ‘out group’ is portrayed as a hegemonic ‘other’, whose actions and intentions run counter to British national interests. These discourse types are exemplified in the following extracts:

Extract 1.

His first action would be to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice, putting full rule of law back into the hands of **our own judges**.

Next he would make preparations for the return of **our annual contributions**, leaving millions of pounds more for British ministers to spend.

Seizing back control **of our borders** would be the third major act, with a points-based immigration system devised that would be fair to people from across the world. (“EU can do it”, June 19).

Extract 2.

If **we come out**, do you think the rest of Europe — the people of Portugal, Spain — would demand a referendum?

Why do you think David Cameron said **we could survive** outside and now he says we can't?

If **we leave** the EU, what guarantees can you give me and The Sun's readers you can get immigration down? (“Take first Brexit”, June 20).

Extract 1 is taken from an article in which Boris Johnson’s strategy for the after-

Brexit era is presented. The heavy presence of deixis, exemplified in the highlighted words and phrases, cues the readers to think of themselves as part of the proposed national collective. At the same time, readers are reminded that each member of the group has their share in the fate of the nation, thus evoking a sense of solidarity, but also responsibility. Extract 2 is taken from an interview with Boris Johnson, published three days ahead of the referendum. Some of the interviewer's questions, which here appear in a non-consecutive order, draw on similar constructive strategies. Again, deixis in the form of the personal plural 'we' is reminiscent of a cohesive national collective. The 'editorial we' (Fairclough, 1995) is a tool used frequently in perspectivation strategies and, unless otherwise specified, is reader inclusive. Here, the 'editorial we' is used to establish readers' membership in the alleged national community as a matter of natural commonsense.

Once the opposing categories of 'we' and 'us' are established, they are given certain traits. Usually, the nation is represented as a proud collective whose moral superiority precludes membership of the EU. That said, the EU is generally granted negative roles as a hegemonic principal. The following extract illustrates such discourses. The article titled 'Brexit Emergency 7' of June 19 opens like this:

IF the history of our country tells us anything, it is surely that the British can never be bullied into submission. Luftwaffe bombs couldn't do it. The IRA couldn't do it. Islamic State can't do it.

Recontextualization of WW2 is carried in a way that highlights national grandeur in times of adversity. In what follows, parallels are drawn, suggesting that history will repeat itself and a nation that did not submit then, under the threat of '*Luftwaffe bombs*' is by no means going to submit now, in times of peace. The evocation of '*Luftwaffe bombs*' has a double effect. It is reminiscent of the German factor, whose

alluded adversity to Britain is implicitly presented as an extension of history. In addition, due to the personification trope it bears a higher suggestive force and fuels an image of hostility between the two sides in question now. In light of such adversity, elsewhere in the article, the reader is reminded of the superiority of the national collective:

“We KNOW that our country is better than they give it credit for.

We are the fifth largest economy in the world.

We are the oldest Parliamentary democracy on the planet. We are a cultural superpower. London can reasonably claim to be the capital of the world.

And unlike almost every other nation in the European Union, we have a past that we are proud of.” (‘Brexit Emergency 7’, June 19).

Here, the projection of a superior national ‘we’ set against an inferior and hostile ‘other’ is quite explicit. In numerous other articles the need to act urgently and break from this hostile ‘other’ is also central. A vote to leave the EU is thus considered a means of achieving national freedom and self-fulfillment. Sometimes this is presented as the ultimate way to regain control of the country:

from beleaguered fishermen in Grimsby to overstretched NHS workers in Romford, East London, and young mums in Lincolnshire, voters on the front line are pleading: “We want our country back.” (‘I’m a believer’, June 22).

Elsewhere, a vote to leave is deemed good for the economy as in the emotionally-appealing phrasing *‘our nation of shopkeepers calls on readers to BeLEAVE at the polls on Thursday’* (‘Just the business’, June 21), while in the headline Brexit is equated with independence *“Tomorrow’s independence day for UK”* (June 22). This last phrase is a quote from Boris Johnson but, apart from the use of quotation marks, the source is completely omitted from the headline.

X.6.3 Discourses of Leave vs. Remain as discourses of ‘good’ vs. ‘bad’

Discourses aimed at portraying the good in *Leave* and the bad in *Remain* materialize in various forms, of which two occur most frequently. The first has to do with strategies of discrediting *Remain*. In such cases, core aspects of the *Remain* campaign are challenged and questioned, above all the economic argument. For example, Chancellor George Osborne, a leading Tory figure, laid out a new budgetary plan containing many cuts which, he said, would be unavoidable in the event of a Brexit. The *Leave* side had continuously claimed that the Tories were using the proposed budget as leverage to gain ground and frighten voters through the financial consequences of Brexit. An article of June 16 is primarily concerned with challenging Osborne’s plan on grounds that he lacks support even from his own Tory ranks:

In an unprecedented revolt, the 65 livid pro-Leave backbenchers threatened to oust him if he presses ahead with £30 billion of tax rises and spending cuts.
(‘Tories mutiny’, June 16)

Qualifying language as in ‘*in an unprecedented revolt*’ is indicative of a certain perspectivation, according to which Osborne’s plan is so unreasonable that it not only triggered a revolt, but even an unprecedented one. In addition, doubt is also cast on his overall integrity:

Even some of Mr. Osborne's Remain allies privately branded his warning of cutting £2.5billion from the NHS and raising the basic rate of tax by 2p a mistake that may finish his career — even if Remain wins.

Elsewhere, tactics of building momentum against *Remain*’s economic argument materialize in voicing business sources skeptical of such arguments:

THE true voice of UK business today urges voters to back Great Britain and go for Brexit.

A hundred small firm bosses have joined forces to warn that only by leaving the EU can we truly be free.

In a letter for The Sun, our nation of shopkeepers calls on readers to BeLEAVE at the polls on Thursday. ('Just the business', June 21)

To start with, all the paragraphs here work on the premises of constructive strategies in assuming and promoting a sense of national cohesion illustrated in phrases like '*back Great Britain*', '*only by leaving can we be free*' or '*our nation of shopkeepers*'. Second, via qualifying language, the business representatives supporting Brexit are deemed '*the true voice of UK business*', thus legitimating and empowering their stance. Third, the metaphorical expression as in '*our nation of shopkeepers*' is meant to evoke feelings of national pride by referring to trade and business as one of the nation's most honorable traits.

The second discursive pattern projecting the good in *Leave* vs. the bad in *Remain* consists in backing the *Leave* group explicitly. Sometimes this functionalizes symbolic figures like Queen Elizabeth. An article of June 22 is titled '*Give me 3 good reasons why to stay in Europe*', paraphrasing the Queen, who had allegedly asked the question of her guests at a dinner party. Then, the opening paragraph simulates an answer that reads as follows '*Sorry Ma'am, we can't think of one*', while inside the article the specific case is contextualized as only one example of the Queen's general skepticism toward the EU:

The Sun told in March how Her Majesty demonstrated her strong feelings on Europe during a bust-up with Nick Clegg at a Windsor Castle lunch.

In this case, the Queen, as an authoritative symbol is 'hired' not only to disseminate a certain perspectivation of the matter, but also to maximize emotional resonance with the readership. Similar tactics are used with regard to ordinary people. Sources in

support of *Leave* are selectively foregrounded and represented as ‘the voice of the nation’. See the following for example:

As the country decides whether we should stay or leave the EU, The Sun visited four regions to find out the issues that matter to the country's grafters. And from beleaguered fishermen in Grimsby to overstretched NHS workers in Romford, East London, and young mums in Lincolnshire, voters on the front line are pleading: "We want our country back." (I'm a Believer', June 22).

The poetic image of a nation which, as the exact wording has it, stretches from ‘*beleaguered fishermen*’ to ‘*overstretched NHS workers*’ and ‘*young mums in Lincolnshire*’ is particularly conspicuous. The alleged plea of such diverse and overarching groups of the national collective ‘*to get the country back*’ is in turn validated and translated into positive momentum for the *Leave* side of the issue.

X.7 The Daily Mirror's Coverage

X.7.1 Introduction

The Daily Mirror is one of the main British tabloids that stood in support of the *Remain* side and made a strong pro-EU case. As argued previously, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze the effects of such endorsement on the actual news reporting. However, the paper's news articles at this time supported Britain remaining in the EU. In this respect, discourses making the case for Britain in the EU as economically advantageous comprise a dominant pattern throughout the sample. In addition, a pattern of lending support to the *Remain* side by means of antagonizing *Leave* was also found to be evident in the coverage. Counter discourses are relatively marginal in the sample and mainly appear in the form of op-eds or readers' perspectives.

X.7.2 The economic discourse: ‘our’ well-being is at risk

Articles retrieved during the week of June 16 – June 23 are predominantly related to the economy. Sources of various profiles and affiliations making the case for Britain as stronger and better off in the EU are repeatedly foregrounded in the coverage. Foregrounding such sources builds a momentum projecting catastrophe and major losses if the country chooses to leave. Consider the following extracts:

Extract 1.

Unite union general secretary Len McCluskey said "pulling up the drawbridge is the wrong answer".

Labour also warns up to 15,000 OAPs may lose vital support if ministers raid budgets after Brexit. Council cash for housing and caring could plunge.

Brexit also risks losing almost 20,000 affordable homes by 2020, it says.
(‘Corbyn: Don’t risk job rights’, June 21)

Extract 2.

A vote to Remain is a vote to stand up for working people across the country whose jobs and communities depend on our ability to trade with Europe.

Three million jobs in the UK are linked to EU exports. That's around one in every 10 in the country. These jobs are the livelihoods of people up and down the country, working in companies big and small, in vital industries like manufacturing which rely on exporting.

The Leave campaign has completely failed to explain how, if we leave Europe, we can still have access to Europe's market – vital for UK jobs. That's a risk that our country simply can't afford to take.” (‘Don’t abandon workers’ rights;

EU VOTE: EX-PM, SHOPS BOSS AND DAILY MIRROR COLUMNISTS

‘Brexit will chip away at hard-won protection’, June 21).

Extract 1 is taken from an article in which Labour party leader Jeremy Corbyn is granted prime space related to his claims that remaining in the EU is directly linked to the protection of jobs. The extracted paragraphs are background information, providing the reader with a contextual setting for the article. Specifically, Corbyn’s economic claims are backed up with similar ones, thus suggesting they are not restricted to their immediate, limited sources, but are a commonsense way of viewing the situation.

Similarly, in Extract 2, Tony Blair’s remarks of the EU being vital to British jobs are foregrounded. This extract in particular draws on constructive strategies, in that it speaks of the nation as an organic whole whose destiny is up to the referendum vote. Deictic expressions such as ‘*The Leave campaign has completely failed to explain how, if **we** leave Europe, **we** can still have access to Europe’s market – vital for UK jobs.*’ illustrate this. By projecting national unity they draw on the paradigm of solidarity, and by projecting threat and danger from an eventual vote out they draw on the paradigm of emergency. The role of deixis in forging ideas of national cohesion and solidarity is also evident in the following extract:

NOBODY knows 100% what a Brexit will mean for **our** finances but there are major concerns the stock market will hit rocky times which will mean a dip in the value of pension funds.

That could leave older workers vulnerable, without enough time to make up these losses before they retire. (‘Stock market turmoil hits pensions’, June 21).

Recalling Wodak, constructive strategies tend to ‘establish a certain national identity by promoting unification, identification and solidarity, as well as differentiation’

(Wodak et al. 2009: 33). In the particular case, via the concentration on the negative economic outcomes of Brexit, a sense of solidarity among the members of the national community is forged. That is to say, if Brexit happens, it is ‘our’ finances, the finances of each and every member of the national collective that might lose. The economic discourse persists even in cases not directly bound to the economy, as is illustrated in an article of June 20, which according to the headline is concerned with the overall campaign:

Don't quit on Europe; BOTH SIDES GEAR UP FOR THE FINAL PUSH IN REFERENDUM, Cameron's emotional plea after Chamberlain accusation
Claims on £350m, Turkey & army 'completely untrue’.

Although the headline cues the reader to think both sides are represented, no sources from the *Leave* camp are actually voiced. Instead, PM Cameron is positively foregrounded inasmuch as his remarks are qualified as an ‘*emotional plea*’, whereas the *Leave* side is allocated a passive role and is strategically backgrounded. Moreover, by means of modality, its core claims are downgraded as ‘*completely untrue*’. Following Simpson, epistemic modality, as experienced here, ‘is concerned with the speaker’s confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed’, thus representing ‘a major exponent of the interpersonal function of language...’ (Simpson, 2005: 44). Although the ‘*completely untrue*’ qualification is set in Cameron’s reported speech, the way it is presented in the headline is highly ambiguous and leaves the claim only loosely connected to its source.

Returning to the economic argument as evidenced in other examples, much background information draws on scenarios of loss and threat in the event of a vote to leave. Consider the following excerpts from the article “*Don't quit on Europe*” of June 20:

Extract 1.

The PM's campaign receives a major boost today as the bosses of Jaguar Land Rover, Toyota, BMW and Vauxhall warn that quitting the EU could put jobs and investment at risk.

In a statement organized by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders they say Brexit could threaten 800,000 jobs supported by the motor industry, which contributes £15.5 billion to the economy, with 57.7% of the cars exported abroad going to the EU.

Extract 2.

And underlining the dangers of leaving, Chancellor George Osborne told Peston on Sunday: "If we vote to leave there is no turning back."

"It's a one-way door to a much more uncertain world where people's jobs and their livelihoods are at risk."

Mr. Osborne said estimates that Brexit could shrink the economy by as much as 6% could be too conservative. He said: "Personally, I think it's possible that it would be quite a lot worse than that."

Extract 3.

It has emerged that major banks are drafting in staff to work through the night on Thursday amid fears a Brexit could cause turmoil in the financial markets.

Some banks have predicted that Brexit could cause the pound to fall to parity with the euro for the first time ever.

The extracts appear consecutively in the article and consist of unaffiliated sources that are bound together in their claims of Brexit being economically disadvantageous

and even dangerous. Tactically, the presentation of various sources from different backgrounds establishes a sense of urgency and makes the claims appear to be supported by a wide cross-section of social actors.

X.8 Summary

Differences between the newspapers in the ways the national question is dealt with in the discursive handling of Brexit are considerably more pronounced than in the two previous periods. Newspapers from the right-spectrum host discursive patterns that represent the EU as a threat to the existence of the nation. *The Telegraph's* coverage is dominated by discourses that point at British moral superiority. Such discourses exploit the reservoir of positive self-evaluation as opposed to negative images of the EU. *The Sun* for its part, engages in constructive strategies that are aimed at reinforcing national cohesion and sameness. Such strategies are especially salient in discourses of national pride. The sides involved in the campaign are portrayed in markedly fixed ways. Discourses of *Leave* as 'good' versus *Remain* as 'bad' constitute the most substantial part of *The Sun's* coverage.

Left-spectrum newspapers, on the other hand, host mixed discursive positions. *The Guardian* is less explicit in its assertions and offers a rather balanced account. However, discourses of latent support for the *Remain* front recur in the sample. In such discourses, underlying assumptions of national sovereignty, power and pride exclusive of EU integration are debunked. Discourses that engage in discrediting tactics for the *Leave* side also recur throughout the coverage. *The Daily Mirror* draws on similar discourses. Like *The Guardian*, it aims at dismantling attempts to portray the EU as incompatible with national well-being and prosperity. In a complementary way, *The Daily Mirror* engages actively in discourses of interdependence and employs tactics that seek to bridge national interests with the integration agenda.

XI. Conclusion

XI. 1 General Remarks

A voluminous body of work suggests that media play an active role in the maintenance of nations in general (Bishop and Jaworski, 2003; Costelloe 2014; Fairclough, 1989 and 1995; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 2009; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Hobsbawm, 1990; Billig, 1995; Calhoun 2007; Anderson, 1991; van Dijk, 1991) and of the United Kingdom in particular (Thomas and Antony, 2015; Brookes 1999; Poulton, 2004). It is also argued that nations are sociohistorical constructions and that national identities, like every other form of collective identity, undergo processes of constant renegotiation (Anderson 1991, Gellner 1983, Wodak et al. 2009). Moreover, it is suggested that nationalism as the ideology of the nation is not exclusive to processes of nation-formation and is not worth its name if it only comes in extreme, violent or overt forms (Billig, 1995, Calhoun 2007, Wodak et al. 2009).

Building on such ideas, the present thesis has investigated UK newspaper involvement in national ideology as evidenced in debates about Europe, or in other words, how discourses about the nation intersected in the UK with discourses about Europe. Insofar as identity politics is intrinsically linked to processes of differentiation and delineation from the ‘other’ (Billig 1995, Benhabib 1996, Wodak et al. 2009) this thesis has examined how UK national identity is forged when the EU is positioned as the ‘other’.

Because the question of national identity is especially salient in critical moments (Lee et al., 2001), the thesis has investigated modes of British national identity reproduction around three such points in time: the European Reform Treaty process,

generally referred to as the Lisbon Treaty, the Treaty on Stability, Coordination and Governance in the Economic and Monetary Union, mainly known as the Fiscal Compact, and the Brexit campaign.

Immediate textual analysis was carried out within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a primary focus on discursive strategies. A strategy is described as ‘a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices... adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim.’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 73). Applying such methodology allows one to tackle not only the ‘what?’ question, but also to explore the nuanced ‘how?’ question. To this end, a fine analysis exploring the particular discursive patterns evidenced across the newspapers in question was conducted with a demarcation of dominant discursive strategies.

CDA reiterates, however, that discourse analysis focuses as much on context as it does on text, and that a comprehensive reading of discourse(s) is only plausible in the light of such ‘extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology’ (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 15). Consequently, the thesis has contextualized its analysis by examining the historical genesis of the British nation and the dominant traditional concepts of Britishness and their positioning toward Europe. For that purpose, Waeber’s (2002) heuristic framework and its claim that core understandings of the nation have a structuring impact on understandings of Europe has been employed. As evidenced in the analysis, contextual considerations have helped to give meaning to textual analysis and provided valuable interpretative cues.

XI. 2 Cross-paper positions at a glance

XI.2.1 Dominant Discursive Positions

There is a thin line in CDA between analysis and interpretation. Indeed, as evident in

this thesis, the two processes are mainly conducted simultaneously. However, the interpretation process has so far mainly been performed individually for each paper. Therefore, in the following, a cross-paper interpretation of outcomes will aim to compare and confront specific positions.

In this light, discourses signifying the nation as a cohesive and homogenous entity appear consistently across the selected newspapers. However, due to specific conceptualizations of nation and national identity, some newspapers leave more room for a positive accommodation of Europe than others. In this regard, newspapers on the right of the spectrum signify the nation in ways that make the EU appear antagonistic. In such conceptualizations, membership of the national collective is projected as excluding integration, which is conversely presented as jeopardizing aspects perceived as essential to the nation such as sovereignty, independence and power. Accordingly, the British nation is ascribed superior values, whereas the EU is attributed predominantly negative traits. The EU is also evidenced as the foremost opposing point of reference when it comes to the delineation of the national ‘in-group’ from the rest. Through processes of ‘othering’, the EU or individual member states, foremost among them France and Germany, are categorized as what the British nation is not and presented as hostile, imperious, illegitimate and/or undemocratic.

A further conclusion is that author involvement in passing judgment is more salient in newspapers of the right. That is evidenced above all in strategies of perspectivation. Such strategies are most palpable in the ways social actors are represented in the discourse. *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun*, for example, are more prone to foregrounding sources that maintain disfavorable positions to the EU. Such sources are cited in ways that indicate the authors’ disbelief or disapproval and they are generally operationalized in ways that support the newspapers’ discursive positions. Newspapers on the left of the spectrum, on the other hand, offer the greatest potential

for counter-discourse. Although left-wing headlines are also found to engage in forging ideas of national cohesion and sameness, their significations of the nation leave more room for affirmative accommodation of the EU. As with nation construction, left-wing newspapers convey such processes in rather elusive ways. For example, subtle differentiation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ outweighs deliberate antagonism between those two categories. Typical positive self-images are less frequent. By the same token, negative representations of the EU are also less salient.

Left-wing newspapers also break with the victimization paradigm inasmuch as they do not adhere to simplified representations of the nation as directly and constantly threatened by integration. In turn, the nation and Europe are not viewed as incompatible with each other. To that end, and as an illustration, *The Guardian* employs discourses with a pan-European perspective, while *The Daily Mirror* relies heavily on discourses of interdependency that project the EU as necessary for the prosperity of the nation. Representation of social actors is also indicative of the left-wing newspapers’ favorable positions toward Europe and integration. Generally, a more prolific range of sources make it to the coverage, which in turn ensures a more complex representation of events. In *The Guardian*, less stable patterns of foregrounding or backgrounding sources based on their positions vis à vis the EU are found. Dichotomies between opposing sides are also less pronounced. *The Daily Mirror*, for its part, tends to favor sources that have affirmative views of the EU. That is illustrated in the frequency with which such sources appear in the coverage, but also in the positive foregrounding tactics employed to represent them discursively.

XI.2.2 Consistencies and shifts

The sample as a whole reveals consistent involvement of all the newspapers in generating ideas of national sameness, cohesion and solidarity. Irrespective of political affiliations or genre, all engage in disseminating a national ideology. In its

extreme form, the forging of the nation is carried out in antagonism toward Europe. This is generally the case with right-wing headlines. In its more latent forms, it presents the nation as the natural context of events. That is more representative of left-wing newspapers. Interestingly, consistencies across the newspapers in this respect are more widespread than consistencies within them, while consistencies across the time periods under investigation appear less stable than those within.

A dividing line between discursive positions of right-wing and left-wing newspapers can be detected at all times. In right-wing headlines, dominant discourses present the nation as negatively correlated to integration. By the same token, discourses in which nation and integration are not shown as mutually exclusive are paradigmatic for left-wing headlines. However, left-wing headlines, in contrast, host more inconsistencies within the type than do right-wing headlines. Shifts in discursive positions related to the periods of the Lisbon Treaty process and the Brexit campaign were shown to be marginal. However, position ruptures within left-wing headlines were evidenced in the coverage of the process related to the Fiscal Compact. In this period, *The Guardian*'s pan-European discourses, for example, were found to co-exist with discourses of subtle differentiation between Britain and the EU as two actors on opposing ends. However, the latter appear as of considerably less import than the former. In *The Daily Mirror*, discourses of 'Britain vs. the rest' compete with discourses of interdependency, to the benefit of the latter.

XI.3 Revisiting Waever's model

Waever's model (2002) suggests that a basic understanding of the nation, and of the nation/state relation, is a presupposition for any discourse about Europe. A review of the historically dominant concept of Britishness as laid out in this thesis suggests that the nation is understood as intrinsically linked to the state. The strong civic sense of

the British nation⁸ is responsible for the high value of notions such as sovereignty, state power, democracy, rule of law and legitimacy in the way national belongingness is made sense of in daily life. On the other hand, historical relations between Britain and Europe, starting from way before the emergence of the EU, speak of long-lasting antagonism. In turn, skepticism toward continental Europe is deeply ingrained in understanding what it means to be British. In part, such skepticism was fueled by historical alliances with other parts of the world, such as countries of the (present) Commonwealth.

Analysis of the British political and economic system also suggests divergence in the approaches of Britain and continental Europe. The traditional progressive and market-oriented economic policy of Britain is particularly at odds with the more social state-oriented model of continental Europe. Considering that the EU was founded without the UK, characteristics of the welfare state economic model were transported without opposition into the new organization. As a latecomer, Britain had to endorse this approach without having influenced it in the first place.

With respect to these criteria, there is considerable scope for tracking down the premises and presuppositions of Waever's model in the actual texts. As regards the nation, basic concepts such as sovereignty, preservation of state powers, democracy, rule of law etc. compose key categories through which dominant discourses are shaped. The right-wing press in particular exploits such notions constantly. Most recurring discursive patterns in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Sun* revolve around ideas of national sovereignty as a foundation of what it means to be British.

Compromises with regard to such an existential component of nationhood are in turn deemed unacceptable. Moreover, the set of values considered typically British, such as democracy, rule of law and legitimacy is used to imply national superiority in

⁸ 'British nation' encapsulates here the four nations that constitute the UK.

differentiation to the EU. It is in such areas that *The Telegraph* and *The Sun* engage in discourses of democratic deficit and illegitimacy, which they see as leading EU shortcomings.

Left-wing newspapers engage less in such tactics; indeed, they offer considerable potential to lessen the alleged divergences. *The Guardian* engages in discourses that make the case for continuing membership of the EU, whereas discourses of interdependency are prevalent in *The Daily Mirror*. In *The Guardian*, confrontation on EU-related topics is generally represented within the confines of internal political cleavages. Rarely are such confrontations used to exploit deeper integration dilemmas. In a similar vein, *The Daily Mirror* also avoids evoking confrontations related to integration as intersecting with matters of national identity. Confrontations of this nature are generally relativized by either backgrounding them or shifting the focus elsewhere.

Considering that at least two of the events under consideration, namely the Fiscal Compact and Brexit, are predominantly linked to the economy, contrasting views of economic policy also come to the fore throughout the sample. In the right-wing headlines, EU policies in favor of market intervention and welfare are interpreted as blatant interferences in Britain's way of doing things. Readers are cued to think of such interferences as personal matters which they must counteract. Left-wing headlines, in contrast, evoke such policies less as disadvantageous EU interferences and more as 'normal politics'. Also, disagreements on economic policy between the EU and Britain are mainly framed as disagreements between the EU and the British government, not between the EU and the British people.

History is also found to play a part in the discourses proposed by the respective newspapers. Particular events from the history of British-EU relations are

recontextualized in ways that mirror and support the discursive positions of the newspapers. In right-wing headlines, history is evoked when present conflicts are signified as extensions of former hostilities. Fragments of history are often used to reinforce alleged antagonisms. Such discourses view history as a reservoir of ‘lessons learned’ which needs to be consulted in approaching present issues. The left-wing headlines also point at the deeply ingrained historic differences between Britain and Europe. However, in a different mode from their right-wing counterparts, in which past adversaries are generally less exploited to frame present disagreements.

Finally, it is interesting that while differences related to newspapers’ political affiliations are very pronounced in the sample, the same is not applicable as far as genre is concerned. Save for the stylistics, no profound idiosyncrasies linking tabloid headlines as opposed to broadsheet ones could be singled out. The divide appears to be more on the level of where the newspapers stand in their political affiliation. To that end, discursive positions endorsed by *The Sun* do not differ substantially from those endorsed by *The Daily Telegraph*, but their linguistic materializations do. *The Sun*’s journalistic jargon permits a more candid language, simplified representations and more sensationalism. *The Telegraph* has a more conservative, broadsheet-typical style of writing. The same is applicable to newspapers at the other end of the spectrum.

XI.4 Media and the nation: key considerations

This thesis is indebted to an established body of work (Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm 1990, MacLaughlin 2001) that credits the media with the role of a springboard in the creation of modern nations. It also draws on a growing body of subsequent work that considers media roles in the maintenance of modern nations as equally paramount (Billig 1995, Wodak et al. 2009, Bishop and Jaworski 2003). From a critical

discourse analysis perspective, examining the role of the media in reproducing modern nations constitutes the primary interest here. While recognizing the affirmative role of the media in serving as ‘glue’ among the various facets of the society, and its high stake in fostering solidarity, democracy and social cohesion, this thesis has focused on problematizing aspects that generally pass by unnoticed or are neglected. Such are, foremost, aspects related to banal forms of nationalism (Billig, 1995), that is – following Billig – prosaic and routine representations of the nation that might not necessarily be harmless. This thesis has specifically looked for such traits in selected British newspapers.

In this light, following thorough analysis, the ensuing considerations stand out:

- First, representations of the British nation as superior to the EU reflect inbuilt sociohistorical images of nation and Europe. Media rely substantially on ‘grand schemes’ in carrying their daily work: they locate new experiences within conceptual maps set throughout long periods of time, and under the influence of a whole range of pre-existing ideological assumptions.
- Secondly, particular conceptualizations of the British nation have direct impact on the way processes of integration and the work of the EU are represented in the coverage. More specifically, representations of the nation as exclusively virtuous and morally immaculate go hand in hand with representations of the EU as the opposite.
- Thirdly, and similarly, right-wing newspapers in particular are strategically involved in processes of ‘othering’ the EU by means of attributing more or less exclusively negative traits. Also, practices of ‘othering’ are predominantly employed to create contrasts between the British nations and the EU by virtue of praising the former.

- Fourthly, tendencies to oversimplify processes and events in general discursively benefit the British nation and not the EU. Oversimplification here primarily means recounting events, actions and statements in ways that serve and resonate with particular grand narratives instead of the immediate setting in which they take place.
- Fifthly, in handling questions of nation and integration the media tend to project moral authority upon themselves. This materializes in a quasi-missionary role of the media to draw the contours of the nation, judge the value and merits of aspects of integration, and generally distinguish right from wrong. Also, with regard to this:
 - a) Media have a tendency to ‘unify’ with the nation and impersonate characteristics they conclude as belonging to the nation. A certain interchangeability between media and nation as two facets of the same unit is proposed and promoted.
 - b) Media tend to consider their right and duty to speak on behalf of the nation and help protect and preserve the nation from what is conceived as potential threat.
 - c) Media are an active contributor in distinguishing what composes a ‘potential threat’ for the nation. They co-define threats and argue about possible remedies accordingly.
 - d) Media also tend to bestow upon themselves the right to co-define what constitutes national interest at a certain point in time. This is often rather arbitrary.
- Sixthly, ideology as reflected in editorial policies is key in defining correlations between newspaper profiles and affiliations and their discursive handling of nation and integration. However, and quite importantly, some specific grand

narratives of the nation transcend the boundaries of particular media affiliation. For example, analysis conducted here reiterates that national sameness and related ideas of national cohesion such as unity and solidarity are proposed even when their positioning toward the EU is positive.

- Seventhly, in performing their task with respect to reproducing the nation, media rely heavily on the premises of ‘the assumed’ and ‘the taken for granted’. The nation as the setting in which all things happen is a leading assumption that the media have naturalized and internalized in their daily work. Empirical outcomes from this thesis suggest that the dominant part of media work, i.e. media texts, is located in time and space with the nation as the sole referent. As a consequence, all activity considered to occur outside the immediate realm of the nation is a) strictly framed with respect to its relation to the nation and/or b) is strictly demarcated as not belonging to the nation. Subsequently, the nation is established as the natural setting in which life happens and it is therefore considered legitimate to measure everything else against the concept of the nation.
- Eighthly, media tend to define the past of the nation by invoking particular historical episodes. The evocation of historical events in current situations is largely arbitrary.
- Ninthly, and similarly, media tend to present current cases as extensions of past ones. That is particularly emphasized in cases when current conflicts, generally between Britain and the EU, are represented as extensions of former hostilities. In sum, critical moments of the past are continually exploited to frame current events.
- Finally, media’s role in projecting the future is just as important as its role in recontextualizing the past. Empirical analysis shows that media actively use

various strategies to facilitate the ground for specific future scenarios. It follows then, that media not only represent past and present events and phenomena in certain ways – they already influence the understanding of events and phenomena before they happen.

XI. 5 Journalistic experience: key considerations

Media texts or, in the case of the present study, newspaper articles are the end product of a complex journalistic journey. But this thesis only engages with texts: an analysis of other media processes such as fieldwork, source selection, interviewing tactics, editorial practices etc. is beyond its scope. Regarding the texts cited here, the thesis has found the following journalistic practices pertaining to nation reproduction:

- The disclosure of various and multiple discursive strategies as evidenced in the sample indicates more or less intentional journalistic practices to depict events, processes and people in ways that foster particular ideological agendas. To some considerable extent, authors are aware of specific ideological positions and reflect them in their texts.
- Particular aspects of texts are more prone to be ideologically driven than others: headlines, headings and background information tend to lead the list of the most ideologically-laden parts. Also, analysis suggests that quoting and speech reporting, as well as portrayal of social actors, are highly ideological features, too.
- With regard to the former, it has been found that journalists tend to position social actors in relations that are otherwise non-existent. By means of comparing and contrasting, authors of texts rearrange relations and bring actors to the same semantic field even if factual exchanges and encounters between the parties concerned have not taken place.

- Also, in conjunction with the previous point, authors of texts rearrange such relations and allocate roles to social actors (foreground/background, suppress, functionalize, use of reported speech) in ways that convey a strategic plan to functionalize them in support of particular depictions.
- There is always a struggle in setting a dominant pattern in the representation of events and a hegemonic perspective can very rarely be sustained. Dominant discourses are generally accompanied by counter-discourses, even if the latter are often significantly less pronounced.
- In relation to this, analysis suggests that there is more struggle when there are more strategies present. Left-wing newspapers for example host a more favorable environment for competing strategies and thus represent more room for ‘discursive struggle’.
- The logics of nationalistic ideologies go beyond and above the particularities of editorial policies. That is not only reflected in the prosaic handling of the national matter; rather, in the most substantive ways, newspapers across the spectrum tend to find a common language when it comes to accepting the ‘normality’ of the nation.

XI. 6 Readership: key messages

Critical approaches to media texts are also an added value insofar as they make the presence and materialization of ideology palpable for the random reader. The present study aims primarily to challenge the reader into thinking of the nation as a socially constructed and ever-fluctuating entity. To this end, it aims to establish that the processes of reproducing and maintaining the nation are not located in some distant sphere; rather they occur at the surface of the readers’ everyday life. Disclosing and

discussing such processes empowers readers to acknowledge that what comes across as normal and commonsense is, at least to a certain extent, a product of intentional, systematic and ideologically-driven agendas. Nuanced analysis of how such processes materialize in texts enables readers not only to problematize the assumed, but to render meaning to it in a critical way. Other aims of this thesis include the following:

- First and foremost, to urge an understanding of language use as a mode of social action itself and not an objective item of communication free from values and/or judgments. Comprehensive analysis of texts and countless examples aim to make this argument tangible for the reader.
- To introduce theories of the nation as a socially-created construct that needs constant reproduction in ways that are approachable and intelligible for people from fields other than the academic. Tying such theories in with everyday experience – in this case the reading of newspapers – is one way of doing that.
- To familiarize readers with nationalistic jargon – establish a catalogue of the most common prosaic and routine ways of reproducing the nation (Billig, 1995) in media texts.
- To disclose the structure of texts, in this case articles, and discuss their functions and the ends that they are presumed to serve.
- To explore the meaning potential of texts and provide readers with perspectives on how to read texts critically.
- To present a set of the most common representational tactics employed by the media with regard to social actors, including exclusion/inclusion of actors, modes of integrating their positions in texts, and their juxtapositioning with other social actors etc.
- To point out the relevance not only of what is salient in texts, but also of what

is missing, that is, to indicate that what ends up in texts is a result of choice.

- To present the readership with a contextualized and theory-informed reading of texts, not only as individual entities, but also cumulatively as groups of texts in intersection with other texts.

XI.7 A final note

I came across the approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the concept of banal nationalism while I was working as a young journalist myself. Until then, I had thought little about the role of the media with regard to the daily reproduction of ‘the nation.’ Obviously, in doing my daily job, I had fallen into the trap of neglecting the banal and seemingly benign forms of media involvement in disseminating particular representations of the nation and its concomitants. My thinking, like that of many in the field, was that if nationalism is not conveyed in overt forms, it either doesn’t exist or is purely benign.

A few years later, when I was doing my masters in European studies, and came across the British media coverage of EU affairs, I was impressed by the immense role the media played in negotiating specific meanings of what it meant to be British at a certain point in time. Moreover, I found it very interesting how conceptualizations of the nation intersected with conceptualizations of the EU; how the national ‘in-group’ was defined by and, at the same time, defined the European ‘out-group’; and how there was never a ‘we’ without a ‘them’. Thus, this thesis is largely the result of a stimulus to explore these matters further, to approach them closely, and analyze them thoroughly. Conducting the research for this thesis has presented me with the opportunity to combine my interest in European affairs with my curiosity regarding

the role of the media in the dissemination of ideology, in particular the ideology of the nation.

In addition, during these years of research, I have had the incredible opportunity to widen and enrich my understanding of language as an ultimate mode of social action itself. It is fascinating how the words we say or write are not necessarily arbitrary choices nor free from value judgments. It is equally thought-provoking to approach language from the perspective of its permanent dialectical relationship with the wider context in which it is articulated. This thesis represents an effort to analyze aspects of language use closely, deconstruct phenomena widely taken for granted, and highlight ideological implications in matters generally thought commonsense. This thesis is also an effort to highlight the strains, tensions, and the everlasting struggle for dominance between the various discourses, and an attempt to show that these constantly intersect and overlap with one another.

Conducting this research has been eye-opening with regard to how much more there is in the texts we engage with in our daily lives if we approach them in critical and informed ways. I remain hopeful that, besides its contribution to the existing academic knowledge, this thesis will also present the random reader with thought-provoking material. After all, prompting critical engagement with texts is at the very heart of this work.

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Appendix

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 13, 2007 Thursday

National: British MEPs in treaty uproar at Strasbourg: Brown under fire for ducking out of signing: Parliament protesters 'acted like football louts'

BYLINE: Ian Traynor, Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 449 words

Gordon Brown travels to Lisbon today to enjoy unique arrangements for the signing of **Europe's** new treaty, separately from the other 26 heads of **EU** governments and symbolising Britain's semi-detachment from the rest of the **EU**.

With the prime minister saying that prior parliamentary duties keep him from taking part in the **EU** ceremony at a castle in Portugal, Britain's reputation as the **EU's** biggest troublemaker was reinforced yesterday when dozens of MEPs, many of them from the Conservative party and the UK Independence party, disrupted business in the European parliament in Strasbourg, heckling and protesting at **EU** leaders who signed the new **EU** charter of fundamental rights.

As the president of the European commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, the president of the European parliament, Hans-Gert Poettering, and the Portuguese prime minister, Jose Socrates, signed the charter - which Britain says will not apply in the UK - the British-led band of Europhobe MEPs unveiled banners and T-shirts demanding a referendum on the treaty.

The protesters were accused of bringing the loutish behaviour of the football terraces to the chamber in Strasbourg, and Brown was charged with gutlessness for sidestepping the main event in Portugal today.

"Gordon Brown has managed to turn something as simple as signing the **EU** treaty into a national embarrassment," said William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary. "What will other **EU** leaders think of a prime minister who dithers for a week about whether he dares be photographed putting pen to paper . . . Gordon Brown's signature on the renamed **EU** constitution tomorrow will not have the British people's democratic support."

"Seven prime ministers, including Gordon Brown, promised that their voters would have the final say in a referendum," said Daniel Hannan, the Conservative MEP and protest leader, of the treaty that replaces **Europe's** defunct constitution.

Most of the protesting MEPs were British, with others from Poland, Italy and France. "No matter how loud you heckle and yell, today is a day of fundamental importance for **Europe**," said Socrates, currently chairing the **EU**. "Referendum, we want a referendum," said Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader in the parliament.

Graham Watson, the Liberal Democrat leader in the parliament, said: "British Ukip, Eurosceptic Conservatives and Polish far-right MEPs today brought the hooligan behaviour of the football stadium into the European parliament."

While the scenes were viewed by **EU** officials as political pantomime, Brown's decision to forgo the company of **EU** leaders at today's signing ceremony was seen as more serious, and symptomatic of the prime minister's aloofness from **Europe**.

Leader comment, page 34

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 23, 2007 Tuesday

Brown pledges to oppose further EU changes as Conservatives demand referendum: Prime minister says MPs can protect British veto: Britain to call for more liberalisation of markets

BYLINE: Patrick Wintour, Political editor

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 722 words

Gordon Brown yesterday sidestepped a call from David Cameron to give MPs a free vote on the new EU treaty, as he sought to shore up his support by promising MPs a chance to have their say if there is any move to extend majority voting following the passage of the treaty.

The prime minister also insisted that he will oppose any further proposals for institutional change in the European Union during this parliament and next, in effect for a minimum of six years.

Facing ferocious calls from the Conservatives to grant a referendum on the treaty, Mr Brown insisted that in the talks last week in Lisbon he had protected all the British opt-outs and red lines, so ensuring the treaty will bear no comparison with the previous - now defunct - planned constitution.

The Labour manifesto had promised a referendum on the constitution, a point Mr Cameron kept repeating in his response to Mr Brown's Commons statement.

In his chief initiative yesterday Mr Brown tried to immunise Britain from a clause in the proposed treaty that would allow further national vetoes to be abandoned without a fresh treaty. He told MPs that the UK parliament would have to approve any proposal to activate the mechanisms in the treaty which permit further moves to qualified majority voting "to ensure that no government can agree without parliament's approval to any change in the **EU** rules that could in any way alter the constitutional balance of power between Britain and the **EU**".

In an attempt to draw a line under the period of incessant **EU** constitutional change, Mr Brown and the foreign secretary, David Miliband, published a paper on **Europe's** future highlighting a new British agenda for further liberalisation of energy and communications markets, reform of the **EU** budgets in 2008-09 and a cutback in the common agricultural policy because of the way it distorts the single market.

It also reaffirmed British support for enlargement of the **EU** to accommodate Turkey. The paper claims "enlargement remains the **EU's** most effective soft power to foster political and economic reform in candidate countries (Croatia, Macedonia and Turkey)". Mr Miliband intends to set out the new case for **Europe** in a speech in Bruges next month. Mr Brown will put his agenda to the next **EU** summit in December where he will face a rival French call to set up a committee of wise men to discuss **Europe's** future.

Mr Cameron steered clear of the detailed legal implications in the new treaty, something that will be the subject of lengthy debate on the floor of the Commons, probably early in the new year after the treaty has been finally signed at the December **EU** summit. He chose to focus on the betrayal of trust he claims lies in Mr Brown's failure to offer a referendum. He contrasted the call of the previous prime minister for battle to be joined on **Europe**, saying: "This prime minister says let battle be avoided wherever possible - especially if it involves people having their say. He has absolutely no democratic mandate to sign this treaty without a referendum. If he breaks his trust with the British people, they will rightly say, 'How can we ever trust anything he says ever again?'"

The acting Liberal Democrat leader Vince Cable also claimed that Mr Brown was developing a reputation for himself as a man that ran away from the ballot box.

Mr Brown may face some tight votes in parliament on the treaty in the Commons, and then again in the Lords where the forces are more unpredictable.

But he appears to have decided to take a short-term hit, hoping the issue will fall off the political agenda by 2009, the first likely date for an election.

By then he will be able to conduct a fierce defence of the British national interest by demanding big changes to the common agricultural policy and defending the British rebate.

In a taste of the line by line debate that will dominate much of the Commons proceedings from January, leading Eurosceptics, such as Iain Duncan Smith, argued that, regardless of the British opt-outs and protocols inserted into the treaty, "the courts will find progressively in favour of a single legal personality and his opt-outs quite literally will no longer exist".

But the Tory leadership is largely uninterested in the details of the treaty, hoping that trust in the prime minister can be cumulatively eroded.

guardian.co.uk/politics

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 18, 2007 Thursday

National: Politics: Brown tries to shift summit focus from row over EU treaty: PM's letter urges end to institutional navel-gazing: Cameron turns screw on eve of Lisbon meeting

BYLINE: Patrick Wintour and Ian Traynor

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 394 words

Gordon Brown yesterday called on the **EU** to end its prolonged period of inward-looking "institutional debate" and, in a move that may lead to a clash with the French, said the **EU** should now concentrate on building a liberalised, anti-protectionist market.

He made his call before today's **EU** summit in Lisbon in a letter to Jose Socrates, the prime minister of Portugal, which currently holds the **EU** presidency.

The letter was clearly intended to shift the focus of the two-day summit from the domestic controversy over the new **EU** treaty and Mr Brown's refusal to offer Britons a referendum on the issue.

The summit is expected to agree to the legal text of the amending treaty, with Mr Brown confident that his much-vaunted red lines will be preserved.

Officials in Brussels expected Italy and Poland, not Britain, to be the big gest troublemakers potentially spoiling a smooth summit, with the Italians angry at obtaining fewer European parliament seats than Britain or France under the new dispensation.

In the Commons, Mr Brown was yesterday again accused by David Cameron of a breach of trust for failing to offer Britons a referendum on the amended treaty.

The Conservative leader said the British public "overwhelmingly" wanted a referendum on a document which many **EU** leaders, the Labour-controlled European scrutiny committee and Labour's representative on the European convention, Gisela Stuart, all agreed was the same as the old constitution. But the prime minister insisted the amending treaty was entirely different from the now defunct constitution.

Mr Brown writes in his letter: "The reform treaty sets the framework to ensure that an enlarged **EU** can function well. This is the right time to bring to an end to this prolonged period of inward-looking institutional debate and focus all our efforts on the issues that matter most to the future wellbeing of **Europe** - economic growth, jobs, the environment and security."

With **EU** leaders due to debate their approach to globalisation tomorrow, Mr Brown calls for tough competition rules and intensified efforts on innovation. It is a priority for the **EU** to break down barriers to a fair and multilateral trading system, he says.

There is a growing mood in the **EU** that the Chinese are failing to open their markets, a point reflected by the **EU** trade commissioner, Peter Mandelson.

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 12, 2007 Wednesday

Brown will now go to Lisbon and sign EU treaty - but by himself

BYLINE: Will Woodward, Chief political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 532 words

Gordon Brown provoked ridicule among **EU** supporters and critics alike yesterday as he bowed to pressure from European leaders and agreed to attend the signing of the controversial Lisbon treaty, but arrive late and miss the main ceremony.

The prime minister was pressed by the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, and European commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso, to join the other **EU** heads of government. But he will miss the official signing ceremony and family photograph, leaving the foreign secretary, David Miliband, to face the cameras. Instead he is expected to arrive during the lunch.

The Conservatives said the decision exemplified the prime minister's lack of leadership and a senior **EU** diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity, claimed

Brown's "dithering" over the issue was the talk of the **EU**-Africa summit at the weekend. Barosso and Merkel were said to be in despair.

"Some will react with mirth, some will react with horror and some will react with pity, and he's ended up with the worst of all worlds," the diplomat said.

"To anti-Europeans he's simply run away and accepted the signing of the treaty, to pro-Europeans he has simply refused to stand his ground and fight, and for the rest he has opted out.

"His reputation in **Europe** among heads of government is hanging by a thread. He has no position in **Europe**, he occupies no ground. If he wants to send a Euro-signal that he's indecisive, he's just sent it."

Portuguese officials expressed dismay last week when Brown insisted he would attend his first session in front of the Commons liaison committee, when he would be questioned by select committee chairs. The session was agreed after the signing date became known.

The prime minister's spokesman defended the decision to turn up in Lisbon late. "There are lots of precedents for people other than the prime minister signing the treaty. He is the prime minister, he negotiated the treaty, he thinks it's a good treaty for Britain. It will help streamline a lot of **EU** processes following enlargement. We secured our red lines and he stands fully behind it."

The spokesman said Brown "looks at me with incredulity" when told that the issue of his attendance at Lisbon was dominating lobby briefings.

The liaison committee has agreed to hold tomorrow's hearing an hour earlier than usual, at 9am. Brown will then fly to Lisbon, missing the signing ceremony but is expected to arrive during a lunch that begins at 1.45pm.

He will meet the Portuguese prime minister, Jose Socrates. Then he will sign the treaty on his own.

William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, said last night: "Some people say Gordon Brown's problems are that he isn't decisive and he lacks political courage. He couldn't have done more to confirm that than this ridiculous fudge. He's dithered over it for a week and now he decided that he'll sign this treaty but he doesn't have the guts to do it in public."

Downing Street sources insisted cameras would be present for the signing.

Hugo Brady, research fellow at the Centre for European Reform, said: "There could be no better symbol of Brown's semi-detached attitude to **Europe**. Ideally he would have attended the ceremony and not made a big deal of it.

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 19, 2007 Friday

Defiant Brown commits Britain to EU treaty: Referendum rejected as leaders gather: 'Red lines' have not been crossed, insists PM

BYLINE: Ian Traynor and Patrick Wintour Lisbon

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 791 words

European leaders reached agreement on the **EU's** new reform treaty early this morning, with Gordon Brown defying the polls, the opposition, unions and the Eurosceptic press to commit Britain irrevocably to greater European integration.

The deal was struck in Lisbon by clearing last-minute objections from Poland and Italy. Earlier, the prime minister asserted he was backing the controversial new treaty only because he had secured his "red lines" to "protect the British national interest".

"It's a done deal," said an **EU** official early this morning.

Mr Brown in effect ruled out a referendum, saying the debate would be conducted in parliament "and people will be able to judge for themselves that the British national interest has been protected".

Mr Brown stressed that the original concept of a new constitution for the EU had been abandoned. "The changes were made at the Brussels summit and subsequently include all the protections to the national British interest we demanded. I said before the summit that if we secured all these protections then in my view there was going to be no need for a referendum."

He dismissed claims that his decision may cause him political damage at home. "Britain still decides over justice and home affairs, Britain decides on foreign and security policy. Britain still decides on national security issues. Whether it is through the protocol or the opt-in, the British national interest has been protected."

The Conservatives will try to clog up parliament in the new year by staging up to three months of debate on the treaty in the Commons in a repeat of the Maastricht treaty debates 15 years ago.

The Tories maintained that the treaty was essentially the same as the defunct European constitution, and that the bulk of the British exemptions were either worthless or would shortly be eroded by decisions from the European court of justice in Luxembourg.

"Every poll shows that the vast majority of the British people want the referendum he promised and do not believe his arguments," said the shadow foreign secretary, William Hague. "No wonder. His spurious red lines do not cover most of the renamed EU constitution and can easily be got round. Now that all his arguments against a referendum have crumbled, he is desperately trying to change the subject."

Expecting a rebellion by as many as 20 backbenchers, the government wants the bill through the Commons by the spring, and expects to take a short-term hit. It will not try to block MPs being given a vote on whether a referendum should be held, but expects to win so long as the new Liberal Democrat leadership does not change its party's opposition to a referendum.

France and the Netherlands sparked a crisis by voting against the constitution in referendums two years ago. Sources in Brussels say European leaders are planning to ratify the new treaty quickly in France, the Netherlands and Britain to clear the way to a smooth adoption.

The head of the European commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, said he was sorry about Britain's red lines and opt-outs, but he respected them. "We prefer to have a solution that's broadly agreed, with some specific opt-outs for some countries, than not to move forward. Britain has negotiated very hard some opt-outs on some specific issues. Now we don't expect any more requests in that area," he said. "We should respect these lines that were put forward by Britain, so I think there will be no more difficulties."

The socialist leader in the European parliament, Martin Schulz, condemned British scepticism and attacked the influence of the press barons. "The papers owned by an Australian and a Canadian want to destroy the European Union," he said.

The prime minister insisted that on one of his key "red lines" - restricting the powers of the European court - British law was immune to interference from the European court of justice because of a special protocol exempting Britain from the court's remit. "We have secured a protocol which means that matters are not justiciable in British law," the prime minister said. "The reason I am confident is that the protocol is in the treaty itself."

His confidence, however, is not shared by senior **EU** officials in Brussels or by trade unionists who expect to challenge Britain's special treatment in the European and British courts.

A senior legal official in Brussels said the British courts would need to interpret the impact of the special protocol. "We are entering an area that has not yet been studied," he said. "National judges will be key to the whole system."

Mr Brown said he would be discussing the case of Madeleine McCann with his Portuguese counterpart, Jose Socrates, to ensure cooperation between Portuguese and British police is maintained.

guardian.co.uk/eu

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 12, 2007 Friday

Politics: EU opt-outs may cause problems, MPs warn Brown: Committee fears judicial threat to sovereignty: PM and Barroso believe UK can retain 'red lines'

BYLINE: Patrick Wintour, Political editor

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 14

LENGTH: 408 words

Gordon Brown's efforts to protect Britain's opt-outs on the new EU treaty at next week's summit in Lisbon came under fresh pressure yesterday when a Labour-dominated committee of MPs claimed the latest draft of the treaty presented fresh threats to British sovereignty.

The Commons European scrutiny committee said the new legal draft suggested the UK could only remain outside the jurisdiction of the European court of justice for five years on justice and home affairs issues, and after that might face serious consequences if it decided not to accept ECJ jurisdiction. In a letter to the foreign secretary, David Miliband, the committee warned that if the UK did not accept the jurisdiction, all EU measures adopted so far would cease to apply, and Britain would risk incurring "a potentially unlimited financial responsibility". At present Britain can choose to opt in to justice and home affairs issues, such as the European arrest warrant, but is not required to accept ECJ jurisdiction. The Foreign Office rejected the analysis from what it privately regards as a Eurosceptic select committee.

The intervention came as Gordon Brown met the European commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso, in Downing Street, with the two men exuding confidence that the British red lines would be preserved.

Mr Barroso said: "I have every reason to believe that the opt-outs that were so hard fought for by Britain are going to be kept in the text. Now we need to have this matter settled and move forward." He said he fully respected the British opt-outs, and insisted, as a former constitutional lawyer, that the new treaty was not a reworking of the former constitution, as the Conservatives insist.

Mr Brown said: "I believe we have succeeded in our negotiating objectives. If we were not to achieve our red lines, we could not accept the amending treaty." But he added: "I'm a cautious man and I will wait until we see the discussion which takes place in the council next week before I make a final judgment on this."

It also became clear yesterday that the prime minister will veto the draft treaty if he is unhappy with it. He said that without the opt-outs, Britain "could not accept" the treaty. The tenor of yesterday's meeting between Mr Brown and Mr Barroso suggested neither man expects a row at the summit focusing on Britain.

They would prefer the summit to focus on climate change, terrorism and restarting trade talks.

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 10, 2007 Wednesday

National: MPs point to flaws in Brown's 'red line' EU treaty safeguards: As crucial Lisbon meeting nears, pressure mounts on PM to hold a referendum

BYLINE: Tania Branigan, Political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 784 words

William Hague yesterday renewed calls for a referendum on the EU reform treaty, ahead of next week's crucial talks in Lisbon. The shadow foreign secretary accused the prime minister of a "cynical betrayal of promises" because the government pledged a mass vote on the document's predecessor, the constitutional treaty which had to be abandoned.

Gordon Brown insists the new document bears little relation to the old one, largely thanks to the "red lines" the UK has established. He has pledged that unless these four conditions are upheld at the informal summit on the treaty he will either veto the treaty or hold a referendum. But this week's highly technical report from the cross-party European scrutiny committee has placed him under fresh pressure, with the Labour chairman, Michael Connarty, telling the BBC that he feared the supposed safeguards would "leak like a sieve".

The report raised particular concerns over criminal justice and labour laws.

Some Tories suspect Mr Brown may provoke a row in Lisbon to demonstrate his independence and win favour with the Eurosceptic press.

This is the verdict of the government, committee and Conservatives on the strength of the red lines as they currently stand.

Protecting labour and social legislation

Tories argue that the charter of fundamental rights will allow EU judges to decide on British laws by the back door - potentially overruling the government on issues such as working hours and the secondary picketing ban. That could happen because judges are obliged to interpret EU law the same way throughout the union, effectively discounting the UK's protection, or through cross-border cases. They cite the Swedish prime minister's recent remark that "the UK was given a clarification, not an opt-out".

The government says the charter merely sets out the existing rights of EU citizens and does not give national or European courts any new powers to strike down or

reinterpret **EU** law. It points out there is a protocol specifically for the UK, to ensure this is the case.

But the committee warns that the protocol's wording must be tightened up if it is to be an adequate "safeguard", as it may be inconsistent with the charter at present. "There is possible inconsistency between the charter and the accompanying protocol," the committee said.

Protecting our criminal justice system

The government says the treaty offers an opportunity, not an obligation: the UK will be able to choose whether it wants to cooperate with other states in tackling issues such as combating terrorism and crime. It will do so only when the measures are in the national interest and allow the UK to retain control of its borders. But the Tories argue that the opt-in is flawed, because Britain has no veto if measures it has supported are then changed in ways to which it objects. The committee says British interests would be "better protected" if the treaty specifically stated that the UK can opt out of agreements again if their final drafts prove unacceptable.

Preserving an independent defence and foreign policy

The Tories argue that the new **EU** high representative will be a thinly-veiled foreign minister, reducing the importance of Britain's voice in the world.

Not so, argues the government, which says that the change is purely organisational. The job merges existing roles and makes it easier to present an agreed **EU** position in international organisations.

The **EU** presidency (which rotates between member states) is already able to do this, so it in no way paves the way for an **EU** seat on the UN security council, for instance. Member states will still have to reach unanimous agreement on common policy objectives and a declaration confirms that foreign policy will remain in the hands of the member states - though the Tories point out that the declaration is not legally binding.

The committee recognises that most decisions on the common foreign and security policy will be adopted unanimously, and welcomes the assurance the European courts will not be able to rule on the policy.

Protecting the tax and benefit system

This is more of a red herring than a red line, say the Tories, who argue there was never a serious threat here - the government was merely trying to make itself look tough. They cite the BBC's **Europe** editor, Mark Mardell, who wrote in July: "The government have the good grace to privately admit it (the red line on tax) was a bit of a con."

But ministers insist their resilience in negotiations has ensured that the UK controls its own social security system. A strengthened "emergency brake" means that any proposals which might affect it can be referred to the European council, where it will have to be approved by every member state to go ahead.

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 9, 2007 Tuesday

MPs turn up pressure on Brown over EU treaty

BYLINE: Tania Branigan, Political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 246 words

MPs will today add to pressure on Gordon Brown in the run up to next week's **EU** summit, questioning whether the government can defend its "red lines" in negotiations on the European reform treaty.

A report from the European scrutiny committee also attacks the "secretive" way in which the document was developed and warns that, as currently drafted, it endangers parliamentary sovereignty.

Conservatives believe that the treaty is a potent weapon to wield against Mr Brown. Polls show that voters want the referendum they were promised on the failed EU constitution, while the government argues that the new document is so different that no vote is required.

But senior Tories also suspect that Mr Brown might stage a row with other leaders at next week's meeting in Lisbon to demonstrate his independence and help to reassert his authority at home.

The prime minister told yesterday's press conference: "I believe that the red lines will be achieved and we will show that we have managed in the course of our negotiations to persuade our European partners that what we want is not only right for us, but right for them. If that is not the case, then there will either be a veto or a referendum."

The report, from a Labour-dominated cross-party committee, says for most countries the new treaty is "substantially equivalent" to the constitutional treaty. It argues that while the UK has derogations and opt-ins in key areas, the government must also make clear its right to opt out.

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 13, 2007 Thursday

National: British MEPs in treaty uproar at Strasbourg: Brown under fire for ducking out of signing: Parliament protesters 'acted like football louts'

BYLINE: Ian Traynor, Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 449 words

Gordon Brown travels to Lisbon today to enjoy unique arrangements for the signing of **Europe's** new treaty, separately from the other 26 heads of **EU** governments and symbolising Britain's semi-detachment from the rest of the **EU**.

With the prime minister saying that prior parliamentary duties keep him from taking part in the **EU** ceremony at a castle in Portugal, Britain's reputation as the **EU's** biggest troublemaker was reinforced yesterday when dozens of MEPs, many of them from the Conservative party and the UK Independence party, disrupted business in the European parliament in Strasbourg, heckling and protesting at **EU** leaders who signed the new **EU** charter of fundamental rights.

As the president of the European commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, the president of the European parliament, Hans-Gert Poettering, and the Portuguese prime minister, Jose Socrates, signed the charter - which Britain says will not apply in the UK - the British-led band of Europhobe MEPs unveiled banners and T-shirts demanding a referendum on the treaty.

The protesters were accused of bringing the loutish behaviour of the football terraces to the chamber in Strasbourg, and Brown was charged with gutlessness for sidestepping the main event in Portugal today.

"Gordon Brown has managed to turn something as simple as signing the **EU** treaty into a national embarrassment," said William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary. "What will other **EU** leaders think of a prime minister who dithers for a week about whether he dares be photographed putting pen to paper . . . Gordon Brown's signature on the renamed **EU** constitution tomorrow will not have the British people's democratic support."

"Seven prime ministers, including Gordon Brown, promised that their voters would have the final say in a referendum," said Daniel Hannan, the Conservative MEP and protest leader, of the treaty that replaces **Europe's** defunct constitution.

Most of the protesting MEPs were British, with others from Poland, Italy and France. "No matter how loud you heckle and yell, today is a day of fundamental importance for **Europe**," said Socrates, currently chairing the **EU**. "Referendum, we want a referendum," said Nigel Farage, the Ukip leader in the parliament.

Graham Watson, the Liberal Democrat leader in the parliament, said: "British Ukip, Eurosceptic Conservatives and Polish far-right MEPs today brought the hooligan behaviour of the football stadium into the European parliament."

While the scenes were viewed by **EU** officials as political pantomime, Brown's decision to forgo the company of **EU** leaders at today's signing ceremony was seen as more serious, and symptomatic of the prime minister's aloofness from **Europe**.

Leader comment, page 34

The Guardian - Final Edition

March 7, 2007 Wednesday

National: Cameron rules out Tory retreat from EU

BYLINE: Ian Traynor, Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 19

LENGTH: 314 words

David Cameron declared yesterday that the Conservative party was "remarkably united" behind his wish to keep Britain in the **EU** and described as bizarre any suggestion that a government under his leadership would retreat from the union.

In his first major speech in Brussels launching a campaign to reform the way the **EU** functions, Mr Cameron said the **EU** was stuck in the past, ill-equipped to tackle the biggest issues facing a globalised world, and attacked the Blair government for "posturing" on **Europe** while flip-flopping over a European constitution.

"They've had seven different positions. I've only ever had one. I'm against a European constitution and I'm in favour of a referendum if one is ever proposed," Mr Cameron told a meeting held under the Movement for European Reform. The campaign puts the Conservatives together with Bulgaria's centre-right UDF party and the Eurosceptics of the ruling party, the ODS, in the Czech Republic.

Mr Cameron reiterated his position that the Conservatives and the ODS would form a caucus in the European parliament after the next elections in 2009, abandoning the mainstream centre-right European People's party. "A realignment on the right is absolutely necessary," said a Conservative MEP. "Our positions and interests are just too different."

Critics said Mr Cameron's move could take him from the mainstream to the margins of European power-brokering. "David Cameron remains the lonely man of **Europe** - ostracised by France, ignored by Germany," said Gary Titley, Labour leader in the European parliament. "Today has proved David Cameron still has embarrassingly few allies in **Europe**."

Meanwhile, yesterday Wolfgang Ischinger, the German ambassador in London, stoked Eurosceptic fears about attempts to revive a redrawn European constitution by saying he was sure Britain supported proposals to create an **EU** foreign minister in the next treaty.

The Guardian - Final Edition

October 22, 2007 Monday

National: Politics: Tories face backbench revolt over EU referendum

BYLINE: Patrick Wintour

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 259 words

The shadow foreign secretary, William Hague, is battling to stop a Conservative backbench revolt by Eurosceptic MPs who are demanding a referendum on the new EU treaty, even if parliament ratifies it in the next few months.

Mr Hague wants to keep his options open and fears a referendum could further damage his party's relations with France and Germany. Forty Eurosceptics, including former Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith, John Redwood, and former shadow **Europe** minister Graham Brady, are demanding that Mr Hague back the call to commit his party to a post-ratification referendum.

The MPs have signed an early day motion sponsored by the sceptic MP Bill Cash.

The government chief whip, Geoff Hoon, has promised substantial time for debating the treaty in the Commons. The bulk of the debate will take place on the floor rather than in committee because the measure is seen as an important constitutional revision. All sides expect the bill to be passed and both the Liberal Democrat leadership candidates, Chris Huhne and Nick Clegg, have ruled out supporting a referendum. The former home secretary David Blunkett, once seen as a sceptic rallying point, also said he would back the treaty.

Mr Hague, speaking on the BBC's Andrew Marr programme yesterday, dodged calls from his backbenchers for a referendum even if the treaty became law.

He said: "We don't rule out a referendum in the future, and our discussions will take place against a background that this treaty, if passed without a referendum, will lack democratic legitimacy."

guardian.co.uk/politics >=

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 14, 2007 Friday

Political briefing: Still hope for Brown in Brussels

BYLINE: Michael White

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 13

LENGTH: 442 words

Gordon Brown's cack-handed handling of yesterday's EU reform treaty signing achieved a difficult double. It won him no brownie points among pro-Europeans, at home or beyond Calais. But hardline UK Eurosceptics also gave his efforts a raspberry.

All is not lost. Downing Street has several reasons to be hopeful, despite Mr Brown's late arrival in Lisbon. Chancellor Merkel of Germany, who is at loggerheads with President Sarkozy of France over budget and agricultural reform (and who should be the new permanent **EU** president), would love to work more closely with Mr Brown, a child of the Protestant manse like her. David Cameron's **EU** stance is also a source of potential comfort. As he demonstrated in this week's Commons debate, William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, remains as ardent a sceptic as he was when he let the issue ruin his own 1997-2001 leadership of his party.

Just as Ken Clarke's generation grew up as pro-**EU** Heathites, so Mr Cameron grew up as an 80s Thatcherite, though his foreign policy brains, ex-spook Pauline Neville-Jones, almost certainly knows better. Meanwhile the Hague line prevails and is popular among activists. Yet tabloid campaigns like the Sun's drive for a referendum provide little evidence that the voters share the headbangers' perspective. Hague wriggled on the Tory pledge to hold one again last night.

In reality the **EU** is a bit like Russia, as described by the Tory prime minister Lord Salisbury - always "too weak and too strong". As the **EU** commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso, suggested in Lisbon yesterday, six years of faffing about over the aborted constitution will end once the treaty is ratified by 26 parliaments and one (Irish) referendum, in Britain's case by the summer. **Europe** can then re-engage with the real world's agenda.

It will start when the **EU's** big four manfully recognise looming Kosovan independence in the New Year. Global free trade, Africa, climate change, there is plenty for a Merkel-Brown axis to address. Will Brown and his pro-European foreign secretary grasp the chance? The suspicion persists that Brown is happier at English-speaking jamborees, the IMF or (last month in Kampala) a Commonwealth conference, especially among those he can dominate. In 10 years at No 11 he never schmoozed much with those clever polyglot Europeans.

But the point can be exaggerated. Sarkozy does not speak foreign languages either. For all his pro-**EU** talk, Tony Blair avoided **EU** summits and dinners as much as Brown. But Brown starts at a disadvantage, assumed in **Europe** to be hostile. In visiting Iraq and Afghanistan last week he learned that travel can be helpful. Brussels is nearer.

The Guardian - Final Edition

March 6, 2007 Tuesday

Politics: Cameron's global vision for Europe

BYLINE: Will Woodward, Chief political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 375 words

David Cameron will today call for the European Union to focus on the "3Gs" - globalisation, global warming and global poverty - as he seeks to reframe the Conservatives' approach to one of the party faithful's most divisive subjects.

In a speech in Brussels to the first conference of the Movement for European Reform, his fledgling cross-EU group, the Tory leader will pledge "not to posture but to persuade" in **Europe**.

Mr Cameron, who has pledged to take the Conservatives out of the main centre-right grouping, the EPP-ED, in the European parliament, is nervous of spending a lot of time on European issues for fear that it reminds voters of the internecine conflict which swamped the Conservatives in the Thatcher-Major years. But he will counter-attack today by accusing Labour ministers of flip-flopping on the **EU** constitution.

"They've had seven different positions. I've only ever had one. I'm against a European constitution and I'm in favour of a referendum if one is ever proposed," Mr Cameron will say.

"My approach to European negotiations will be different. I believe that the best way to pursue your national interest is not to posture, but to persuade. I will be polite, but solid and consistent."

A Martian would look disbelievingly at the **EU's** agenda, he added.

"I think that that intelligent Martian would decide the **EU** should be focusing on three things. First, the economic challenge of globalisation. Second, the environmental challenge of climate change. And third, the moral and security challenge of global poverty."

Geoff Hoon, the **Europe** minister, said that outside the UK only the Czech ODS party had joined the Movement for European Reform. "Beyond the warm words and the PR, David Cameron has marginalised the Tories in **Europe** and if he gets his way will marginalise Britain too."

The leader of the ODS, Czech prime minister Mirek Topolanek, will open the conference today.

Former **Europe** minister Denis MacShane said senior ODS figures had recently described global warming as a myth. "No previous Tory leader has been willing to contemplate a breach with sister parties in **Europe** or to link up with a party whose views, to put it politely, are eccentric, sometime extreme, and (is) a party that has no weight in European politics."

The Guardian - Final Edition

March 24, 2007 Saturday

Special report: European Union at 50: What the union has done for us, from A-Z

SECTION: GUARDIAN INTERNATIONAL PAGES; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 500 words

Mis for market The single one of goods and services has been a boon for European consumers

Qis for queueing Less and less of it on the borders between **EU** countries

Uis for unification In 2004, when eight post-communist countries joined, made **Europe** whole (nearly), democratic, and free for the first time ever

Xis for xenophobia National prejudices start to break down the more the citizens of **Europe** mix and meet

Ais for Arsenal Arsene Wenger and Thierry Henry's exercise in footballing elegance (with barely a British boot on the pitch) would hardly be possible without **Europe's** open transfer market

Bis for borders During a journey from Belgium to Luxembourg to France to Germany to Poland a passport had to be shown only once and then cursorily

Cis for climate change 27 governments have just agreed the most ambitious package ever to tackle global warming. If the US, China, and India followed suit, the future would look less bleak

D is for democracy dictatorships in Spain, Portugal, Greece and all over eastern **Europe** are in the dustbin of history

Eis for the euro On trips across much of **Europe**, travellers no longer have to change currencies and no longer come home with a pocketful of useless coins

Fis for flights Stag parties in Prague? Shopping in Barcelona? How could we afford it without the cheap airlines enabled by deregulating European air traffic

Gis for Germany Until anchored in the **EU**, Germany caused untold grief to most of us

His for homebuying The British mania for that place in the sun is a result of the **EU** requiring members to open their housing markets to foreign **EU** citizens

Iis for international clout **Europe's** sum is greater than its parts when it comes to making a difference internationally

Jis for jobs Working anywhere in **Europe** is now easy and occurring on an unprecedented scale

Kis for Kosovo The biggest challenge. **EU** is preparing to steer the province to independence in its first such mission

Lis for London As **Europe's** pre-eminent financial centre, the City of London has benefited enormously from the single market

Nis for nationalism It ain't what it used to be

Ois for openness What the **EU** has done best in expanding from an original six to a current 27 countries

Pis for peace Don't take it for granted in the continent that gave us Auschwitz.

Ris for regions Remote and poorer areas of **Europe** benefit from structural funds that amount to a great social democratic exercise in wealth redistribution

Sis for soft power if the **EU's** so bad, why does everyone else want to join?

Tis for transport All of **Europe** is being knitted together by road and rail infrastructure projects

Vis for variety From Krakow to Florence to Edinburgh to Seville, no union has ever comprised such splendid diversity

Wis for welfare The European social model cushions the effects of globalisation

Yis for yard **Europe** encouraged all countries to unify measuring systems

Zis for Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe and his henchmen are barred all over **Europe**, at British insistence, but only because Britain is in the **EU**



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Front: Cameron cuts UK adrift: EU lines up against Britain to save euro: PM says veto was used to protect the City: Lib Dems pour scorn on Tory MPs' delight

BYLINE: Ian Traynor Nicholas Watt David Gow Brussels Patrick Wintour

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 849 words

David Cameron plunged Britain's position in **Europe** into the greatest uncertainty in a generation yesterday as he used his veto to block a new **EU**-wide treaty and left at least 23 other countries to forge a pact to salvage the single currency.

With the apparent blessing of the pro-European deputy prime minister, Nick Clegg - and the subsequent delight of Tory backbenchers - Cameron deployed the ultimate weapon in European summitry at about 2.30am yesterday.

EU leaders promptly agreed to bypass Britain and establish a new accord on the euro by March. The **EU** appeared poised to line up 26-1 against Cameron in support of the Franco-German blueprint, leaving Britain utterly isolated.

Cameron's bombshell came at what was billed as the most important **EU** summit in years, with the fate of the single currency hanging in the balance. The veto was unexpected and was being seen as a watershed in Britain's fractious relationship with

the rest of **Europe**. Cameron insisted on securing concessions on, and exemptions from, **EU** financial markets regulation as the price of his assent to the German-led euro salvation blueprint.

The others balked, France most vocally, accusing Cameron of putting Britain's perceived interests ahead of resolving the **EU's** worst crisis.

While Cameron has failed to secure the concessions for Britain's strong financial services sector, Britain has also forfeited its place at the table where **Europe's** future will be determined. For the first time since Britain joined the European Community in 1973, a treaty that goes to the heart of how the **EU** works will be struck without a British signature.

"I said that if I couldn't get adequate safeguards for Britain in a new European treaty then I wouldn't agree to it. What is on offer isn't in Britain's interests so I didn't agree to it," Cameron said.

The prime minister went further, suggesting Britain's membership of the **EU** was no longer a given. "Membership is in our interests. I've always said, if that's the case, I'll support our membership," he said, appearing to query whether being in the **EU** would remain in Britain's interests.

Cameron appeared initially to have lukewarm backing from Sweden, the Czech Republic and Hungary. But by last night all three had signalled they would take the Franco-German proposals for a new "fiscal compact" to their parliaments.

With at least 23 countries signing up for a deal conferring intrusive rights on European institutions to enforce budgetary policy in countries breaking the euro's debt and deficit rules, as well as quasi-automatic penalties for delinquents, the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, the central driver of the new regime, did not appear bothered by the British veto.

"The breakthrough to a stability union, a fiscal union, has been achieved," she said. "Only one country, Great Britain, distanced itself. I really don't believe David Cameron was ever with us at the table. ."

But Cameron was scornful of what the summit accomplished.

"I don't actually think the world is waiting with bated breath about what was the exact nature of the institutional relationship. I don't believe they're sitting in the trading

rooms wondering whether there's going to be a new reverse QMV (qualified majority voting) article on integrated budget setting of blah, blah, blah."

Boris Johnson, the London mayor, said Cameron had "played a blinder", a mood shared on the Tory right.

Downing Street said Cameron had contacted Clegg early yesterday. "This was an agreed position," Cameron emphasised.

Clegg fell into line, describing Britain's demands as "modest and reasonable". But later, after talks with his party, Clegg said "any Eurosceptics who might be rubbing their hands in glee about the outcome of the summit last night should be careful what they wish for because clearly there's potentially an increased risk of a two-speed **Europe** in which Britain's position becomes more marginalised and, in the long run, that would be bad for growth and jobs in this country."

Lord Ashdown, an ally of Clegg, told the Guardian: "The deep and sustained anti-European prejudice of some in the Tory party backed by anti-European papers has now created anti-British prejudice in **Europe**, especially in Paris.

"There will be a huge price to pay and, as a consequence, the foreign policy priorities of this country for the past 40 years has gone down the plughole in a single night. That foreign policy has now been hijacked by the Eurosceptics in the Conservative party aided by a prime minister who was not prepared to stand up for the national interest. As a consequence we have lost control of the European agenda."

Market reaction was muted before Standard & Poor's decision - possibly next week - on whether to downgrade its credit rating for 15 eurozone countries

Despite German failure to get all 27 to reopen Lisbon , the Cameron veto may accelerate the creation of the new pact, since it will be struck between participating governments.

Captions:

David Cameron arrives at the late-night summit in Brussels on Thursday. He deployed the UK veto at 2.30am yesterday Photograph: Francois Lenoir/Reuters



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 9, 2011 Friday

EU summit: Divided we stand

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 135 words

"Never has the risk of **Europe** exploding been so big. How to get out of this? We must reform **Europe**. If we don't have the courage to do it the people will rise up against us."

Nicolas Sarkozy, French president

"What I expect from all heads of governments is that they don't come saying what they cannot do but what they will do for **Europe**."

Jose Manuel Barroso, European
commission president

"Germany's strictness has caused negative situations. This is responsible for the current situation."

Silvio Berlusconi, former Italian prime minister

"There has to be a deal . . . the euro itself is in no way at risk."

Jean-Claude Juncker, Eurogroup chairman

"We want to stick with the 27 concept . . . because all of us are members of the European Union and we want to have our influence."

Frederik Reinfeldt, Swedish prime minister



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 8, 2011 Thursday

EU summit: Tory right gears up for a fight on regaining powers from EU

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt and Patrick Wintour

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 625 words

Leading figures on the Tory right were "on manoeuvres" last night in an attempt to put pressure on David Cameron to repatriate powers at the EU summit which opens in Brussels this evening.

Edward Leigh, the veteran rightwinger, convened a meeting of the three main groups on the right - the No Turning Back Group, the 92 Group and the Cornerstone Group - to make sure Cameron returns home with "clear gains".

The scale of the challenge to the prime minister was underlined when Owen Paterson, the Northern Ireland secretary, suggested that a revision of the Lisbon treaty to underpin tough new fiscal rules for the eurozone should be put to the British people in a referendum.

Paterson's intervention, which came three days after a similar intervention by his patron Iain Duncan Smith, runs directly counter to government policy which was put on a statutory footing last July in the European Union Act. This holds that a referendum will only be held if significant UK powers are transferred to the EU.

As No 10 sources indicated that Paterson had been spoken to in strong terms, Boris Johnson upped the ante by echoing his call for a referendum. "It's absolutely clear to me that if there is a new treaty at 27 - if there is a new EU treaty that creates a kind of fiscal union within the eurozone - then we would have absolutely no choice either to veto it or to put it to a referendum," the London mayor told the BBC.

Senior figures on the Eurosceptic right said that the interventions by Duncan Smith and Paterson were part of a co-ordinated effort by the right to put pressure on Cameron. One senior figure said: "It is no accident what Owen said. We are on manoeuvres. This is co-ordinated. We are putting pressure on the PM on the EU."

The right have two main aims, first to put pressure on the prime minister to accept the calls for a referendum to be held on such a momentous EU treaty change even if it just applies to the 17 eurozone countries. Some Eurosceptic MPs are also examining plans for what is being dubbed a two-stage "sandwich referendum". A first referendum would be held on the findings of a white paper setting out the British position on repatriating powers to Britain. If negotiations in the EU on this failed then a second referendum would be held which would effectively be a vote on Britain's membership of the EU.

Others on the right are pushing a second aim of demanding an immediate repatriation of powers. One MP said: "This is designed to ensure that the prime minister comes

back from Brussels with clear gains. He can't just say that at some point in the future they have agreed to look at balance of powers. We need repatriation of powers. It has to happen."

The Eurosceptics hailed an intervention by Chris Grayling, Duncan Smith's deputy at the department of work and pensions. In a review of Cameron's appearance at prime minister's questions on the BBC Daily Politics programme, Grayling said: "He gave a very clear message not simply about safeguarding the financial services industry but about his intent to bring back to the House of Commons powers of regulation over what is one of our crucial industries. That is a clear statement of intent."

One Eurosceptic said: "Chris deliberately misinterpreted what the prime minister said. Chris said he had said he would repatriate powers. Cameron did not say that."

Tory MPs will voice their concerns today in a debate in Westminster Hall convened by Bernard Jenkin, a Duncan Smith ally. In a Guardian article, Jenkin endorses the call for a referendum, adding: "If we are not prepared to press to change in our terms of membership now, then when will we ever? This really is the EU endgame."

Captions:

Owen Paterson said that a Lisbon treaty revision should prompt a referendum



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 10, 2011 Saturday

**European union: 'I really don't believe Cameron was ever with us at the table':
Merkel accuses PM of negotiating in bad faith Britain accused of getting its
tactics wrong on talks**

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt Ian Traynor Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1375 words

"I have not and have no plans to attend any wife swapping parties," David Cameron said in Brussels shortly before he flew back to Britain, in one of the more startling statements by a British prime minister at an European summit.

His jovial remark stemmed from reports that a French official had said late on Thursday that Britain's attempts to secure concessions in negotiations about the euro were akin to a man going to a wife swapping party without his wife (the actual French quote was fruitier).

There was some method to it, designed as it was to show that the prime minister is not alarmed by warnings from across the EU that he has marginalised Britain after vetoing a revision of the Lisbon treaty, paving the way for virtually every other EU member state to agree to a treaty outside the architecture of the EU to underpin tough new rules for the eurozone.

The French briefing illustrated that France had detected even before the summit had started that Cameron was isolated. Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president, drove this point home during nearly 10 hours of negotiations into Friday morning. By 5am, when Sarkozy strode out of the summit room to declare that Britain had blocked a revision of the Lisbon treaty, France had taken a major step towards one of its long-standing strategic goals - the creation of a "two speed" **Europe** in which France and Germany surge ahead, leaving Britain to bring up the rear.

The reaction was swift and cutting. One Brussels veteran said: "I have always felt that the UK will just stumble out of the **EU**. This confirms that view. We are reaping the wind of 30 years of vitriolic UK press coverage."

Britain had hoped to exploit differences between Paris and Berlin. Sarkozy was keen to limit a new treaty to the 17 members of the eurozone. Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, wanted to reach an agreement among all 27 **EU** leaders to revise the Lisbon treaty. This would ensure that the "fiscal compact" for the eurozone would be underpinned by the institutions of the **EU**.

But it turned out that the French and German differences were outweighed by a bigger consideration: a determination that Britain should not use a treaty change to win special status for the City of London.

One **EU** source was scathing about the British tactics. "David Cameron completely misjudged these negotiations. He thought he could divide and rule Germany and France. You can sometimes do that in the **EU**. But you can never do that with the euro."

Merkel suggested that Cameron had negotiated in bad faith. "I really don't believe David Cameron was ever with us at the table."

British officials realised that they would struggle even before the formal summit negotiations began over dinner on Thursday night, at 8.10pm local time.

In a 45-minute meeting with Sarkozy and Merkel, it became clear that the French and German leaders objected to Cameron's demands. Jon Cunliffe, the prime minister's most senior **EU** adviser who will take over as Britain's "perm rep" to the **EU** in the New Year, had briefed his French and German counterparts on highly technical demands.

These included assurances that any transfer of powers from a national to an **EU** regulator would be subject to a veto and an agreement that the European Banking Authority would remain in London.

One British source said: "It was pretty clear from the Merkel and Sarkozy meeting that they had a problem with our position. They were willing to offer declarations and assurances in the areas where we had difficulties. But they were not willing to accept these could be put in the treaty. The methodology was the sticking point."

When Herman Van Rompuy, the president of the European council, opened the discussion among the 27 leaders over a dinner of soup, cod and chocolate cake and ice cream, Cameron was initially given a breather. The first five hours of discussions focused on the new rules for the eurozone fiscal compact which was not strictly relevant to Britain.

It was at around 1.15am local time that the discussions moved on to treaty change. Jose Manuel Barroso, the anglophile president of the European commission, tried to help Cameron by suggesting some language for the revised Lisbon treaty. Barroso suggested that a clause should be inserted saying that the measures under the fiscal compact must not distort the single market.

The prime minister, who started to set out his position at around 1.30am, said this did not go far enough. Within minutes Sarkozy rounded on Cameron in what were described as robust exchanges. At one point the prime minister attempted to remove any reference to the internal market from the proposed revised Lisbon treaty text. Sarkozy shot back and said that if Britain was not going to sign a treaty it could not hope to amend it.

When it became clear that Britain was going to wield its veto to block a revision of the **EU** treaty, there was a break at 3am for coffee and fruit salad as the treaty negotiations moved into the second phase. This was a discussion on how a treaty would be agreed by the 17 eurozone members plus any other states that wanted to sign up.

Cameron intervened to say that the institutions of the **EU**, such as the European commission and the European court of justice, could not be used to enforce the fiscal compact. This was challenged by Merkel, Sarkozy and Barroso.

According to senior French sources, Cameron told Merkel: "The ECJ does not belong to you." The German chancellor responded: "But we can use it anyway."

German sources said they were surprised by the British veto, although in the run-up to the summit they had received "different signals" from the British. Merkel recalled it was 20 years to the day since the EU struck the accord on monetary union in Maastricht and that even back then the British had secured their opt-out from the euro. "We always respected that and through all these years Great Britain has played a positive role."

Merkel pointed out that the UK had as much an interest as anyone in a successful single currency. "Like all the rest of us, Great Britain depends on a stable euro. We're all in the same boat."

She brushed aside British objections to using EU institutions as instruments in the new eurozone regime, saying Berlin had taken legal advice and that there would be no problem.

Cameron insisted that his relations with Sarkozy and Merkel had not been harmed. "David shared a lift with Angela after the summit broke up," one source said.

But Sarkozy moved quickly to stamp his mark on events after the meeting ended. Within five minutes the French president had walked solemnly into the French press room to declare that the eurozone and others had been forced to agree an intergovernmental treaty after Britain had tabled unacceptable demands.

The prime minister used the 45 minutes taken up by Sarkozy's press conference to brief Nick Clegg and George Osborne, the chancellor, in separate phone calls. William Hague, who had stayed on in Brussels after a Nato meeting, came in from his hotel to talk to the prime minister.

At 6.19am local time, Cameron appeared in the British press room to say he had no choice but to block a "treaty within a treaty" without safeguards for Britain. But he admitted there were risks.

At 6.50am the prime minister returned to the grand residence of the British "perm rep" near the Royal Palace. He was woken at 8.15am. By 8.45am he was in the dining room for a breakfast of eggs, bacon, toast, orange juice and black coffee.

At 9.15am Cameron left the residence in time for the ceremony marking Croatia's accession treaty. The prime minister had "blocked one treaty and signed another" in the space of a few hours, one source quipped.

By the close of play yesterday, British officials were even more bullish. "Market carnage is possible on Monday when they realise how peripheral this treaty is outside the formal framework of the EU," one senior figure said.

Captions:

Finland's PM, Jyrki Katainen, Nicolas Sarkozy, Angela Merkel and the European commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso Photograph: Radek Pietruszka/EPA

On the sidelines

David Cameron was accused of trying to divide and rule Germany and France. 'You can sometimes do that in the EU. But you can never do that with the euro,' an EU source said

Photograph: Yves Herman/Reuters

theguardian

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 9, 2011 Friday

EU summit: Treaty talks: A jolly by the sea, then leaders tackle summit

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt and David Gow Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 752 words

In these straitened times, as the **EU** battles to save the euro from collapse, the continent's leaders might have been tempted to go easy on the air miles.

But all the key leaders in the **EU**, bar David Cameron, flew a circuitous route to Brussels, via Marseille, in order to attend a meeting of the European People's party, the main centre-right grouping in the European parliament.

"The leaders do need a jolly by the sea," one exasperated Brussels source said. "Then of course there is a French presidential election coming up." The Marseille meeting meant the **EU** summit started a little later than usual last night.

Over dinner at the cavernous Justus Lipsius building, the headquarters of the European council, leaders discussed how to put tough new fiscal rules for the eurozone on a legally binding basis - the key demand of Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, who will end up footing most of the bill for saving the single currency.

The 27 leaders ate together, with their **EU** ambassadors and senior officials seated in an adjacent room. "It is the same food but the wine is slightly inferior," one **EU** official said of the ambassadors' bash.

Herman Van Rompuy, the European council president, faced navigating a series of obstacles, with most of his attention on the competing demands of the **EU's** "big three" - Germany, Britain and France - whose leaders met before the dinner.

The focus on David Cameron's demands for special attention to be paid to the City of London overshadowed a factor driving, and potentially disrupting, the summit - Merkel's insistence that all 27 leaders agree on a revision of the Lisbon treaty to underpin the fiscal rules for the eurozone.

Van Rompuy and Jose Manuel Barroso, president of the European commission, plus a host of other **EU** leaders, believe there is no need for a wholesale revision of the Lisbon treaty. They argue that protocol 12 of the treaty, which governs the procedures for eurozone members that run excessive deficits, can be amended if the 27 leaders reach an agreement.

They believe this would avoid the need for a referendum in the Irish Republic, though the change would still be subject to a vote in the Commons.

Senior sources are hoping Merkel will soften her position and settle for a two-step approach. In the first place the excessive deficit procedure would be agreed now without a full-scale treaty change.

Then, in the coming months, there would be full-scale treaty alteration to amend protocol 14 and article 136 in the treaty. These would give the European Commission the right to carry out "intrusive" monitoring of national budgets and allow eurozone leaders to hold formal summits twice a year.

France is keen for the treaty changes to be agreed just among the eurozone's 17 members, as a way of marginalising Britain.

This explains why Paris embarked on what was being described in Brussels as a "frantic spinning exercise" to claim that Britain was demanding an opt-out from single market regulations for financial services. "The French are totally isolated," one Brussels source said. "They need a fall guy to ensure that a treaty at 27 does not work."

But France suffered a setback when EU lawyers ruled that the changes would be illegal if approved by only the 17 eurozone members. Their ruling strengthens the position of Britain, which wants any changes to be agreed by the 27 leaders, which would give Cameron a veto.

There were nerves in Brussels as Cameron arrived. "David Cameron is playing a dangerous game," one source said. "He is suggesting to his MPs that he will come back with major concessions when he knows that is not possible."

But the prime minister was said to have adopted a constructive approach when he spoke to Barroso on the phone on Wednesday night.

Barroso and Van Rompuy are hoping Cameron, who is demanding safeguards to protect Britain's position in the single market, and the protection of the City of London, can be won over. They would highlight existing language in the Lisbon treaty that says that nothing should be done to damage the single market.

And EU leaders would also agree that the European council would ensure that all member states were "happy" when financial services legislation was introduced.

Britain is concerned because such legislation is decided on the basis of qualified majority voting in which Britain has no veto.

But everyone was expecting the summit to drag on. "When we leave the leaders on their own, who knows what they will agree when they get on to their third whisky," one official said.



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 12, 2011 Monday

Europe in crisis: Markets prepare for turmoil over fears of new credit crunch: Brussels worries that higher capital ratios for banks could choke off lending and has doubts over legal basis of EU deal

BYLINE: David Gow

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1001 words

A warning that **Europe** could fall back into a renewed credit crunch and serious doubts about the legal basis of last Friday's agreement on a "fiscal compact" for the eurozone could provoke fresh turbulence on markets this week.

After initial surprise about the market reaction to the UK veto of the early hours of Friday, some **EU** officials fear the lack of certainty about the real scope of the new deal could severely unsettle them.

This nervousness is heightened by continuing arguments over the scale and nature of any intervention to shore up the eurozone and resolve the sovereign debt crisis by both the International Monetary Fund and European Central Bank.

"We were quite surprised that the markets reacted as well as they did on Friday," **EU** officials said yesterday. "We thought they would really tank and there's still this legal uncertainty hanging over the deal."

"The one good thing is there's a clear political signal about the governments' commitment to budgetary discipline even if it's going to be hard to enforce without a full EU treaty behind it. And they've only got two months to conclude it."

Other senior officials said: "This treaty might be quite limited to national debt brakes, reverse qualified majority voting on automatic sanctions and monthly summits. We may need a week or so to get legal clarity about the scope of all this."

Concern is also mounting about the steps banks might take to bolster their financial positions to meet new requirements by the European Banking Authority (EBA). Last week the EBA increased its estimate, from euros 106bn to euros 115bn, for new capital banks would need to raise in order to withstand the eurozone crisis.

On Sunday the head of the EBA told banks that cutting lending to small firms would not count towards meeting the tough new 9% capital ratio targets but could choke off the real economy.

"We might now have the problem that banks become too risk-averse. This might lead to a severe credit crunch," Andrea Enria told Der Spiegel. "We will not allow any reduction in the supply of credit."

There is already evidence that eurozone banks are growing ever more reliant on the ECB for funding.

German banks alone need to raise euros 13.1bn (£11.2bn) extra capital, with the country's second biggest lender, Commerzbank, widely expected to ask for a further bailout by Berlin. It needs to raise euros 5.3bn or almost twice as much as originally expected and is already 25% owned by the German state.

Enria said: "If banks cannot get funds, they stop lending and that damages the economy. We are stuck in a vicious circle and we have to try to break out of it."

Italian banks, which need to raise euros 15bn, intend to oppose the EBA's ruling which, according to reports, the Italian Banking Association argues is "wrong in its method and its conclusions, and does not take account of the specific factors affecting Italian banks".

Today Olli Rehn, EU economic and monetary affairs commissioner, is expected to renew his call for stricter fiscal discipline among all EU states when he launches the full-scale implementation of the so-called "six-pack" of new budgetary rules.

Some officials believe this package is more meaningful than the outline inter-governmental fiscal compact endorsed by 23 EU countries at around 5am on Friday. It comes into effect this week and includes measures to enforce austerity among serial budget sinners.

It gives the European commission (EC) and especially Rehn substantial new powers to intervene in the national budget process but stops short of those amounting to an effective veto for Brussels - and a huge intrusion into national sovereignty.

Countries can be fined up to 0.2% of GDP for fraudulent statistics on deficits and debt and be forced to make an interest-bearing deposit (0.1% of GDP) if they fail to act on recommendations to remove "excessive imbalances."

This legislation and two new proposed financial regulations give clearly defined roles to the EC but this is far from clear in the new treaty Britain refused to join.

Some EU lawyers have said that neither the commission nor the European court of justice - due to verify national "debt brakes" or "golden rules" - can be involved; others believe there are ways round this. Jose Manuel Barroso, the commission president, is therefore expected to distance himself from the inter-governmental treaty when he presents his statement on last week's fractious summit to MEPs on Wednesday.

Comments from leading players underlined how far from settled the eurozone crisis is, with both the IMF chief economist and the head of the Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, saying Friday's deal is only a step in the right direction.

Olivier Blanchard of the IMF said in Tel Aviv: "What happened last week is important: it's part of the solution but it's not the solution." He blamed a lot of the market volatility on contradictory statements from EU leaders.

Jens Weidmann, Bundesbank president, told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung that the new rules on budgetary discipline could not be watered down during their implementation. "Without this any solution to the crisis will simply evaporate into thin air."

The president of the Bundestag (Germany's speaker) said it would have to see whether last Friday's deal was compatible with the decrees of the country's constitutional court; the Austrian chancellor Werner Faymann called for a much bigger ECB role; an Irish minister said the deal did not go far enough and urged the ECB to act more like the US Federal Reserve.

And Mario Monti, Italy's premier, said Germany would eventually have to accept eurobonds or common debt issuance.

Captions:

euros 9bn: The extra capital, up from euros 106bn to euros 115bn, by which the EBA estimates banks must raise to withstand the eurozone crisis

Left, celebrations in Frankfurt at the euro's launch in 1999 are in stark contrast to the mood in the German financial capital in 2011, where Occupy protesters reflect a more general disenchantment with the single currency

theguardian

The Guardian - Final Edition

December 10, 2011 Saturday

**European union: 'I really don't believe Cameron was ever with us at the table':
Merkel accuses PM of negotiating in bad faith Britain accused of getting its
tactics wrong on talks**

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt Ian Traynor Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1375 words

"I have not and have no plans to attend any wife swapping parties," David Cameron said in Brussels shortly before he flew back to Britain, in one of the more startling statements by a British prime minister at an European summit.

His jovial remark stemmed from reports that a French official had said late on Thursday that Britain's attempts to secure concessions in negotiations about the euro were akin to a man going to a wife swapping party without his wife (the actual French quote was fruitier).

There was some method to it, designed as it was to show that the prime minister is not alarmed by warnings from across the **EU** that he has marginalised Britain after vetoing a revision of the Lisbon treaty, paving the way for virtually every other **EU** member state to agree to a treaty outside the architecture of the **EU** to underpin tough new rules for the eurozone.

The French briefing illustrated that France had detected even before the summit had started that Cameron was isolated. Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president, drove this point home during nearly 10 hours of negotiations into Friday morning. By 5am, when Sarkozy strode out of the summit room to declare that Britain had blocked a revision of the Lisbon treaty, France had taken a major step towards one of its long-standing strategic goals - the creation of a "two speed" **Europe** in which France and Germany surge ahead, leaving Britain to bring up the rear.

The reaction was swift and cutting. One Brussels veteran said: "I have always felt that the UK will just stumble out of the **EU**. This confirms that view. We are reaping the wind of 30 years of vitriolic UK press coverage."

Britain had hoped to exploit differences between Paris and Berlin. Sarkozy was keen to limit a new treaty to the 17 members of the eurozone. Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, wanted to reach an agreement among all 27 **EU** leaders to revise the Lisbon treaty. This would ensure that the "fiscal compact" for the eurozone would be underpinned by the institutions of the **EU**.

But it turned out that the French and German differences were outweighed by a bigger consideration: a determination that Britain should not use a treaty change to win special status for the City of London.

One EU source was scathing about the British tactics. "David Cameron completely misjudged these negotiations. He thought he could divide and rule Germany and France. You can sometimes do that in the EU. But you can never do that with the euro."

Merkel suggested that Cameron had negotiated in bad faith. "I really don't believe David Cameron was ever with us at the table."

British officials realised that they would struggle even before the formal summit negotiations began over dinner on Thursday night, at 8.10pm local time.

In a 45-minute meeting with Sarkozy and Merkel, it became clear that the French and German leaders objected to Cameron's demands. Jon Cunliffe, the prime minister's most senior EU adviser who will take over as Britain's "perm rep" to the EU in the New Year, had briefed his French and German counterparts on highly technical demands.

These included assurances that any transfer of powers from a national to an EU regulator would be subject to a veto and an agreement that the European Banking Authority would remain in London.

One British source said: "It was pretty clear from the Merkel and Sarkozy meeting that they had a problem with our position. They were willing to offer declarations and assurances in the areas where we had difficulties. But they were not willing to accept these could be put in the treaty. The methodology was the sticking point."

When Herman Van Rompuy, the president of the European council, opened the discussion among the 27 leaders over a dinner of soup, cod and chocolate cake and ice cream, Cameron was initially given a breather. The first five hours of discussions focused on the new rules for the eurozone fiscal compact which was not strictly relevant to Britain.

It was at around 1.15am local time that the discussions moved on to treaty change. Jose Manuel Barroso, the anglophile president of the European commission, tried to help Cameron by suggesting some language for the revised Lisbon treaty. Barroso suggested that a clause should be inserted saying that the measures under the fiscal compact must not distort the single market.

The prime minister, who started to set out his position at around 1.30am, said this did not go far enough. Within minutes Sarkozy rounded on Cameron in what were described as robust exchanges. At one point the prime minister attempted to remove any reference to the internal market from the proposed revised Lisbon treaty text. Sarkozy shot back and said that if Britain was not going to sign a treaty it could not hope to amend it.

When it became clear that Britain was going to wield its veto to block a revision of the EU treaty, there was a break at 3am for coffee and fruit salad as the treaty negotiations moved into the second phase. This was a discussion on how a treaty would be agreed by the 17 eurozone members plus any other states that wanted to sign up.

Cameron intervened to say that the institutions of the EU, such as the European commission and the European court of justice, could not be used to enforce the fiscal compact. This was challenged by Merkel, Sarkozy and Barroso.

According to senior French sources, Cameron told Merkel: "The ECJ does not belong to you." The German chancellor responded: "But we can use it anyway."

German sources said they were surprised by the British veto, although in the run-up to the summit they had received "different signals" from the British. Merkel recalled it was 20 years to the day since the EU struck the accord on monetary union in Maastricht and that even back then the British had secured their opt-out from the euro. "We always respected that and through all these years Great Britain has played a positive role."

Merkel pointed out that the UK had as much an interest as anyone in a successful single currency. "Like all the rest of us, Great Britain depends on a stable euro. We're all in the same boat."

She brushed aside British objections to using EU institutions as instruments in the new eurozone regime, saying Berlin had taken legal advice and that there would be no problem.

Cameron insisted that his relations with Sarkozy and Merkel had not been harmed. "David shared a lift with Angela after the summit broke up," one source said.

But Sarkozy moved quickly to stamp his mark on events after the meeting ended. Within five minutes the French president had walked solemnly into the French press

room to declare that the eurozone and others had been forced to agree an intergovernmental treaty after Britain had tabled unacceptable demands.

The prime minister used the 45 minutes taken up by Sarkozy's press conference to brief Nick Clegg and George Osborne, the chancellor, in separate phone calls.

William Hague, who had stayed on in Brussels after a Nato meeting, came in from his hotel to talk to the prime minister.

At 6.19am local time, Cameron appeared in the British press room to say he had no choice but to block a "treaty within a treaty" without safeguards for Britain. But he admitted there were risks.

At 6.50am the prime minister returned to the grand residence of the British "perm rep" near the Royal Palace. He was woken at 8.15am. By 8.45am he was in the dining room for a breakfast of eggs, bacon, toast, orange juice and black coffee.

At 9.15am Cameron left the residence in time for the ceremony marking Croatia's accession treaty. The prime minister had "blocked one treaty and signed another" in the space of a few hours, one source quipped.

By the close of play yesterday, British officials were even more bullish. "Market carnage is possible on Monday when they realise how peripheral this treaty is outside the formal framework of the EU," one senior figure said.

Captions:

Finland's PM, Jyrki Katainen, Nicolas Sarkozy, Angela Merkel and the European commission president, Jose Manuel Barroso Photograph: Radek Pietruszka/EPA

On the sidelines

David Cameron was accused of trying to divide and rule Germany and France. 'You can sometimes do that in the EU. But you can never do that with the euro,' an EU source said

Photograph: Yves Herman/Reuters



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 6, 2011 Tuesday

**Eurozone crisis: New treaty, new danger for Cameron as he faces down
Conservative right: PM makes clear he will table modest demands He hits back
at Duncan Smith over referendum**

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt Chief political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 810 words

David Cameron is planning to face down Tory Eurosceptics and stop short of demanding the repatriation of social and employment laws at Thursday's EU summit, which is designed to prevent the collapse of the eurozone.

As Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel called on all 27 EU leaders to agree to a revision of the Lisbon treaty in order to enforce tough new fiscal rules in the eurozone, the prime minister indicated that his main aim would be to protect the City of London.

Cameron is facing intense pressure from Eurosceptic Tories to use the EU summit to repatriate powers from Brussels.

Iain Duncan Smith, the work and pensions secretary, even suggested on Sunday that Britain should hold a referendum if EU leaders agree to "major treaty change". Under the European Union Act, passed into law in July, a referendum will be held only if significant UK powers are transferred to the EU.

One ally of Duncan Smith made clear that Eurosceptics are determined to use the negotiations this week to rebalance Britain's relationship with the EU. "We do not accept the prime minister's argument that the changes will only affect the eurozone. Of course the changes will have an impact on Britain.

"We also don't accept the prime minister's argument that we should wait for what he calls a wholesale treaty negotiation in the future to ask for the repatriation of powers. Negotiations don't come much bigger than this. We should get stuck in."

But the prime minister made clear that he would table modest demands at the EU summit, which opens in Brussels on Thursday evening.

Cameron was speaking shortly after Merkel and Sarkozy said they hoped to agree a revision of the Lisbon treaty among all EU members.

The French president and German chancellor said they were prepared to broker a deal among just the 17 members of the eurozone if the 10 "outs" - those member states outside the euro - are unable to agree. This was believed to be aimed at Cameron who has caused some alarm in Berlin and Paris by suggesting that he would demand concessions as the price for Britain's agreement.

The prime minister said he would aim to be constructive in the negotiations and would focus on safeguarding Britain's position in the single market.

"If there is a treaty at the level of 27 - if that passed powers from Britain to Brussels, there would be a referendum. If it didn't pass powers from Britain to Brussels, I would still want to make sure that British interests were pursued and there are very important things we want to safeguard, not least the single market, not least the importance of financial services and other issues too."

The prime minister added: "If there is treaty change in **Europe** then we will make sure that Britain gets something in order to enhance, protect, defend and promote our national interest in **Europe**. That is absolutely key."

The prime minister said that it was in Britain's interests for the eurozone to be stabilised. "Above all, we have to remember this. While we are not in the euro, while we are not going to join the euro, what is happening on our doorstep makes a big difference to us. We want these countries to resolve the eurozone crisis. It is having this chilling effect on our economy. The longer this crisis goes on the worse that effect is."

In a recrimination to Duncan Smith, Cameron indicated that he did not expect the negotiations to trigger a referendum. "We have legislated now so it is impossible for a British government to pass power from Britain to Brussels without asking the British people in a referendum first. As prime minister, I am not intending to pass any powers from Britain to Brussels so I don't think the issue will arise."

Downing Street expanded on his remarks when the prime minister's spokesman said that stabilising the eurozone was Britain's first priority in the negotiations. "What's in our interests? The first thing that is in our interests is that there is a stable eurozone and one that deals effectively with the debt crisis that is currently endangering the eurozone. It is in our interests to make sure that the single market is protected and that European countries deal with their underlying competitiveness issues."

Andrea Leadsom, the Tory MP who is co-chair of the all-party parliamentary group on European reform, gave a guarded welcome to Cameron's approach. Leadsom, who was one of 81 Tory MPs to rebel against the government in October to vote in favour of a referendum on British membership of the EU, said: "I agree if the government is saying now is the time to protect the City. If we are on the brink of a banking collapse it is in the UK's interests to protect the financial system (by agreeing to treaty change). But I hope to see a mark in the sand that Britain will want to see some adjustments to protect British interests. It does not need to be tub-thumping, just a mark in the sand."



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 9, 2011 Friday

Front: Cameron and Sarkozy clash as leaders wrangle over euro deal: French accused of setting Britain up as 'fall guy' in attempt to ringfence eurozone: Cameron and Sarkozy clash at euro summit

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt Ian Traynor David Gow Brussels

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 722 words

David Cameron was at the centre of a furious row with Nicolas Sarkozy early this morning after Paris tried to isolate the prime minister at the **EU** summit by suggesting that Britain is seeking to exempt the City of London from all European regulations.

In a move dismissed by officials in Brussels as an attempt to set Britain up as the fall guy, senior French figures said Cameron wanted an opt out from **EU** financial services regulation.

The French were said to have found themselves isolated in their attempt to limit an agreement on tough fiscal rules for the single currency just to the eurozone's 17 members. Britain said Sarkozy was distorting the British position, which is to ensure that changes to the eurozone do not harm the City of London.

Cameron confronted Sarkozy last night during a joint meeting with Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, shortly before the **EU's** 27 leaders met for dinner to try to hammer out an agreement to underpin new fiscal integration.

"The PM was very determined and very strong in the meeting," one British source claimed. The joint meeting took place a few hours before **EU** leaders embarked on a mammoth effort to prevent the collapse of the single currency.

The leaders, who finally started to examine how to reopen the Lisbon treaty just after 1am Brussels time, are looking at how to establish a rigorous euro stability pact with quasi-automatic penalties for fiscal sinners, more intrusive control of national budgets by **EU** bodies, and structural changes to entrench the eurozone as a much more powerful entity.

The draft conclusions for the summit said: "For the longer term, we will continue to work on how to further deepen fiscal integration so as to better reflect our degree of interdependence. This will imply more intrusive control of the national budgetary stance by the **EU**."

France, Germany and the leaders of the eurozone lined up against Cameron and his campaign to extract a price in return for agreeing to **Europe's** new "fiscal compact". Sarkozy warned earlier at a meeting of **EU** centre-right leaders in Marseille that "never has the risk of disintegration been greater" for **Europe**.

Cameron arrived in Brussels under fire from Tory Eurosceptics. As he prepared to leave for Brussels, the prime minister said he would use Britain's veto if he failed to win safeguards to protect the City and Britain's position in the single market.

Earlier, George Osborne had issued a chilling warning of the "enormous damage" that the collapse of the euro would inflict. "It would do huge damage to the British economy, and I think those who say we'd have a year or two of hardship and then bounce back out of it, may be somewhat optimistic," he told the House of Lords economic affairs committee.

Reports last night suggested that the Treasury was discussing estimates that a collapse of the euro could trigger a 7% contraction in GDP, which could cost the economy £100bn.

The European Central Bank's chief, Mario Draghi, whose institution is seen as crucial to moves to contain the sovereign debt crisis, yesterday shaved interest rates by a quarter point to 1% and sought to head off a fresh credit crunch by easing and extending the terms of its lending to European banks.

Merkel is adamant that rules for the eurozone should be established in a revision to the Lisbon treaty agreed by all 27 member states. This is being resisted by the Irish Republic, which says that a referendum would then have to be called.

Sarkozy received a blow when **EU** lawyers ruled that imposing automatic sanctions on budget sinners are illegal if approved by only the 17 eurozone members.

Commission and council lawyers delivered their verdict in overnight discussions. Their ruling strengthens the UK by making plain that this German demand can only be approved by all 27.

It is understood that Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council, will try to win Cameron's support by:

- * Using the language of existing **EU** treaties to make clear that the single market will not be undermined by any changes to the eurozone. The draft summit conclusions said: "We agree to use more actively enhanced co-operation on matters which are essential for the smooth functioning of the euro area, without undermining the internal market."

- * Offering Britain assurances that its opt out from the working time directive will be respected.



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 8, 2011 Thursday

Front: Crunch time for Cameron on Europe - at home and abroad: Backbench MPs raise pressure for treaty referendum: Senior Brussels officials say PM's tactics 'obnoxious'

BYLINE: Nicholas Watt Ian Traynor

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 827 words

David Cameron arrives in Brussels this evening for a European summit, buffeted by the conflicting pressures of a Eurosceptic cabinet rebellion over an **EU** referendum and increasing isolation in key capitals across **Europe**.

Tory MPs on the right met last night to discuss tactics after the Eurosceptic Northern Ireland secretary, Owen Paterson, challenged Downing Street by declaring that a revision of the Lisbon treaty would have to be put to the British people in a referendum.

Paterson's call, echoed by London's mayor, Boris Johnson, yesterday, runs counter to a law passed in July which says that a referendum will be held only if significant UK powers are transferred to the **EU**. Downing Street says that any agreement at the crucial two-day **EU** summit, designed to save the single currency from collapse, will not involve the transfer of UK powers.

Amid irritation with the Northern Ireland secretary in No 10, Paterson's allies in the three main groups on the Tory right - the No Turning Back Group, the 92 Group, and the Cornerstone Group - held a joint meeting where they said Cameron must achieve "clear gains" at the EU summit.

"We are on manoeuvres," one senior figure said. It became clear that Iain Duncan Smith, the former Tory leader, had approved the intervention by Paterson, a longstanding ally. In what was described as a co-ordinated move, following a call by Duncan Smith on Sunday for a referendum, Paterson told the Spectator: "If there was a major fundamental change in our relationship, emerging from the creation of a new bloc which would be effectively a new country from which we were excluded, then I think inevitably there would be huge pressure for a referendum."

The prime minister will tonight join the EU's 26 other leaders in Brussels as they examine proposals to revise the Lisbon treaty to ensure that joint fiscal rules for the eurozone are placed on a legal footing. Cameron, who said he was prepared to veto any treaty revision if British demands were not met, has infuriated senior figures in Brussels, Paris and Berlin with what are regarded as hardball tactics.

In Brussels, senior officials in the European commission and in member countries describe Cameron's tactics and aims as "obnoxious and disruptive". A senior German official warned that a Cameron campaign to exempt the City of London from EU financial market regulation could open a can of worms, encouraging sundry other countries to table their own demands, and derailing the aim of a quick rejig of the Lisbon treaty to rewrite the euro rule book.

The negotiations take place after Germany and France unveiled radical and divisive proposals to put the euro on a new footing. If agreed, the Franco-German pact would entrench a new era of two-speed **Europe**, likely to make the eurozone the centre of policy and decision-making. In a joint letter, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy demanded a euro rulebook aimed at establishing a "fiscal union" among the 17 eurozone countries, whose leaders would hold monthly summits during the crisis.

The prime minister, who faced a call from the rightwinger Andrew Rosindell to show "some bulldog spirit in Brussels", told MPs that he would be seeking safeguards for the City of London.

Accusing Brussels of "continued regulatory" attacks on the City, he said: "I think there'll be an opportunity, particularly if there is a treaty at 27 (the summit meeting of

all **EU** members), to ensure there are some safeguards - not just for the industry, but to give us greater power and control in terms of regulation here in the Commons."

But Cameron, who was challenged on **Europe** by successive Tory MPs, indicated that his first concern was to help stabilise the eurozone. "The British national interest absolutely means we need to help resolve this crisis in the eurozone. It's freezing the British economy, just as it's freezing economies across **Europe**."

Sources said the negotiations could go one of three ways:

- * A revision of the Lisbon treaty agreed by all 27 **EU** leaders. This is Angela Merkel's preferred route because it would guarantee that the institutions of the **EU** - the European commission and the European court of justice - could enforce the fiscal sanctions on the 17 eurozone members. This is also Cameron's preferred route because it would hand Britain a clear veto.

- * A treaty agreed among the 17 eurozone states only, in which the institutions of the **EU** enforce sanctions. Britain would have less leverage in such negotiations, but sources believe it would still have to be consulted, because all 27 **EU** members would have to agree to allow the institutions to play a role. Cameron is prepared to allow the negotiations to proceed on this basis if he fails to win concessions in a wider treaty negotiation.

- * A treaty among the 17 eurozone members without the **EU** institutions. This is unacceptable to France and Germany, though Britain is highlighting this possibility to show what could happen if Cameron's demands are ignored.



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 12, 2011 Monday

Front: Europe in crisis: Clegg lashes out at Cameron and vows to rebuild ties with Europe: 'Bitterly disappointed' deputy PM joins Lib Dem chorus of outrage at EU veto

BYLINE: Allegra Stratton Political correspondent

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 853 words

Nick Clegg has promised to rebuild the government's shattered relationship with the rest of **Europe** and risked opening a coalition rift by going public with his "bitter disappointment" at David Cameron's decision to block a new **EU** agreement.

The deputy prime minister said Britain risked becoming "isolated and marginalised" and, along with senior Liberal Democrats, spent the weekend contacting European leaders in a "strategy for re-engagement to recover lost ground", according to a senior government source.

Several high-profile figures, including the former leader Paddy Ashdown and the party president, Tim Farron, joined Clegg in a wide-ranging attack on Cameron's resort to a British veto.

Clegg will hold a meeting with business leaders this week to convince them "they had not completely had the door shut", an aide said. Many fear that the 26 **EU** countries

who agreed on greater fiscal integration last week will now be able to strike deals that affect British banks and firms.

The business secretary, Vince Cable, who warned the prime minister in Cabinet last Monday against the strategy he went on to follow in Brussels, is concerned that global companies including banks and pension funds will now shun investments in the UK, having previously favoured it as a "gateway" to the continent.

Clegg was biting in his critique of developments and spoke of correcting the path chosen by Cameron by getting "back into the saddle". "I'm bitterly disappointed by the outcome of last week's summit, precisely because I think now there is a danger that the UK will be isolated and marginalised within the European Union," he told the BBC's Andrew Marr Show.

Describing his reaction when Cameron phoned him at 4am on Friday with news of the veto, the Lib Dem leader said: "I said this was bad for Britain. I made it clear that it was untenable for me to welcome it."

Tense discussions took place within and between the coalition parties yesterday, focusing on the slim chance that Britain could be back "in the room", if not involved, in talks on the deal.

Yesterday Clegg indicated he would be working in this area, hardening his rhetoric from the conciliatory tone he used immediately after the deal. Echoing the former Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, he said: "I will fight, fight and fight again for Britain's long-term interests to make sure they are enhanced and not undermined."

The foreign secretary, William Hague, took issue with Clegg's description, telling Sky News: "We are not marginalised, I don't agree. I don't use the terminology 'two-speed **Europe**' - that implies there is one group getting on with something more quickly than another group." Senior Conservatives say the Lib Dem obsession with being "in the room" is facile.

No 10 sources were more conciliatory, saying the Tories would give the Lib Dems a chance to express their dismay and allow Clegg some room to deal with backbench and activist anger.

A spokesman for Cameron said Clegg's comments may have been addressed to Conservative Eurosceptics. He said: "His comments were a shot across the bows to them that this is not step one to withdrawal which also remains our position. However it's no secret there are differences of approach."

Clegg's aides say he spoke out because he had been alarmed by the language of Tories who see the veto as a precursor to eventual withdrawal from **Europe**. Clegg said those welcoming the summit's outcome were "spectacularly misguided".

"There's nothing bulldog about Britain hovering somewhere in the mid-Atlantic, not standing tall in **Europe**, not being taken seriously in Washington," he said, warning that the UK was "retreating further to the margins" of **Europe**.

"A Britain that leaves the **EU** will be considered irrelevant by Washington and will be a pygmy in the world when I want us to stand tall," he said.

Clegg said if he had been at the summit then "of course things would have been different". He added: "I'm not under the same constraints from my parliamentary party that clearly David Cameron is."

Lib Dems pleaded for the prime minister to avoid triumphalism in his statement to the Commons today after a weekend of celebrations by Eurosceptic backbenchers. A Downing Street source said Cameron's address would be consistent with the calm tone of his comments so far.

According to one source, the pro-European justice minister Ken Clarke, due to meet Cameron for dinner this evening, has discussed resigning. Clarke aides deny that. Another suggestion that Cable might also resign was also denied as "untrue".

There was support for the prime minister in a Populus poll for the Times which showed that 57% felt he was right to use the veto while only 14% disagreed with the move.

While 56% of voters felt the UK would lose influence in the European Union, only 24% felt that it would weaken the prospect of economic recovery in Britain.

Some 44% believed that his actions had protected the City of London's position as an international financial centre.

Captions:

Nick Clegg on the Andrew Marr Show: the deputy prime minister recounted telling David Cameron that the **EU** veto was bad for Britain Photograph: Jeff Overs/BBC



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Front: European Union: The two-speed Europe is here, with UK alone in the slow lane: 'Europe has many rooms,' Cameron said. It looks as if Britain is in the basement, if not an outside WC, says Jonathan Freedland

BYLINE: Jonathan Freedland

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 891 words

In a year that had already claimed an oversized chunk in the history books, **Europe's** leaders gathered in Brussels to grab some more. For 9 December 2011 might well be recorded in the annals as the moment when the nations of **Europe** came together to take a first step towards the long-cherished dream of political union - and as the moment when Britain began the long, lonely walk away.

Of course there was no formal treaty inaugurating a United States of **Europe**; indeed, thanks to Britain, there was no formal treaty at all. Instead, the hours of bleary-eyed, caffeinated negotiation yielded an agreement on a "fiscal compact", a new arrangement that will see the 17 countries of the eurozone, backed by the nine states who remain on the outside, setting budgets together rather than alone.

Now the likes of Greece and Portugal will have to seek approval for how much they tax and spend from their "partners" - or, simply translated, Germany. Fittingly, Angela Merkel hailed the agreement as a "breakthrough toward the stability union, the fiscal union which will be implemented, step by step, over the next few years".

For France and Germany, this is the "ever closer union" of **Europe's** founding dreams. For them, the creation of the single currency was one large step towards that goal; now, paradoxically, a crisis in the currency has forced the next giant leap. But the direction could not be clearer. Call it what you like - integration or harmonisation, compact or union - the idea is the same: a **Europe** in which national sovereignty gradually fades away. As Der Spiegel magazine put it yesterday, "**Europe** is on the path toward becoming a federal country".

As so often before, there was one obstacle: Britain. Before the summit, some hoped David Cameron might emerge as the leader of the 10 non-eurozone nations, chief of the "outs". By dawn, he was one of a gang of four: the Czech Republic, Hungary, the UK and Sweden, the catchily-named Chuks. By lunchtime even that hope had evaporated. It was 26 to one and those sceptics who cannot discuss **Europe** without resorting to wartime imagery were recalling the Battle of Britain era cartoon depicting a solitary Tommy above the caption, 'Very well, alone.'

To reinforce the impression, the rolling news channels played footage of Cameron apparently snubbed in his attempt to shake hands with Nicolas Sarkozy. By wielding his veto, Cameron had denied the 26 the right to enshrine their new arrangement in a treaty: instead it will be a mere "pact".

Back home that was greeted as a famous victory. The Conservative party in parliament - now, thanks to the 2010 intake, solidly and fervently Eurosceptic - promised the returning Cameron a "hero's welcome", reward for heeding their earlier warnings not to do a Neville Chamberlain. His standing among his MPs, some still unimpressed that he failed to win an outright Commons majority, has never been higher.

Cameron insisted he was not isolated, that this was simply one club within the club that he would not be joining. Britain would still remain in Nato and the single market. "**Europe** has many rooms," he said. The trouble is, it now looks as if Britain - one against 26 - is in the basement, if not an outside WC.

For his fellow European leaders, this was a moment of truth. After years of swerving round the core question - are you truly committed to **Europe?** - Britain was finally forced to give an answer. And its answer was No. Even Margaret Thatcher had avoided doing that, threatening but never using her veto. Lord Kerr, a former Foreign Office mandarin, was insistent: "She always said, we had to be in the room, we had to be there." John Major likewise. But not Cameron.

The official explanation is that France and the others refused Britain's request for special "safeguards" for the City. But that's not entirely convincing, and not only to those who reckon tighter regulation is exactly what the City needs. In practice, there was no way the eurozone would ever enforce, say, a Robin Hood tax that would instantly make London the obvious haven for investors. In other words, if Cameron had sincerely wanted to negotiate a compromise, he could have.

More likely is that he didn't want to. If he'd struck a deal, that would have meant a new treaty, entailing a Commons vote and, given his past promises, a referendum. That was the last thing he needed. His sceptic MPs would have turned on him, either defeating him in the Commons or turning a referendum into an in-or-out vote on EU membership. It would also have rent asunder his coalition with the Euro-enthusiast Lib Dems.

The result is that **Europe** is advancing towards its integrated destiny, with Britain in its rear-view mirror. The two-speed **Europe** has arrived, with Britain in a slow lane of one. Whatever the letter of the rules, the reality is that big decisions affecting Britain's economy will now be taken in rooms in which Britain is not present and has no say. Soon, foreign-owned banks may wonder what sense it makes to be based in London, out on the margins. Cameron and his party are toasting what feels like a victory. In time, it may come to taste like defeat.

Captions:

On the edge of the picture

Nicolas Sarkozy congratulates Jadranka Kosor on Croatia's accession to the EU in 2013. But a decision to use his veto left David Cameron isolated Photograph:

John Thys/AFP/Getty Images



The Guardian - Final Edition

December 3, 2011 Saturday

Front: Merkel takes action to stop euro collapse: German chancellor demands budget controls in decisive week for currency

BYLINE: Ian Traynor Brussels Andrew Sparrow Larry Elliott

SECTION: GUARDIAN HOME PAGES; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 713 words

Angela Merkel yesterday demanded tougher control over the tax-and-spend policies of Germany's single-currency partners at the start of a make-or-break five days for the euro.

Seeking to halt the single currency's drift towards collapse, the German chancellor finally took decisive action to calm the financial markets when she said it was time to stop talking about a fiscal union and start creating one. Merkel said, however, that negotiations to secure greater centralised control over the budgets of the 17 members of the eurozone could not be rushed and would involve a risky renegotiation of the Lisbon treaty.

Interest rates on Italian and Spanish government borrowing fell sharply and markets rose on hopes that politicians are taking the euro crisis seriously and have woken up to the potential damage that a breakup might inflict. But as Merkel said, the process could take years, and could still be stymied by politicians from any of the 17 eurozone countries wanting to retain control of their budgets.

David Cameron, for whom the talks over closer fiscal union threaten to be politically perilous, was in Paris for talks with the French president, Nicolas Sarkozy. The prime minister, concerned about the impact of a chaotic breakup of the euro on an already fragile UK economy, said he was not opposed to Merkel's plan.

France and Germany will seek to draw up a more detailed blueprint at a summit on Monday after Merkel sketched out her proposal to the Bundestag yesterday, while the US treasury secretary, Tim Geithner, will demonstrate Washington's concern over the risk to the global economy posed by the crisis in monetary union when he makes his fourth visit to **Europe** in six months.

Sarkozy is reluctant to cede too much control over the ability of Paris to set its own budget, and some analysts warned that next week's European heads of government summit in Brussels could end with only the flimsiest of agreements.

Chris Iggo, head of fixed-income investments at AXA, said: "The outcome to the crisis is breakup or makeup. The makeup option involves throwing in the towel on the idea that national sovereignty can be fully preserved in a monetary union."

Merkel is pushing for a new enforceable regime under which countries using the euro would ultimately need to sacrifice budgetary and fiscal powers to a European authority that would monitor and then either endorse or veto budgets. It would penalise those whose debt levels are deemed to be destabilising the currency. She said, however, that there was no quick fix to a crisis that had taken years to develop, and stressed there was no danger for German budgetary sovereignty.

The thrust of Merkel's argument is not so much about settling the immediate crisis, but installing a longer-term system to ensure it can never happen again. The Lisbon treaty would need to be revised to make that possible. But if that proved too difficult, she added in remarks that will resonate in Downing Street, the eurozone leaders could take matters into their own hands outside the **EU** treaty.

An **EU** treaty negotiation would present Cameron with the perilous task of trying to prevent a rupture between his pro-European Lib Dem coalition partners and the increasingly impatient Eurosceptic wing of the Conservative party.

Nick Clegg, the deputy prime minister, described Merkel's speech as a welcome development, but in Paris, where he had a 90-minute lunch with Sarkozy to discuss next week's **EU** summit, Cameron struck a more guarded note. He said the most important thing was for the European Central Bank to take a more robust stance in

defence of the euro and for **Europe** to become more competitive. If there were to be an **EU** treaty change, his priority would be to "protect and enhance Britain's interests".

No 10 says it accepts that the eurozone needs a "new set of rules" and, with a treaty negotiation looking increasingly imminent, Cameron has said his priorities in those talks would include protecting the single market and the City of London and preventing the 17 countries in the eurozone ganging up against the interests of the 10 **EU** countries who are outside it.

But some Tory MPs want to use any renegotiation to demand a wholesale repatriation of powers from the **EU** - a position that is unacceptable to the Lib Dems.



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Correction Appended

World economy: Crunch point: Ten days to save the euro or see the EU disintegrate, ministers are warned

BYLINE: David Gow Brussels Tania Branigan Beijing

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LENGTH: 1131 words

Europe's leaders were faced yesterday with a stark deadline of 10 days to save the euro or face the disintegration of the European Union itself.

The warning from Olli Rehn, **EU** economic and monetary affairs commissioner, came after central banks intervened to prevent a complete freezing-over of the west's financial sector because of the politicians' continued failure to resolve the sovereign debt crisis.

EU finance ministers were told bluntly that, with eurozone unemployment at 16.3m or 10.3% - the highest level since the single currency was introduced - an unchecked debt and banking crisis would push **Europe** into a deep slump and drag the rest of the world with it.

Herman Van Rompuy, the European Council president, charged with preparing yet another make-or-break **EU** summit next week, said: "The trouble has become systemic. We are witnessing a fully blown confidence crisis."

The eurozone's three most prominent leaders - Nicolas Sarkozy, Angela Merkel and Mario Monti - are due to set out over the next five days how they envisage **Europe's** political class regaining supremacy over volatile but dominant financial markets - and restoring confidence among panicky investors.

Tonight the French president will set out his case for a tight fiscal union in a speech in Toulon and the German chancellor will follow suit a day later with her basic plans for a "stability union".

On Monday Monti, Italy's new technocrat premier, will spell out euros 25bn of budget savings, including a freeze on index-linked rises in pensions and cuts in deputies' allowances, next year.

After day-long talks among the **EU's** 27 finance ministers, Jacek Rostowski, Polish finance minister and current chairman of Ecofin, the economic and finance ministers' group, said the 8-9 December summit would have to be rapidly followed by "extremely forceful" action to stabilise markets.

Anders Borg, the Swedish finance minister, said much depended on Rome. "I think the market will not provide for honeymoons. They need to bring out all the skeletons so we can see a step forward when it comes to credibility in their debt market."

Before the summit the European Central Bank (ECB) is widely expected to deliver a further cut in interest rates to 1% and/or more "non-standard" measures to extend loans to banks to last up to three years. "The rise in unemployment confirms that the financial crisis is reaching the real economy," said Jacques Cailloux, chief European economist at Royal Bank of Scotland.

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development on Monday slashed its eurozone growth forecast from 2% to 0.2% next year; other analysts say the area is already in recession.

The ECB - and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) - are central to the deliberations of EU leaders, including finance ministers. The aim is to reach a consensus by next week that the lending resources of the IMF will be extended so it can help boost the financial firewall against contagion to Italy and Spain of the main bailout fund, the EFSF.

It is by no means clear how this will be done and, critically, what role the ECB should play in this process - but yesterday Wolfgang Schauble, the German finance minister, lifted a Berlin veto on an extended IMF role - provided the Bundesbank agrees. He said: "We are prepared to increase the resources of the IMF through bilateral loans. If the IMF wants to widen its freedom to take action by increasing the special drawing rights (SDRs) then we are prepared to talk about that."

That would avoid direct ECB intervention but other finance ministers such as Belgium's Didier Reynders are openly talking about a strong link between IMF and ECB action to tackle the crisis.

Elena Salgado, the outgoing Spanish economy minister, said: "Given the IMF's role to date in **Europe**, it wouldn't be unreasonable to involve it more."

Sarkozy and Merkel are both expected to insist that this can only happen with strict agreement to enforce budgetary discipline - enshrined in national constitutions - and impose sanctions on recalcitrant sinners. Merkel wants six months at most in which to agree limited treaty changes.

Rehn took time out from the talks to tell MEPs: "The EMU (economic and monetary union) will either have to be completed through much deeper integration or we will have to accept a gradual disintegration of over half a century of European integration."

Growing alarm that the European debt crisis is dragging down prospects for the world economy was underlined as the Chinese Central Bank eased lending requirements, in the clearest signal that policy makers have switched course from curbing inflation to shoring up growth.

The surprise announcement of a cut in the reserve ratio requirement - the amount that banks must hold relative to the amount they lend - came shortly before other central banks around the world took co-ordinated global action to avert a fresh credit crunch.

In China businesses are already complaining they have been squeezed by declining exports and a shortage of credit. The economy is now growing at its weakest rate since 2009. Analysts had anticipated the decision, but did not expect it to come so soon. The 50-basis-point cut, from a record high of 21.5% to 21%, is the first after almost three years of increases, although China used other measures to stimulate credit when the global economic crisis hit in 2008. It will come into force on 5 December.

"The public nature of this move . . . is a clear signal that Beijing has decided that the balance of risks now lies with growth, rather than inflation," wrote Stephen Green, Standard Chartered's China macroeconomist, in a note. "This is a big move."

Growth slowed to 9.1% in the third quarter, from 9.7% in the first quarter; the lowest rate since the second quarter of 2009. Inflation, previously the core concern for Beijing, has fallen back from a three-year high of 6.5% in July to 5.5% last month. Analysts suggested that **Europe's** woes had accelerated the cut. "Beijing has been more than a little surprised by the speed with which things in **Europe** have been deteriorating," said Michael Pettis, a professor at Peking University.

The growth rate in India has also slowed sharply, according to new data released yesterday. The rate of expansion dipped below 7% in the past three months - a level last seen in 2009 when India felt the impact of the global financial crisis. Asia's third-largest economy had been targeting a growth rate of more than 10%.

Captions:

Herman Van Rompuy, the European Council president, is preparing for yet another make-or-break summit next week

Economic affairs commissioner Olli Rehn set out a choice between deeper integration and gradual disintegration

Anders Borg, the Swedish finance minister, said much depended on Italy, which should 'bring out all the skeletons'

CORRECTION-DATE: December 2, 2011

CORRECTION: Photographs were also mixed up in a spread about the world economy. The pictures of the Swedish finance minister, Anders Borg, and the European commissioner for economic affairs, Olli Rehn, were the wrong way round in early editions (Ten days to save the euro or see the EU disintegrate, ministers are warned, 1 December, page 29).

David Beckham backs remain 'for future of our children'

Former England captain comes out in favour of EU membership as Leave.EU highlights wife Victoria's Eurosceptic interview from 20 years ago

David Beckham has said he backs a vote to remain in the European Union, saying he wants his children to grow up “facing the problems of the world together and not alone”.

The former England captain said he had played his best years at Manchester United, with great British players such as Ryan Giggs, Paul Scholes, Nicky Butt and the Neville brothers, but they had been a “better and more successful team because of a Danish goalkeeper, Peter Schmeichel, the leadership of an Irishman, Roy Keane, and the skill of a Frenchman in Eric Cantona”.

Beckham said his experience of playing internationally had also given him an appreciation of European cultures.

“I was also privileged to play and live in Madrid, Milan and Paris with teammates from all around Europe and the world,” he wrote in a statement posted on the Stronger In campaign's Facebook page.

“Those great European cities and their passionate fans welcomed me and my family and gave us the opportunity to enjoy their unique and inspiring cultures and people.

“We live in a vibrant and connected world where together as a people we are strong. For our children and their children we should be facing the problems of the world together and not alone. For these reasons, I am voting to remain.”

Beckham’s defence of the EU might once have caused consternation over the family breakfast table. In an interview with the Spectator two decades ago, Beckham’s wife, Victoria, then an active member of the Spice Girls, expressed deep scepticism about the EU.

“It’s been a terrible trick on the British people,” she told Simon Sebag Montefiore in 1996. “The Euro-bureaucrats are destroying every bit of national identity and individuality. Let me give you an example – those new passports are revolting, an insult to our kingdom. We must keep our national individuality.”

Her views then have been used in Leave.EU social media campaigning, the unofficial Brexit group run by the Ukip donor Arron Banks.

On Tuesday, Victoria Beckham made it clear that she supported her husband, saying she was “so proud” of him and condemning the Leave.EU campaign for using her decades-old comments.

In a post on Instagram, accompanied by the Stronger In logo, she wrote: “In response to the @leave.eu campaign who have today tried to put a spin on quotes made 20 years ago about keeping or losing the pound, I have to say strongly my comments were not about this referendum and should not be misused in this way!

“I believe in my country, I believe in a future for my children where we are stronger together and I support the #remain campaign.”

Victoria Beckham (@victoriabeckham)

So proud of David #remain GB x vb <https://t.co/WUrIPnkhqb>

June 21, 2016

Leading leave campaigner Boris Johnson tried to play down the significance of David Beckham's announcement, pointing out that the Brexit side, too, had backing from former England football stars.

Challenged on LBC radio over whether the declaration was a blow, the former mayor of London replied that his side had "Sol Campbell. John Barnes".

Campbell, the former England defender, wrote in an article for the Mail on Sunday in April that the UK leaving the EU would be a boost for homegrown football talent.

"Making the changes we need means taking back control of the game we love," he wrote. "The Premier League is in danger of becoming a free-for-all because, along with the star players, we are seeing teams load up with too many mediocre overseas footballers, especially from Europe, crowding out young English and British talent.

"Because of European rules on freedom of movement, it is virtually impossible for us to get a proper grip on the situation."

On Monday, the Premier League boss, Richard Scudamore, backed remain, citing the support of all 20 clubs in the league. "Nobody bears the scars more than me of having to go and negotiate in Brussels and try and organise things a little bit in our interests in terms of the European machine," he said.

"Ultimately you can't break away, you can't just pull out, you have to get in and negotiate and try and organise and try and influence."

Farage dons the tinfoil as his 'Brex appeal' begins to falter

Out-strategised by metaphors and defeated by homophones, Ukip leader's statesman-in-waiting software is malfunctioning. As someone who has failed to get elected to parliament seven times at current tally, Nigel Farage would not be in the House of Commons for the tributes to Jo Cox. Instead, the Ukip leader opted to tour the airwaves, where his statesman-in-waiting software appeared to be malfunctioning. Asked by BBC Radio 4's Today programme to address widespread revulsion at his "Breaking point" poster last week, Nigel suggested the killing of the Labour MP

hours later made it “unfortunate timing”. Agreed. It would have gone over a lot better in 1936.

Moves in the financial and betting markets would appear to indicate this is squeaky bum time for the leave campaign, particularly Farage’s provisional wing of it. Is Nigel going rogue? Ancient referendum campaigning law declares that if you can’t spot the liability at the table, then it’s you. Farage has spent significant portions of the past 24 hours denying he is a liability – “I wouldn’t have thought so, would you?” he wondered of the BBC – and attempting to cast his allies in the official leave campaign as more unpleasant than himself.

“Michael Gove had better look at his own posters.” Boris Johnson’s plan for a migrant amnesty for those in the country for more than 12 years was “a strange thing to say”. Never mind getting his country back: you get the feeling Nigel would currently settle for getting his campaign back.

“I still think we’re going to win,” he declared on Today, sounding distinctly like someone whose certainties in this regard have a half-life slightly shorter than some of the more violently unstable radioisotopes. Even homophones have it in for him. As he insisted on LBC: “Nothing I said has been inciteful.” Nigel increasingly seems out-strategised by his own metaphors. Asked again to paint a picture of post-Brexit politics, he said of Ukip: “We effectively will be like the canaries in the mineshaft.” Does Nigel know what happens to canaries in this line of work? Perhaps someone needs to break it to him: they don’t go to live on a farm.

Among Nigel’s bugbears on Monday was the defection to remain of Sayeeda Warsi. Lady Warsi is just the latest of what you should think of as The Manchurian Remainers. These are the people implanted by the forces of remain, to be activated at opportune moments of their controller’s choosing. In The Manchurian Candidate movie, you may recall, the trigger for activation was a Queen of Diamonds playing card. In the referendum campaign, it seems to be wilful lies sprayed on to the side of buses in two-foot high letters, or openly racist posters. When the MP and doctor Sarah Wollaston crossed over to the remain campaign, Farage’s former aide explained: “Was always gonna happen. No 10 planted a few Remainers in Brexit in order to get these defection headlines.”

Today was the turn of Nigel to don the tinfoil: “This is the biggest put-up job I have ever seen,” he reasoned mildly of Warsi’s announcement, adding elsewhere that her change of sides was “a typical No 10 put-up job.” Mm, cos they love Sayeeda Warsi in No 10.

On LBC, one phone-in caller even declined to acknowledge the malarial majesty of his flotilla last week, confronting Farage instead with a detailed attack on his poor record on standing up for the interests of British fishermen in the European parliament. Now irrevocably a post-fact politician, Farage countered with a lengthy digression based on his being a “keen angler”. “What I tried to do [with the flotilla],” he eventually explained, “along with a guy called Bob Spink, is give these people a voice”. And as a veteran of the flotilla battle, I can confirm that a banner reading “Honest people for an honest living” was indeed being held by Bob Spink, who once mistakenly claimed on a job application to have been a government minister.

Staying with employment prospects, it does appear to be weighing on Nigel’s mind that he may be on the point of experiencing what Spinal Tap’s David St Hubbins once euphemised as “a great freeing up of time”. What will he do if he loses? “I don’t know,” he mused uncomfortably on LBC. “I’ve spent so much of my life building up to this moment. Perhaps I’ll go and get a proper job. I think I’m a bit more qualified for that than most people in this campaign.”

All being well, of course, the CV will not need to be dusted down. Asked for details on Britain in the event of a Brexit vote on Thursday, Farage appeared for all the world to be channelling Ron Manager: “We’ll all feel half an inch taller, and just a bit prouder of ourselves.”

Half-an-inches and just-a-bits – the irrational metrics of the leave campaign. The paradox of Take Back Control is that it requires a surrender. Last week, the Sun’s dreamy splash headline asked voters to “beLEAVE”. Brexit’s emotional; it’s a movement; it’s a state of mind; it’s listening to your heart. Brexit’s a sober two looking like a drunk nine. Rhetorically speaking, I can only refer you to the words of the bartender in the world cinema classic Coyote Ugly: “Did you ever wake up sober after a one-night stand, and the person you’re next to is layin’ on your arm, and they’re so ugly, you’d rather chew off your arm than risk waking them? That’s coyote ugly.” If leave wins, Britain will wake up to find the Brex appeal of Nigel Farage farting expectantly under its duvet.

JK Rowling condemns 'ugly' rhetoric of EU referendum campaign

Harry Potter author says she fears retreat into individualism after one of ‘most divisive political campaigns ever waged’

JK Rowling says she does not believe all leave supporters are racist bigots.

Photograph: Reuters

Brexit

JK Rowling condemns 'ugly' rhetoric of EU referendum campaign

Harry Potter author says she fears retreat into individualism after one of ‘most divisive political campaigns ever waged’

JK Rowling has said the EU referendum rhetoric has been “uglier than any I can remember in my lifetime”, urging voters to reject the depiction of the union as a faceless monster.

Writing on her personal website, the Harry Potter author, who was an outspoken opponent of independence during the Scottish referendum, said the EU referendum campaign had been “one of the most divisive and bitter political campaigns ever waged” and made her consider how fairytale villains had been created by political storytellers.

“I’m not an expert on much, but I do know how to create a monster,” she wrote, citing Hannibal Lecter, Big Brother and her creation Lord Voldemort as “simultaneously inhuman and superhuman and that is what frightens us most”.

“For some on the leave side, the EU is not merely imperfect, or in need of improvement: it is villainous,” she said. “The union that was born out of a collective desire never to see another war in Europe is depicted as an Orwellian monolith, Big Brotheresque in its desire for control.”

Rowling said she did not believe all who supported Brexit were racist bigots, calling that view “shameful”. However, she said it was equally nonsensical to pretend racists

and bigots were not flocking to the leave cause, or that they were not, in some instances, directing it. “For some of us, that fact alone is enough to give us pause,” she said.

The author has previously been a financial backer of political groups, donating £1m to the Better Together campaign against Scottish independence , and also gave £4,000 to Tom Watson’s deputy Labour leadership campaign.

Rowling cited a poster promoted last week by the Ukip leader, Nigel Farage, which depicted a queue of refugees on the border of Slovenia under the caption Breaking Point, saying it was “an almost exact duplicate of propaganda used by the Nazis”.

She characterised the leave campaign as “embrace the rage and trust your guts, which Nigel Farage undoubtedly hopes contains a suspicion of brown people, an unthinking jingoism and an indifference to the warnings of history”.

Rowling said she had been worried by strident nationalism across Europe and in the US, saying the US Republican candidate Donald Trump was a “fascist in all but name ... the temperament of an unstable nightclubbouncer, jeers at violence when it breaks out at his rallies and wears his disdain for women and minorities with pride”.

The author – who has French heritage through her mother, lived in Portugal and studied French and German – called herself “a mongrel product of this European continent”. She said crossing the Channel without a visa felt like “I might not be in my house, but I’m still in my hometown”.

Rowling said she feared a “retreat into selfish and insecure individualism” despite genuine threats to Europe. She said: “When the bonds that tie us are so powerful, when we have come so far together ... how can we hope to conquer the enormous challenges of terrorism and climate change without cooperation and collaboration?”

The EU, Rowling said, was a “human union” which was imperfect. “From friendships, marriages, families and workplaces, all the way up to political parties, governments and cultural economic unions, there will be flaws and disagreements.

“Because we’re human. Because we’re imperfect. So why bother building these ambitious alliances and communities? Because they protect and empower us, because they enable bigger and better achievements than we can manage alone. We should be

proud of our enduring desire to join together, seeking better, safer, fairer lives, for ourselves and for millions of others.”

Rowling had previously tweeted to her 7 million followers that she was considering wading into the referendum debate, asking in a Twitter poll whether she should write on jobs and security or racism and bigotry, also giving followers the option to vote for her not to write the piece.

“Not do it, move to France,” was the option most followers advised her to take.

Michael Gove's father denies his company was destroyed by EU policies

Ernest Gove says he sold fish processing firm in Aberdeen voluntarily, contradicting son's claims

Michael Gove's father has contradicted claims made by his son that the family's fish processing firm in Aberdeen was destroyed by the European Union's fisheries policies.

Ernest Gove told the Guardian that he sold the business voluntarily because the fishing industry in Aberdeen was being hit by a range of different factors. These included competition for space in the port from North Sea oil vessels, the Icelandic cod wars, dockworkers' strikes and new 200-mile limits to control over-fishing.

Michael Gove has said in speeches and television interviews that his father's firm “went to the wall” because of the EU's fisheries policies, and that the common fisheries policy “destroyed” it.

Ernest Gove told the Guardian that he did believe the industry in Scotland “more or less collapsed down” after the EU became involved in fisheries policy, but he said he sold his firm voluntarily, as a going concern. “It wasn't any hardship or things like that. I just decided to call it a day and sold up my business and went on to work with someone else,” he said.

“[I] couldn't see any future in it, that type of thing, the business that I had, so I wasn't going to go into all the trouble of having hardship. I just decided to sell up and get a job with someone else. That was all.”

The cabinet minister's attacks on the common fisheries policy (CFP) have intensified as the battle to win the EU referendum has approached a climax. Nigel Farage led a protest by fishermen on the Thames that dominated referendum coverage on Wednesday. A second anti-EU flotilla is due to sail down the Clyde into Glasgow on Friday.

Michael Gove directly linked his father's business problems with the EU in a primetime Sky News interview on 3 June, when he said the EU had damaged the economy. "I know myself, from my own background," he said. "I know the European Union depresses employment and destroys jobs. My father had a fishing business in Aberdeen destroyed by the European Union and the common fisheries policy."

That theme was also central to a BBC News profile of Michael Gove at home with his parents in Aberdeen by the BBC political editor Laura Kuenssberg, broadcast last Sunday. The package stated that he had seen "his dad's fish merchant business go to the wall", an event his family blamed solely on the EU.

Ernest Gove told the BBC the CFP "ruined the Scottish fishing industry because it just went downhill". However, the report offered no evidence or information to link that statement to the family firm's fate.

When the Guardian approached Michael Gove for comment about his father's remarks, a clarification was released. Ernest Gove said he would be voting leave on 23 June and was proud of his son "for standing up for all the folk who lost their jobs because of Europe".

"I don't know what this reporter is going on about," Ernest Gove added in a statement. "Everybody in the north-east knows it was Europe that did such damage to the fish trade. The common fisheries policy was a disaster, not just for Aberdeen, but all of Scotland. There wasn't any future for my business. It closed as a direct result of Europe."

A spokesman for Michael Gove added: "It is well documented how the EU and the CFP destroyed the fishing industry, particularly in the north-east of Scotland. EE Gove and Sons was one of the companies directly affected. It closed as a result of the damage inflicted on the fishing industry by the EU."

Gove brought up his father's fisheries business during a BBC Question Time debate, saying again it had had to close because of the common fisheries policy. He reacted angrily to a question about his father's comments to the Guardian, claiming words were put in his mouth and accusing the media of trying to belittle the closure.

Gove said: "He was clear to the BBC on Sunday night and to me when I was a boy that the business had to close because of the common fisheries policy. That business closed as a result of what happened."

Ernest Gove said he was now nearly 80 and could not remember when he had sold the family firm. Michael Gove told reporters on Monday that it had happened while he was sitting his school exams. That timescale puts its closure in the early to mid-1980s – before strict fishing quotas were introduced under the CFP.

Struan Stevenson, a Tory MEP for Scotland from 1999 to 2014 and a former chair of the European parliament's fisheries committee, said Michael Gove was guilty of "traducing" the EU and of "trotting out an emotional story as propaganda" to back the leave campaign.

Stevenson said the largest factor by far in the demise of Aberdeen's fishing industry was "Olympic" overfishing by UK trawlers, which had to be controlled in order to prevent the total collapse of fish stocks.

"I'm dismayed, frankly, because, with all the hard work that we put into trying to reform the fisheries industry and trying to get sustainable fishing back on the agenda, and trying to save fish stocks from their inevitable collapse they were heading towards, all that work is being traduced."

Richard Lochhead, the former Scottish fisheries minister who represents Moray, north-east Scotland, said: "Our fishermen will be gobsmacked by the irony of [Michael] Gove's belated concerns for the fishing industry, given it was the Tories that negotiated such a poor deal for our fishermen in the first place while other nations got better deals.

"The other irony is that our fishing communities in the north-east turfed out the Tories because of their fishing sellouts that meant Gove had to go south to secure a Tory seat."

Nissan to sue Vote Leave campaign over EU referendum flyer

Japanese carmaker to take legal action after its name and logo were used on leaflets urging voters to back Brexit

Nissan is to take legal action against the Vote Leave campaign after the Japanese carmaker's logo was used on leaflets calling for voters to back Brexit in Thursday's referendum.

On one flyer the Nissan logo appeared next to those of four other major companies, including Unilever and Vauxhall, with the message: "Major employers ... have all said they'll stay in the UK whatever the result of the referendum."

Nissan, which wants Britain to remain in the EU, announced on Monday it was issuing legal proceedings to stop Vote Leave from using its name and logo and to "prevent them making any further false statements and misrepresentations concerning Nissan".

In February, Carlos Ghosn, Nissan's chairman and chief executive, said: "Our preference as a business is, of course, that the UK stays within Europe – it makes the most sense for jobs, trade and costs. For us, a position of stability is more positive than a collection of unknowns."

"However, this is ultimately a matter for the British people to decide. While we remain committed to our existing investment decisions, we will not speculate on the outcome nor what Unilever has said it will not scale back its UK operations if Britain votes to leave the EU, but the chief executive, Paul Polman, added: "I personally think it would be very good if Britain could stay."

The legal action is the latest embarrassment for Vote Leave after the UK's statistics watchdog publicly rebuked the group last month for continuing to claim that EU membership costs the UK £50m a day.

Sir Andrew Dilnot, chair of the UK Statistics Authority, said he was disappointed the lead Brexit campaign was continuing to make this claim, adding that it was "misleading and undermines trust in official statistics".

The £50m-a-day claim is displayed on the side of the Vote Leave battle-bus.

Richard Branson starts his own campaign to keep Britain in the EU

Billionaire founder of the Virgin empire is warning Britons about economic and political dangers of a Brexit

Sir Richard Branson is stepping up his pro-EU efforts, launching a nationwide campaign to urge people to back remain and warning of the economic and political pitfalls of a Brexit vote.

The billionaire founder of the Virgin empire – who does not have the right to vote in the UK – is launching the campaign on Monday. He lives in the British Virgin Islands but pointed out that the Virgin businesses, which span financial services and gyms, employ 50,000 people in the UK.

Branson said: “As an entrepreneur I have been known for taking risks throughout my career, but leaving the European Union is not one of the risks I would want the UK to take – not as an investor, not as a father and not as a grandfather. I am deeply concerned about the impact of leaving.”

He has registered his campaign with the Electoral Commission, which suggests he intends to spend more than £10,000 on his efforts to win support for the remain side.

“Although I’ve been living in the British Virgin Islands for some time now, I have never stopped caring passionately about the UK and its great people,” Branson said.

He also pointed to other benefits of the EU, saying: “My father Ted fought in North Africa, Italy and Germany during world war two. My grandfather survived the horrors of the trenches in world war one. I truly believe that one of the EU’s greatest achievements is that it has kept its members out of conflict in Europe.”

The business community is not unanimous on remaining in the EU, however, with 37 pro-Brexit business leaders writing in the Sun on Sunday to say the country can survive outside the “energy-sapping” European project.

A Virgin spokesperson said: “Richard has lived overseas for some years and so he’s not on the electoral register. Richard’s children and grandchildren live in the UK and clearly as an investor Richard has interests in the UK, with Virgin businesses

employing over 50,000 people. Richard is urging every single one of them to vote in.”

Vote Leave board member quits over anti-Muslim retweets

Businesswoman Arabella Arkwright resigns after Guardian asked her about activity on her social media account

A Vote Leave board member has resigned after it emerged that she promoted anti-Muslim material on social media, including an image of a white girl in the middle of a group of people wearing burqas saying: “Britain 2050: why didn’t you stop them Grandad?”

Arabella Arkwright, a businesswoman who sat on the board and finance committee of Vote Leave, stepped down after the Guardian asked her about a series of tweets and retweets from her account.

Other retweets included a link from Tommy Robinson, the founder of the English Defence League, suggesting UK Muslims were trying to build an Islamic state in Britain.

Another retweet came in response to a Twitter user saying they would never eat tikka masala again if it “got seventh-century barbaric savagery” out of Britain. A reply from Arkwright’s account said: “No to sharia law. By by [sic] tikka masala .”

A further retweeted picture has a “Stop Islam” badge in the corner and asks people to compare photographs of Yazidi women and Syrian men fleeing Isis.

Labour MP Emma Reynolds said some of the material was racist and the Lib Dem leader, Tim Farron, called on Vote Leave to take action to stop stoking divisions.

According to her biography for Vote Leave, Arkwright is a businesswoman who runs health clinics. She is also the partner in a visitor attraction and pub in Warwickshire. Her name has already been removed from the Vote Leave website.

After being approached by the Guardian, Arkwright denied the retweets represented her view and said she abhorred racism in every form. She has apologised for any offence caused and said she was stepping down so as not to affect the last three days

of the Vote Leave campaign led by leading Tory Brexiters Boris Johnson and Michael Gove.

She said her retweets did not imply that she was endorsing the content of the tweets. “I am absolutely appalled that there should be any underlying suggestion that I have any racist tendencies,” she said.

“I would like to make it absolutely clear that my RTs and forwarding do not mean that I endorse in any way the content of them. I RT a wide variety of different views on issues related to the referendum with which I do not agree in order that others can see the breadth of opinion on these matters. Is there anything wrong in that?

“You will note that my RTs are seldom accompanied by comments from me except Syrian Christians, who it was being widely reported at the time were being tortured for their faith. I am not a political animal and maybe am guilty of being naive, but I reject all prejudice and am deeply sorry for any offence that may have been caused. Moreover, perhaps I can be clear, I ABHOR ANY FORM OF RACISM.”

Reynolds, a member of the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign to remain in the EU, said xenophobia and nasty divisiveness from members of the leave campaign should not be tolerated.

“The fact that a member of their board has tweeted and retweeted racist material, including from the founder of the English Defence League, demonstrates the levels to which the leave campaign has stooped,” she said.

“Vote Leave have already lost the economic argument, and are now focusing solely on running a nasty campaign scaremongering about immigration.”

A Vote Leave spokesperson said: “As soon as we were made aware of these tweets we asked Arabella to hand in her resignation, which she has done with immediate effect. These tweets do not reflect the views of the Vote Leave campaign.”

Farron said it was “deeply worrying” and called on the leave campaign to stop “stoking division in our society and start responding to the overwhelming evidence showing we’re better off in the EU”.

Meanwhile, Vote Leave has been trying to distance itself from a Ukip poster that has been compared to Nazi propaganda.

Leading Vote Leave figures have stressed in recent days that they are completely separate from Ukip and strongly pro-immigration, while wanting to take back control of Britain's borders. Boris Johnson, the former London mayor, even repeated his old call for an amnesty for people who entered the country illegally more than 12 years ago, in an apparent attempt to neutralise accusations the Brexit campaign is anti-immigrant.

The remain campaign has been trying to frame the choice in the referendum as a choice between an open, liberal Britain and the Britain of Farage.

The controversial Ukip poster shows a queue of migrants crossing a border, with the slogan Breaking Point and a call to leave the EU. Politicians from George Osborne to Nicola Sturgeon have called it vile and divisive.

However, Farage has defended it and claimed to be a "victim of hate" himself, while accusing David Cameron and other remain campaigners of exploiting the killing of Labour MP Jo Cox for their own political ends.



Home news

10 days to save Britain

Graeme Wilson, Deputy Political Editor

370 words

9 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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Clock ticking for Brown on EU Treaty

GORDON Brown has just ten days to save the nation and bow to demands for a referendum on the EU Treaty.

Pressure intensifies today as a report by a Labour-dominated committee of MPs reveals it is virtually the SAME as the old Constitution.

It smashes Mr Brown's refusal to grant a referendum on the grounds the new Treaty is different.

And it claims the Government will not be able to maintain its "red lines" -the concessions and opt-outs to protect Britain from the Treaty's worst excesses in areas like policing and welfare.

Details

Mr Brown admitted yesterday he IS prepared to hold a referendum IF he fails to secure the red lines.

The PM, who meets other EU leaders in Portugal in ten days to agree the final Treaty details, said: "If our red lines are not achieved, I have always said we will either veto it or say there has got to be a referendum."

When Tony Blair agreed the outline EU Treaty last June, he boasted Britain had an "opt-out" from the Charter

of Fundamental Rights -which includes the right to strike. But the Commons European Scrutiny Committee report publishes a letter from Labour's Europe Minister Jim Murphy in which he concedes we do NOT.

The MPs say this admission means the European Court of Justice will have more power to ignore opt-outs won by Britain allowing some people to work more than 48 hours a week.

The report also warned Treaty proposals would let Brussels seize powers to make "substantial changes" without an EU summit.

A total of 120,000 Sun readers have signed our petition for a referendum.

Veteran Labour MP Austin Mitchell said the British people must be given a say.

He said: "Only ten of the original 250 proposals in that monstrous original Treaty have been changed.

"It is essentially the same -and if we promised a referendum on it then, we should have one now."

g.wilson@the-sun.co.uk

Sign our petition for a referendum at thesun.co.uk/eu



Home news

'90% same' as dumped Constitution;PM bulldozes referendum pleas

193 words

19 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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GORDON Brown may claim the Treaty is not the same as the constitution - but that is not the view around Europe.

Ireland's Bertie Ahern is holding a national vote because he agrees it is 90 per cent the same.

Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel says the fundamentals "have been maintained in large part", while Finland's Europe Minister Astrid Thors says nothing has altered.

And last week the European Scrutiny Committee forecast that Mr Brown's 'red lines' will "leak like a sieve".

MPs predict that the European Court of Justice will start to make laws for Britain based on the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

One red line - on tax and social security - is said to be totally bogus.

The EU will also have power under a 'ratchet' clause to dictate to future British governments.

The European Commission will be able to impose new laws on all nations if a majority of member states agree.

The Treaty will force Britain to surrender extra oil reserves to EU states in emergencies - costing us an estimated Pounds 6 billion.



Home news

100,000 back Sun call for say on EU;Sun campaign;You the jury;EU Referendum;Poll

Michael Lea Political Correspondent

407 words

2 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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Pressure piled on PM

AN astonishing 100,000 Sun readers are demanding a referendum on the rejigged EU Constitution.

Almost 70,000 called our phone poll, 20,000 signed our online petition and 10,000 sent in coupons.

The tidal wave of public feeling will pile pressure on Gordon Brown to keep his promise of a vote. In our You The Jury phone poll, 69,702 - a staggering 98 per cent - voted yes while only 1,583 voted no. Tory leader David Cameron has vowed to give voters a say - and Shadow Foreign Secretary William Hague will restate the pledge in a speech today at the party conference in Blackpool.

Mr Hague said last night: "This is yet another demonstration of the massive public demand for the say voters were promised. It's time for Gordon Brown to listen to The Sun and the people of Britain and give them a vote on this vital issue."

Neil O'Brien, of the I Want A Referendum campaign, said: "Well done to The Sun and its patriotic readers. This is sure to be a key battleground if there is a snap General Election."

More than 400 Tory delegates signed a wall at the Blackpool conference centre demanding a say, just 24 hours into the rally.

Mr Hague is among MPs, businessmen and MEPs who put their names to the *crusade*.

Leader of the Tory MEPs in Brussels Timothy Kirkhope said: "We will keep up the pressure on Labour to come clean with the British people and offer the referendum they promised."

The treaty - almost identical to the Constitution rejected two years ago - would hand over power on immigration, criminal justice and foreign affairs.

Labour promised a referendum on the Constitution in its 2005 manifesto - but the PM insists Parliament can decide.

Last week The Sun echoed Sir Winston Churchill by warning: "Europe. Never have so few decided so much for so many." m.lea@the-sun.co.uk

EU THE JURY. Should the PM give us a Referendum on the EU Treaty?

YES:0906 361 2201

NO:0906 361 2202

SIGN ONLINE Sign our petition on the EU Referendum at thesun.co.uk/eu

JOIN THE DEBATE Post a comment or read other readers' views at mysun.co.uk/eu



Home news

EU must sing this

Nick Francis

323 words

12 December 2007

The Sun

THESUN

6

English

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CRAFTY Germans are trying to shoehorn a European anthem into the EU treaty.

They want us singing from the same song-sheet, regardless of our nation or flag.

The anthem's tune - Ode to Joy - is by German composer Beethoven, below.

Germany is leading a last-minute call by 16 countries for the treaty to include support for an EU flag and the euro currency as well as the song.

Outrage

The demand for a "United States of Europe" has sparked outrage, especially after PM Gordon Brown told Britain the treaty would be nothing like the rejected EU constitution.

Shadow foreign secretary William Hague has urged the Government to torpedo the flag and anthem plans, labelling them "bizarre".

But Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi wants us all to recognise the EU song as our second national anthem.

There are no official lyrics yet but Austrian composer Peter Roland has suggested some - and we've come up with our own, above right.

Hear the anthem and tell us what you think at [thesun.co.uk/news EU ANTHEM](http://thesun.co.uk/news/EU_ANTHEM).

Europe is united now

United it may remain;

Our unity in diversity

May contribute to world peace.

May there forever reign in Europe

Faith and justice

And freedom for its people

In a greater motherland

Citizens, Europe shall flourish,

A great task calls on you.

Golden stars in the sky are

The symbols that shall unite us.

To the tune of 'ODE TO JOY'.

SUN'S VERSION.

Europe is united now

and united it may remain.

Although it's getting absurdly big now

we always thought it stopped

at Spain.

Faith and justice

- that will free up all the jails.

Because now we have your

Human Rights Act,

all the killers will be bailed.

In a greater motherland

Eurovision will hold sway

Just wait till they swap our

Led Zep records

For Johnny Hallyday.



Home news

EU's secret attack on Brown vetoes; Two days to showdown

Michael Lea, Political Correspondent

455 words

15 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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PM's own MPs warn 'red lines' will be rubbed out

GORDON Brown's guarantees to protect Britain from a Brussels power grab will be "rubbed out" within five years by EU judges, MPs will warn tomorrow.

The Labour-dominated European Scrutiny Committee has been looking in detail and found that EU leaders have secretly watered down the safeguards.

Members will present Foreign Secretary David Miliband with the evidence tomorrow - just TWO DAYS before Gordon Brown flies to Portuguese capital Lisbon on Thursday to thrash out the final details of the "new" EU Reform Treaty. The PM is refusing to honour Labour's election pledge to hold a referendum insisting he has protected British sovereignty.

But the European Scrutiny Committee will reveal how the so-called "red lines" will eventually be worn down by EU judges.

All our guarantees -except those in foreign affairs -can now be challenged in the European Court of Justice after the blueprint agreed by Tony Blair in June was re-written.

Scrutiny Committee chairman Michael Connarty told the BBC yesterday: "They have given us five years to get in line." He went on: "The re-draft contains protocols that weren't there before which actually are much tougher for the UK and actually threaten those red lines very, very quickly.

"It's a bullying tactic and it's entirely unacceptable and the least the Prime Minister should do is say I'm not prepared to accept this."

Demand

Europe Minister Jim Murphy said: "If we don't achieve all of our red lines and our unique deal then we wouldn't ratify this Treaty."

More than 120,000 Sun readers are demanding a say on whether Britain should sign up to the document.

We are campaigning for a vote with a slogan echoing Winston Churchill: "Europe.

Never was so much decided for so many by so few."

Last night, David Cameron kept up the pressure on Mr Brown for a referendum. He wrote to the PM to demand that ministers stop arguing that the latest treaty is less significant than the Constitution dumped by the French and Dutch.

Mr Cameron wrote: "This is indeed a matter of trust with the electorate. So, will you now honour the promise you made to the British people to hold a referendum?"

The UK's red lines cover areas of policing and judicial affairs, welfare and workers' rights as well as foreign and defence policy.

Last week the European Scrutiny Committee embarrassed Mr Brown by declaring that the EU Treaty is a carbon copy of the hated Constitution.

The Sun Says -Page Eight



Overseas news

German leader Angela Merkel sparked fears of a revived EU constitution

Michael Lea, Political Correspondent

47 words

9 March 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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GERMAN leader Angela Merkel sparked fears of a revived EU constitution last night as she talked of "institutional reform", adding: "We need more Europe, not less."



Home news

PM betrayal breaks vow to the public; EU to rule on asylum bids; Opinion

David Cameron, Tory Leader

429 words

13 December 2007

The Sun

THESUN

7

English

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TODAY Gordon Brown will betray every good thing he claimed to stand for when he became Prime Minister. He said he would trust the British people and consult them more. He said he would bring in a different kind of politics.

But today he is going to break his solemn election promise to voters by signing away many of Britain's powers to the EU without giving the British people any say on the matter at all.

As just about everyone but Gordon Brown admits, the new EU Treaty is basically the rejected EU Constitution with a different name.

There will be new powers for the EU over our foreign policy with an EU foreign minister who is able to speak in our name at the UN.

Brussels would get more control over our criminal justice system. A new EU Charter will give EU judges new powers too. Dozens of our national vetoes -that let us block damaging EU laws -are being given up. And instead of national governments like ours setting the EU's agenda a new EU president would take the lead.

Dodging

At the last general election the Conservatives, Labour and even the Lib Dems promised that it would be for the British people to decide whether Britain should accept all this. That was the basis on which MPs were elected. So MPs have no democratic consent from the British people without asking them what they think.

Gordon Brown could have done that by calling an election, but he bottled it. Now he's breaking his vow to voters.

The original idea of signing the Treaty in private but dodging photographs at the ceremony was classic Gordon Brown. People can see through his cheap calculations. They would have worked out he has still agreed to the deal despite his attempted spin. He has to learn that he can't treat the British people like fools.

Instead of giving the EU more powers where it doesn't need them EU leaders should be looking at where Europe can add value -on global trade, global poverty and global warming. Europe could do so much better.

That's why we need change in Europe, and as Prime Minister I would give proper British leadership for all those who want a better, different, more open EU. Tony

Blair branded Gordon Brown's inner circle as the B team. Today that B most definitely stands for Betrayal.



Home news

Scots' treaty blow for PM

George Pascoe-Watson Political Editor

177 words

20 December 2007

The Sun

THESUN

4

English

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GORDON Brown was embarrassed by his own troops last night as the Scottish Parliament demanded a referendum on the EU Treaty.

Labour's members north of the border abstained on a vote calling for a nationwide poll, allowing it to go through.

Their refusal to block the demand left the PM red-faced. He has repeatedly declined to hold a referendum despite a Sun-led campaign showing eight out of ten voters want one.

The Scottish defiance was largely a symbolic gesture as they have no power to dictate Mr Brown's policy. But pressure for a Scots-only poll will almost certainly grow.

Last night the Open Europe think tank described the vote as "a huge embarrassment for Gordon Brown on his own turf". A spokesman added: "It is now unthinkable that he can push through the constitution without a national vote."

The SNP, which controls Scotland, deliberately called the vote to rattle the PM, whose seat is in Fife.



Home news

We know Brits will vote No

Michael Lea, Political Correspondent

347 words

30 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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EU bigwig lifts lid on referendum con

GORDON Brown has stitched up British voters over the new Brussels power grab, an EU bigwig admitted last night.

The mastermind of the original Constitution said it had simply been recast to avoid a referendum in the UK.

Frenchman Valery Giscard d'Estaing confessed all the key elements remained in the re-jigged Treaty. But the format was altered because a referendum in Britain would "obviously lead to a no vote".

He said: "In the Treaty of Lisbon the tools are largely the same. Only the order in which they are arranged in the toolbox has been changed.

"Why this subtle change? Above all, to head off any threat of referenda by avoiding any form of constitutional vocabulary." PM Mr Brown signed up to the blueprint in Portuguese capital Lisbon earlier this month and refused the referendum Labour had promised.

More than 120,000 Sun readers are demanding they are given a say on the Treaty.

Last night the campaign became more urgent after Mr Giscard d'Estaing warned: "When the day comes that men and women with sweeping ambitions for Europe decide to make use of this Treaty, they will be able to rekindle from the ashes of today the flame of a United Europe."

The former French president also revealed that legal experts, not politicians, redrafted the Constitution dumped by voters in France and Holland in 2005.

Shadow Europe Minister Mark Francois said: "This really lets the cat out of the bag. The Treaty was deliberately drafted to try to avoid the people of Europe having their say."

Neil O'Brien, of the I Want a Referendum campaign, said: "Mr. Giscard d'Estaing has lifted the lid on the march towards a United States of Europe."

The Treaty robs Britain of its veto in 61 areas. Brussels can end our vetoes in other areas in coming years -without our permission.



Home news

You're running scared, Brown

George Pascoe-Watson

343 words

23 October 2007

The Sun

THESUN

English

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Irish PM blasts Gord for Treaty poll snub

IRISH premier Bertie Ahern last night delivered a stinging rebuke to Gordon Brown for "running away" from a poll on the EU treaty.

In an astonishing attack, Mr Ahern urged the Prime Minister and other European leaders to go to the people if they really believe in the EU.

Brave Mr Ahern is the ONLY European leader giving his voters a say on the controversial treaty.

He said: "I think it's a bit upsetting to see so many countries running away from giving their people an opportunity. If you believe in something why not let your

people have a say in it? I think the Irish people should take the opportunity to show the rest of Europe that they believe in the cause – and perhaps others shouldn't be so afraid of it."

The Irish leader's unexpected attack is highly embarrassing for Mr Brown - who seems certain to ignore the warning.

He claims there is no need for a referendum because the treaty differs from the hated Constitution that the Government had previously promised to put to the vote.

But the treaty already means the end of Britain's veto in 61 areas.

And measures in the document allow Brussels to end our vetoes in other areas in the coming years - without our permission.

Last night Mr Brown tried to placate MPs by promising attempts by Brussels to grab MORE power from the UK will be put to an immediate Commons vote.

The Conservatives claim that as many as 120 Labour MPs are in favour of a referendum – enough to overturn the Government's 69 majority.

Last night leader David Cameron fumed: "This Prime Minister says let battle be avoided wherever possible - especially if it involves people having their say.

"That's why he is not having a referendum. He doesn't think he would win it. Why does he continue to treat people like fools by pretending otherwise?"



News

£26m TV for MEPs slammed as waste; EXCLUSIVE

by JANE ATKINSON

266 words

5 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

6

English

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A TV channel for the European Parliament watched by just 830 viewers a day is costing £7million a year.

EuroparlTV streams parliamentary sessions and committee meetings plus educational videos to MEPs and staff.

The channel started in 2008 and has cost £26million so far.

Most programmes are translated into 22 languages — including Irish which is only spoken by about 80,000 people.

Last night the channel was slammed as "an expensive joke" and "a propaganda tool".

TaxPayers' Alliance director Matthew Sinclair said: "Taxpayers will be furious. It's a ridiculous amount of money to spend. People will be furious that EU bureaucrats are demanding ever more money at the same time as wasting it indulging their vanity with a TV channel. This is an expensive joke."

Taxpayers fork out £53,000 for every hour the channel broadcasts.

Recent programmes include a report on the Ukraine, a magazine news show about life in Europe and a round-up of the following week's parliamentary schedule.

The figures were exposed by think tank New Direction — The Foundation For European Reform, which also revealed that only 16,148 people have subscribed to EuroparlTV.

MEP Paul Nuttall, deputy leader of the UK Independence Party, said: "This is nothing more than a propaganda tool. "The man in the street is living in desperate financial times — but ivory-towered EU bureaucrats continue to spend, spend, spend our money.

"Alarminglly, the EU spends more than 2.4billion euros every year on biased information campaigns to promote itself."



News

Brit bulldog right to bite euro-bullies

By TREVOR KAVANAGH

387 words

10 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

11

English

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EURO-bullies France and Germany think they've cast Britain into the outer darkness, alone and adrift in dangerous waters.

In fact, they have done us a huge favour. This great trading nation is now free to paddle its own canoe while the EU Titanic steams on to inevitable doom.

David Cameron did the right thing walking away from the Brussels poker table. The deck was stacked by bumptious French President Nicolas Sarkozy and domineering German Chancellor Angela Merkel. They expected him to sacrifice Britain's role as the world's biggest financial hub and hand billions to Brussels in new taxes.

The banking industry would be hit for 57BILLION EUROS a year — with the UK alone paying a massive 46BILLION — slaughtering our fattest goose.

They knew Mr Cameron could not accept. They also knew he risks a devastating split with his Lib Dem Coalition partners or a revolt by his Tory MPs.

Which way will the PM jump? A clue can be found in his decision — before the summit — to invite Tory right-wingers to dinner at Chequers last night. The guests included Andrew Rosindell, the eurosceptic who urged his boss to act "like a British bulldog".

Mr Cameron rose to that challenge — and there's no way back. The die is now cast for an IN/OUT referendum.

The PM has time on his side. Polls are certain to show huge support. He is suddenly the Lucky General, blessed with a red hot issue — and an unelectable opponent.

Ed Miliband has shown himself to be on totally the wrong side of every argument — the public sector strikes, the economy and now Europe.

As for Nick Clegg, the party's over. The Lib Dem high command — Ming Campbell, Charlie Kennedy, Paddy Ashdown and Clegg — are out of step with ordinary members now disenchanted with Brussels.

Meanwhile Merkel and Sarkozy are at each other's throats. France wants Germany to write a fat cheque to bail out feckless southern neighbours.

Mrs Merkel wants all EU states to hand Berlin control of their economies.

With some German-style discipline, she believes Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain could be saved from the abyss.

But after this week's meltdown, the whole world knows those PIGS won't fly.



News

Brit bulldog right to bite euro-bullies

By TREVOR KAVANAGH

387 words

10 December 2011

The Sun

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1

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News

Del Boy takes a swipe at Germans

By MIRANDA PRYNNE

154 words

19 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

4

English

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TV star Sir David Jason has accused Germany of trying to run Europe as a "Fourth Reich".

The actor, best known as Del Boy in Only Fools and Horses, said Brits are sick of EU chiefs bossing them around.

Sir David, 71, said: "The irony is that here we are, the world has changed, and the Germans want to run Europe. They failed to do it by war, twice.

"What is it? Is this the Fourth Reich?" His outburst came as David Cameron's tough stand over the Eurozone put him six points ahead of Labour in a poll.

Sir David added: "We have more and more rules coming out of Europe and people are fed up with it.

"This was supposed to be a common market.

"I don't remember them saying we'd be governed by Brussels."



News

Germans: UK must help euro

By EMILY ASHTON

190 words

3 January 2012

The Sun

THESUN

1

2

English

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GERMANY'S central bank provoked fury yesterday by insisting Britain must pay billions to bail out the ailing euro.

In a highly provocative move, Andreas Dombret, a board member of the Bundesbank, said the UK "has to be aware of its importance in the EU".

His statement to a German newspaper piled more pressure on David Cameron who has repeatedly refused to give extra cash to save the currency.

US-born Mr Dombret said Germany "expected a fair sharing of burdens".

He added: "If a heavyweight like America fails to participate, it will be all the more important for other major IMF members to do their part.

"This certainly includes the UK."

Tory MP Philip Davies called the euro "a "busted flush" and insisted: "We have no money to give to them.

"The only money which should be discussed is how we can get back the wasted £18billion-a-year we already pay the EU."

Mr Cameron has faced criticism from Europe since refusing to sign a deal to save the euro because it threatened City of London interests.



News; Front Page

Le big 2: Bring in new €U

By NEIL COTTER

70 words

2 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

1

English

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NICOLAS Sarkozy last night unveiled plans for French and German domination of the EU in a bid to save the euro.

He warned: "Europe is not a choice, it is a necessity, but it needs to be rethought, refounded.

"If we cannot overhaul Europe, the world will not wait for Europe."

Full Story — Page Two

Plot ... Sarkozy



News

NEIN! NON! NO! EU CRISIS: BRITAIN STANDS ALONE PM tells Germans and French: We won't sign treaty

By GRAEME WILSON, Deputy Political Editor, in Brussels, and KEVIN SCHOFIELD, Political Correspondent; GRAEME WILSON; KEVIN SCHOFIELD

941 words

10 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

10,11

English

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DAVID Cameron last night defended his historic veto of an EU deal intended to save the euro — despite infuriating pro-Europeans.

Jubilant Tory MPs hailed his decision as a massive step towards Britain's EXIT from the European Union.

His stand in Brussels was the first time a British Prime Minister has ever vetoed an EU treaty.

Defiant Mr Cameron insisted he was RIGHT, as the deal threatened the City of London financial hub.

He said: "We were offered a treaty that didn't have proper safeguards for Britain and I decided it was not right to sign it."

But EU chiefs turned on him last night for daring to stand up for Britain. And the Coalition was rocked when Nick Clegg warned Britain could end up marginalised in a two-speed Europe.

One Brussels insider warned: "This will cost the UK dearly. They have antagonised everyone."

The PM stuck to his guns during ten hours of bruising negotiations in which he faced intense pressure from French president Nicolas Sarkozy and German chancellor Angela Merkel.

Mr Cameron had a furious showdown with Mr Sarkozy in the early hours of yesterday morning.

There were even reports that the fuming Frenchman had to be "restrained" at one point.

One French official blasted the PM for demanding concessions but offering nothing in return.

He likened Mr Cameron to "a man who wants to go to a wifeswapping party without taking his own wife".

Mrs Merkel complained: "I don't believe Mr Cameron was ever really with us at the table."

Last night the EU's other 26 countries were set to press ahead with their own treaty — leaving Britain on the outside.

They agreed new rules on tax and spending by eurozone countries and tougher sanctions to back them up.

The PM insisted Britain will keep its influence in the corridors of powers and remain a member of the EU. He said: "Membership is in our interests."

Earlier Mr Sarkozy had blamed Britain's "unacceptable" demands for torpedoing the treaty. At one point during a meeting of leaders yesterday, the French president appeared to "blank" Mr Cameron.

But the PM insisted they were on good terms. He said: "Obviously, he disagrees with the approach that I am taking. But he went out of his way to repeatedly say, 'This is not against David personally, we're good friends'."

The Coalition was left split down the middle. Tory MPs hailed their leader for keeping his promise to defend British interests. Meanwhile furious Liberal Democrats savaged Mr Cameron and accused him of betraying the UK.

Some Tories said it was time to rewrite Britain's relations with Brussels.

Eurosceptic Bernard Jenkin said: "This is the moment when we have to start completely renegotiating our relationship. "We are going to be a satellite on the edge of what is going to be an economic superpower."

Ex-Cabinet minister Lord Tebbit said: "There is no easy path ahead. All the roads look rocky. Thankfully, we have taken a step along the right one."

Harlow MP Robert Halfon declared he was "delighted Cameron has shown bulldog spirit." And London Mayor Boris Johnson enthused: "David has played a blinder. He has done the only thing really open to him."

But Lib Dem peer Lord Oakeshott said the PM had "seriously undermined Britain's influence".

He added: "It is a black day for Britain and Europe. We are now in the waiting room while critical decisions are being taken.

"We should not be putting special pleading for the City of London above our vital national interest of working closely with Germany and France to keep our economy and jobs safe." Ex-Lib Dem leader Lord Ashdown said: "The foreign policy priorities of the past 40 years have gone down the plughole in a single night."

The Prime Minister shrugged off Lib Dem criticism and insisted Nick Clegg HAD backed him.

He said: "We agreed that if we couldn't secure something that was in Britain's interests we wouldn't go ahead with a treaty."

But he took a swipe at celebrating Tory MPs. He said they should be "careful for what they wish for" as a two-speed Europe would hit growth and jobs.

Foreign Secretary William Hague had earlier dismissed such talk. He said: "No one should assume the eurozone moves at a faster speed than the UK."

The Sun Says — Page Eight

Deal boost to markets

MONEY markets last night gave a cautious thumbs-up to the EU debt fix.

More than 200billion euros (£170billion) will go from Europe to the IMF to prop up struggling eurozone countries.

In London, the FTSE 100 was up 45.44 points to 5529.21.

But as Italian borrowing costs rose to 6.5 per cent, Louise Cooper, of BGC Partners, said: "200billion euros from the IMF is insufficient."

Staying in is a priority

THE PM says staying in the EU is good for British jobs, trade and investment. But many Tory MPs fear the new club of 26 will take decisions that damage Britain, including slapping taxes on the City.

Yet no one thinks the new treaty will end the current crisis. It brings in new rules to stop eurozone countries getting into debt, but the only solution is hard cash. The EU has yet to deliver its €1trillion bailout. Bruising

Tense . . awkward moment between Sarkozy and Cameron



News

PM URGED TO DUMP EU LAWS

By EMILY ASHTON

312 words

30 January 2012

The Sun

THESUN

1

DAVID Cameron should free Britain from a raft of EU crime and policing laws while he can, a report warns.

Think-tank Open Europe said the PM, far right, should use a "block opt-out" that would allow the UK to withdraw from 130 EU regulations. But he must do it by June 2014 when the laws become irreversible.

These include controversial European Arrest Warrants and the compulsory sharing of DNA data with other police forces.

The opt-out would also scupper EU plans to give judges in Luxembourg the power to set punishments for Brits. The European Commission is planning new "euro-crimes" relating to the environment, road safety and financial regulation. Open Europe says in a report out today that if the UK opts out it could then choose the police and justice laws it wants to adopt.

The study will be discussed by an all-party group of MPs this week. Open Europe's Stephen Booth said: "Deciding to keep these laws after 2014 — and transferring ultimate jurisdiction to EU judges — would be irreversible.

But using the block opt-out would allow the UK to choose the EU laws that are crucial to British security." The UK's right to opt out does not apply to EU laws on asylum or immigration.

A Ministry of Justice spokeswoman said: "The Government is still at a very early stage in its thinking on this."

Meanwhile, French president Nicolas Sarkozy, left, last night attacked Britain for being a country with "no industry".

He made the jibe as he defended a 1.6 per cent VAT rise to boost his country's flagging economy in a TV broadcast.

When a journalist pointed out to him that Britain had seen prices rise after increasing VAT, he said: "The UK has no industry any more."



News

Sarkozy reveals plan for a new EU

By EMILY ASHTON

175 words

2 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

1

2

English

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NICOLAS Sarkozy last night said France and Germany may "merge" in a desperate bid to save the euro.

The extraordinary plan would see Europe's two powerhouses pool tax and spending in a huge shake-up that would freeze out Britain.

In a speech, Mr Sarkozy declared: "France will push with Germany for a new Europe".n treaty refounding and rethinking the organisation of Europe. There can be no common currency without economic convergence."

The news came as Bank of England boss Sir Mervyn King issued an unprecedented warning for banks to start hoarding cash. Speaking in French port Toulon, Mr Sarkozy said: "We do not hide it, Europe could be swept away by the crisis if it does not change."

Paris and Berlin would be "a zone of stability" at the heart of the new EU.

Under his blueprint, the UK would be stripped of its precious veto when it is replaced by qualified majority voting.



News

TORIES AT WAR WITH CAM OVER EU TREATY; PM accused of ducking fight and referendum

By TOM NEWTON DUNN, Political Editor

412 words

6 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

2

4

English

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A TORY civil war erupted last night after David Cameron's MPs accused him of ducking a golden chance to win back Brussels powers.

Their anger deepened when he also ruled out holding a referendum on whether Brits wanted to remain in the radically reshaped EU.

The PM's worst nightmare came true yesterday as Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy confirmed they would draw up a new EU treaty to try to save the euro. The German and French leaders said they would press on with their plan even if Britain refused to sign up.

Their action came as a dramatic new warning emerged for the eurozone's strongest six economies if the debt crisis continues to spiral.

Credit rating agency Standard & Poor's said Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland and Luxembourg ALL risk losing their AAA rating.

The agency put all but two of the 17 euro nations on credit watch. With just four days left to save the euro, the EU's two powerhouses set a breakneck pace to wrap up their new masterplan by next March. Mr Sarkozy said: "We are conscious of the gravity of the situation."

It fuelled a disastrous day for No10. The PM's spokesman slapped down Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith for saying any major treaty change should go to a public vote.

Minister's aide Conor Burns, another Eurosceptic Government member, was also cold-shouldered.

Mr Cameron insisted there would be no need for a referendum, adding: "I am not intending to pass any powers from Britain to Brussels."

He said he will be part of the negotiations in Europe this week.

But Tory MP Bill Cash said a referendum is needed as a major treaty change "fundamentally changes the relationship of Britain to the EU".

Conservative rebel Chris Heaton-Harris added: "We should be there arguing our point." Mr Sarkozy and Mrs Merkel unveiled sanctions for any country with a deficit of more than three per cent of GDP.

ITALIAN Premier Mario Monti's vow to forego his salary heaped pressure on Mr Cameron to slash his own £142,500 salary. The PM's spokesman said he had acted quickly to cut his pay and pension.



News; Front Page

UP EURS; CAMERON'S HISTORIC VETO Bulldog PM sticks up for Britain..but risks backlash

By GRAEME WILSON

77 words

10 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

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English

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DAVID Cameron has blasted the bullyboys of Europe with a sensational Winston Churchill-style "Up Yours".

The PM vetoed a new treaty and kept Britain out of a dodgy deal to save the euro.

But his bulldog spirit left the nation facing an unknown future and risking an EU backlash.

Full Story — Pages 8 and 9



News; Front Page

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Full Story — Pages 8 and 9



News

Wrecks & the City

By EMILY ASHTON Whitehall Correspondent

249 words

5 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

2

2

English

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DESPERATE plans by France and Germany to save the euro with a massive EU shake-up could devastate the UK's financial hub, a think tank has warned.

In a hard-hitting report, Open Europe urged David Cameron to hit the "emergency brake" on a move towards further financial integration that would freeze out Britain. Angela Merkel will meet Nicolas Sarkozy, right, in Paris today to thrash out the bid before a special EU summit in Brussels on Friday.

The German Chancellor, far right, wants the 17 eurozone countries' tax and spending decisions merged in a bid to cut debt — effectively creating a two-speed Europe — plus all 27 EU members to agree the new rules.

But Open Europe director Mats Persson said: "The eurozone is likely to develop into an increasingly dominant political force and push its own agenda.

"To generate growth, the City must be allowed to compete in Europe and across the globe." The City of London boosts the nation's coffers by £53.4billion a year.

But it will be hit by 49 new EU financial regulations — "very few" of which will help growth, the report said. Mr Persson said: "Cameron must ensure euro countries can't bulldoze over the UK's economic interests."

Q A £7MILLION-a-year TV channel for the European Parliament seen by just 830 viewers a day has been branded a "propaganda tool" by critics.



News

WRECKS AND THE CITY; Fear EU shake-up will devastate Square Mile Plan to rescue euro could 'freeze out' Britain

By EMILY ASHTON Whitehall Correspondent

487 words

5 December 2011

The Sun

THESUN

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6

English

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DESPERATE plans by France and Germany to save the euro with a massive EU shake-up could devastate the City of London, a think tank has warned.

In a hard-hitting report, Open Europe called for David Cameron to hit the "emergency brake" on a move towards further financial integration that would freeze out Britain.

Angela Merkel will meet Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris today to thrash out the plan ahead of a special EU summit in Brussels on Friday.

The German Chancellor wants the 17 eurozone countries' tax and spending decisions to be merged in a bid to cut debt — effectively creating a two-speed Europe.

And she wants new rules on this "fiscal union" to be agreed by all 27 EU members.

But Open Europe director Mats Persson said the plan risked "isolating" Britain from crucial financial decisions.

He added: "The eurozone is likely to develop into an increasingly dominant political force and push its own agenda.

"To generate growth, the City must be allowed to compete in Europe and across the globe."

The City boosts the nation's coffers by £53.4billion a year.

But it will soon be hit by 49 new EU financial regulations — "very few" of which will help growth, the report said.

These include regulations on bank deposits, mortgages, shortselling and insurance. Britain has also spent months fighting a levy on bank transactions — dubbed the Robin Hood tax.

Mr Persson said: "Cameron must ensure euro countries can't bulldoze over the UK's economic interests." He added the "intrusive rules" would make it "harder for small businesses".

Mr Cameron also faces a nightmare at home as Tory MPs call for a referendum on Europe. Deputy PM Nick Clegg said: "I don't think there needs to be a referendum on Europe. The changes which are now required are changes in the euro 17." But Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith said there should be a national vote if "there are substantial changes that affect Britain's position".

Tory MP George Eustice said: "We must establish an 'emergency brake' in any future treaty so we can veto proposals that are against our interests."

The report comes after ex-European Commission boss Jacques Delors — the architect of the single currency — said it was doomed from the start.

The 86-year-old Frenchman — subject of our famous 1990 front page Up Yours Delors — said euro chiefs had turned a "blind eye" to the economic weaknesses of some member states.

And he said of early critics like The Sun: "They had a point."



News

BRE IT EMERGENCY 7

1,553 words

19 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

2; National

14,15

English

© News Group Newspapers 2016

BELEAVE IN BRITAIN DAYS TO GO A 4 WHY BRITS SHOULD SPLIT FROM
EUROPE TONY ON WHY HEWOULD PARSONS CRAWL OVER BROKEN
GLASS TO VOTE LEAVE EU is kaput..let's get out quick

IF the history of our country tells us anything, it is surely that the British can never be
bullied into submission.

Luftwaffe bombs couldn't do it. The IRA couldn't do it. Islamic State can't do it.

So what hope did a couple of trust fund toffs like David Cameron and George
Osborne ever have of scaring us? The Prime Minister and the Chancellor — the two-

faced champion and chief cheerleader of the Remain campaign — have given us no positive reasons to vote to stay in the European Union.

Instead of any hopeful, optimistic message, they have attempted to browbeat, intimidate and frighten the British people.

Osborne's threat to respond to Brexit with savage cuts and punitive tax rises is only the latest example of their bullying.

The fact that George never says he will have to cut the bloated foreign aid budget reveals the pathetic emptiness of his threats.

Even in the midst of economic meltdown, there will still be that £12billion a year to buy private jets and London mansions for Third World despots!

Cameron, Osborne and their Remain allies talk about our country as if it is a timid, self-loathing and pitiful little nation that would shrivel and die outside the EU.

This is garbage. There are 195 countries in the world and only 28 of them are in the European Union. If the likes of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Tonga can be proud, independent, self-governing nations, then why can't we? Cameron, Osborne, Gordon Brown, Tony Blair, William Hague and all the rest of Remain's miserable shower of yesterday's men have continually talked this country down.

From the beginning to the end of this referendum campaign, they have spoken about our country as if it is incapable of surviving outside the EU.

And millions of us simply do not believe them.

We KNOW that our country is better than they give it credit for.

We are the fifth largest economy in the world.

We are the oldest Parliamentary democracy on the planet. We are a cultural superpower. London can reasonably claim to be the capital of the world.

And unlike almost every other nation in the European Union, we have a past that we are proud of.

Who can blame the other countries of Europe from wanting to obliterate their miserable histories? The story of modern Europe is a tragic litany of Fascism, Communism and foreign occupation. If the British have always felt slightly apart from these troubled lands, it is because we never needed anyone to set us free. This EU referendum has not been our democracy's finest hour.

I am one of the 11 million suckers who voted for Cameron at the General Election — and gave him that unexpected victory — because when he looked the British people in the eye and swore us he would get a new deal for our country in the European Union, I did not doubt him for one second.

Cameron had always acted as if he detested the undemocratic, corrupt EU as much as the rest of us. Certainly the stinking hypocrite always bashed Brussels when he wanted a standing ovation at the Tory party conference. He unequivocally stated that, inside or outside the European Union, our nation would succeed.

As recently as last November, Cameron said: "No one doubts that Britain is a proud, successful, thriving country. Whether we could be successful outside the EU — that's not the question."

But the Prime Minister constantly lied to the British people. It is worse than spin. It is worse than slippery political language.

No ifs, no buts — Cameron lied. He lied when he said he would reduce immigration to the "tens of thousands". He lied again when he vowed he would fight for a new deal for Britain inside the EU — or lead the campaign to leave.

And — so soon after assuring us that we could "thrive" outside the EU — he is lying to us now with his dark warnings of national collapse if we dare to claim our country back.

But this referendum is not about the Prime Minister. And it is not about the leadership of the Conservative Party. It is about the destiny of our country.

No one is safe in this waning empire Do we really want to remain part of the European Union when it so obviously is not working? The currency is kaput. The borders are kaput. The immigration policy is a bloody shambles, encouraging the rise of vicious extremists across Europe and ripping at social cohesion by importing alien cultures. Yet even as the EU falls apart, it dreams of expanding, sucking in poor countries like Serbia, Montenegro and Turkey. Despite its delusions of grandeur, the EU's share of the world economy is in sharp decline. Only one continent on the planet has weaker economic growth than Europe — Antarctica.

The European Union is a 20th century idea that has had its day. All empires eventually slip into the mists of history. Why should the EU — with its mad dream of a United States of Europe, repellent to millions of us — be any different? The EU claims to drive prosperity and peace. But this waning empire makes nobody prosperous and nobody safe.

Prosperous? Monetary union — the Euro — has been a disaster.

In the 19 member states that have adopted the Euro, there are 16.4 million unemployed — many of them driven into exile to the UK.

Unable to escape the straitjacket of the Euro, proud countries like Greece, Spain and Italy find they are the paupers of the western world. All the eye-swivelling EU groupies urging us to stay once predicted the UK was doomed if we did not ditch the pound. They were laughably wrong. The Euro does not work and it will never work. So does the EU keep us safe? Last year there were two terrorist atrocities in the centre of Paris, enabled by the absence of borders between France and Belgium.

When Turkey joins the EU — and Cameron has actively supported Turkish membership — the EU will share a common external border with Syria, Iran and Iraq. That will make us nice and safe.

The EU's porous borders do not work in an age of Islamic terror.

When German Chancellor Angela Merkel took the unilateral decision to welcome more than one million Muslims to her country in 2015, the silly old Frau laid out the welcome mat to the Third World, changing Europe's culture forever with her insanely reckless gesture.

Because when these newcomers receive their shiny new EU passports, they are free — like the other 508 million citizens of the EU, to live in the UK. For the EU is built on what is called the four freedoms — the freedom of movement of capitals, goods, services and people. Like it or lump it.

The reason the freedom of movement can never work for the British is because so many millions around this unhappy little planet desperately want to live here.

This has nothing to do with anyone's race, religion or creed — it has everything to do with numbers.

No nation of earth can accommodate literally limitless numbers of newcomers. Yet that is what the EU compels the UK to do.

And as long as we stay in the European Union, our control over immigration from other member states is non-existent. That is why the Remain camp is so loathe to even mention immigration — and why they are so quick to shriek "Racist!" at anyone who does.

They know that while we stay in the EU, we cannot do the one thing that every nation should do — control our own borders.

The EU does not care how hard it is for you to find a home, or if your child cannot get into the local school or if your GP can't see you this week, or if there is no hospital bed for your elderly parent, or if the crush on your morning commute recalls the black hole of Calcutta.

Your quality of life means nothing to the unelected Eurocrats of Brussels, who have no love or loyalty for this nation, and no affection for our people, and no respect for our history and traditions.

It beggars belief that this proud island — where no foreign invader landed for a thousand years — could meekly surrender its independence to the EU, the freedom that other generations fought and died for.

So when I place my vote on Thursday, I shall think of my father, Victor William Robert Parsons, who fought for his country as a Royal Naval Commando in World

War Two and came home with a Distinguished Service Medal and a body that was a mass of scar tissue.

I will remember my father because our country's freedom — its right to be proud, independent and self-governing — is held in trust for future generations.

Nobody has the right to give that freedom away. And that is why I would crawl across broken glass to vote Leave on Thursday.



News

EU CAN DO IT

DAVID WOODING

1,105 words

19 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

1; National

12,13

English

© News Group Newspapers 2016

BELEAVE IN BRITAIN 4 DAYS TO GO BORIS IN BULLISH PLEA TO QUIT EU

BULLISH Boris Johnson last night outlined his vision of a post-Brexit Britain and declared: "This is our moment."

The Tory MP said people have nothing to fear by "backing ourselves" and voting to leave the EU on Thursday.

And he revealed the immediate steps he would take to break the nation free from the shackles he says have held us back for 40 years.

In a rallying call, he said: "This is it now. Let's do this thing.

"Later this week we'll have a once in a lifetime opportunity. This is our moment when the British people take centre stage in history.

"The eyes of Europe will be on us and hundreds of millions of people will be praying that we do the right thing and vote for change.

"If we do this, we'll be speaking up for democracy not only in Britain but throughout Europe and it will be a fine thing that will echo through the ages."

Mr Johnson said several of the worst EU ties could be broken off within days - even before talks about full withdrawal have started.

His first action would be to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice, putting full rule of law back into the hands of our own judges.

Next he would make preparations for the return of our annual contributions, leaving millions of pounds more for British ministers to spend.

Seizing back control of our borders would be the third major act, with a points-based immigration system devised that would be fair to people from across the world.

But BoJo insisted the first and most crucial act in the hours after Brexit is to make clear and cogent statements about Britain's new place in Europe.

The former London Mayor said: "The most important thing first of all is that David Cameron should stay on as Prime Minister - and I am sure he will.

"He will need to send a very powerful message to our European friends and partners that this is not a vote against Europe. It will be a vote against the institutions of the European Union.

"Britain must send a powerful signal that we remain committed to partnership and friendship with our friends and partners and that should be done very soon."

Steps towards full divorce from the EU could be taken "fairly rapidly", he added, without starting the full exit process by invoking Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty.

Mr Johnson gave a glimpse of the changes ahead as he launched into the last lap of the referendum campaign, following a three-day suspension due to the killing of MP Jo Cox.

He will criss-cross the country in a helicopter to get across his message to undecided voters.

On polling day, he will be in Scotland attending his daughter Lara's graduation ceremony before returning to London. In an exclusive interview with The Sun on Sunday, he said: "This is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to take back control of our democracy from an unelected, undemocratic, unaccountable and unreformed European Union.

"We are working flat out to achieve this. It's a chance to take back control of huge sums of money and to take back control of our trade policy. There's a massive opportunity for Britain. We should be full of excitement and hope about what can be achieved.

"This country has never gone wrong by believing in itself and trusting in its democratic institutions.

"That is what is at stake. This week is about whether we believe in British democracy or are content to see it steadily eroded and lost to unaccountable, unelected people overseas."

Mr Johnson insisted the Tory party - and the country - can pull back together again once the matter has been settled.

Though insisting Mr Cameron should stay as PM, he warned him against axing fellow Brexiteer Michael Gove from the Cabinet. "David has my full confidence," he stressed. "Don't forget I was one of the first people to back him for the leadership in 2005.

"He was the best person for the job then and he is now. I think he will survive, whatever the outcome. There are a lot of people signing letters saying they want him to stay on - and Michael Gove as well.

"In these campaigns, you always expect things to get energetic from time to time. But people need to get back together again and continue a one-nation Conservative agenda."

Mr Johnson, who is expected to get a Cabinet post in the next reshuffle, said his own future was irrelevant.

He also defended the heavy focus on immigration by the Leave campaign and blamed free movement partly for the rise of extremism.

He said: "As you know, I'm pro-immigration. I'm the proud descendant of Turks. My family is like a genetic version of a UN peace-keeping force.

"We come from everywhere, but I believe passionately that people should become British and also that you should have a policy that is fair and balanced.

"The other reason for taking back control is that I don't like extremism. I don't like the far-Right parties that you see coming up across Europe.

"I am a very moderate liberal Conservative but I think that the problem with immigration is that politicians have promised they can control it when legally they can't because we are in the EU. You can only spike the guns of the extremists and the people who are genuinely anti-immigrant if you take back control."

He added: "There is nothing to be afraid of. There will be no giant earthquake on Friday morning.

"The only economic outcome you will see is that people on low wages will gradually get a pay rise.

"Sun on Sunday readers won't go wrong believing in Britain, as I know they do. The fundamental question is, do we trust ourselves to govern ourselves or do we want to be increasingly run by people we don't elect? "This is a great opportunity and it would be a shame if we missed it.

That's why I will be out there this week telling everybody the same message: 'We can do it. Let's do it'."

david.wooding@the-sun.co.uk

If we do this thing it will echo through the ages

This is a once in a lifetime opportunity for us

'When has this country ever gone wrong by backing ourselves? Never'



News

GIVE ME 3 GOOD REASONS TO STAY IN EUROPE

EMILY ANDREWS

539 words

22 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

2; National

1,2

English

© News Group Newspapers 2016

WHAT QUEEN ASKED DINNER GUESTS:

Sorry Ma'am, we can't think of ONE

QUEEN CHATS BREXIT

THE Queen recently asked VIP guests at a dinner: "Give me three good reasons why Britain should be part of Europe."

Royal biographer Robert Lacey revealed she asked close friends and family their views on whether we should be in or out of the EU.

He said yesterday: "The Queen has no vote but she's definitely Eurosceptic. She does like robust debate. She likes a debate around the table like all of us round the country and she's been debating Brexit with close friends and family.

"But from what I've heard, she's been very careful to be scrupulously neutral."

Mr Lacey said the Queen was questioning dinner guests, thought to include Prince Andrew and Princess Anne. He said the chats took place "within the last few months at a royal home in England".

In a blog for the Daily Beast he wrote that history would show The Queen was "impeccably non-political in public".

He added: "But in private it is a different story. Her Majesty can be refreshingly outspoken among friends, as we discovered from her comments last month on the 'very rude' Chinese delegation in London. The same is true when it comes to Europe.

"'Give me THREE good reasons', she has apparently been asking her dinner companions recently, 'why Britain should be part of Europe?' I think, as is clear with the Abu Hamza case, she shares the same frustrations that everyone feels."

Mr Lacey was referring to the Queen's conversation with a BBC reporter in 2012 in which she expressed concern about why fanatical Islamic preacher Abu Hamza could not be arrested and extradited.

In his blog, Mr Lacey outlined the reasons why the Queen should support Remain.

But speaking to The Sun yesterday, he said: "My original piece finished by querying if she did have a vote, she may not agree with me.

"She has no vote. Everyone else in the royal family does but the close members of the family won't be voting either.

"She's playing it with a straight bat. She's a very thoughtful Eurosceptic but whether that means she would vote in or out, if she could, does not necessarily follow."

The Sun told in March how Her Majesty demonstrated her strong feelings on Europe during a bust-up with Nick Clegg at a Windsor Castle lunch.

Brexit campaigners were delighted Her Majesty is asking if we should be in the EU.

Tory MP Jacob Rees Mogg said: "For Queen and country we should all BeLeave in Brexit." Bernard Jenkin MP added: "I don't comment about Her Majesty, but I cannot think of three reasons why we should stay."

Buckingham Palace declined to comment.

David Cameron yesterday made a TV plea to wavering older voters to back Remain.

In a live lunchtime address, he said he wanted to talk to undecideds aged over 50 and urged them: "Think about the hopes and dreams of your children and grandchildren."

But the PM's Brexit-backing ex-aide Steve Hilton said the stunt was "weird".



News

I'M A BELEAVER

AMY JONES

1,494 words

22 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

2; National

6,7

English

© News Group Newspapers 2016

BELEAVE IN BRITAIN 1 DAY TO GO A 1

NATION'SGRAFTERS DEMAND BREXIT

'Before EU we were envy of the world, now we're a laughing stock'

'My daughter won't get the education I want for her'

TOMORROW Britain goes to the polls to vote in the referendum of a lifetime.

As the country decides whether we should stay or leave the EU, The Sun visited four regions to find out the issues that matter to the country's grafters.

And from beleaguered fishermen in Grimsby to overstretched NHS workers in Romford, East London, and young mums in Lincolnshire, voters on the front line are pleading: "We want our country back."

THE FISHERMAN

EU quotas led to the decline of the British fishing industry and only a Brexit can now save it, warns Darren Kenyon — above with The Sun's Amy.

The fisherman, 48, from Grimsby, said: "If we don't leave, fishing here will die and hundreds of years of history will die with it. There were trawlers stem to stem when I came down to the docks as a boy. The whole place was bustling. Now it's a wasteland.

"EU quotas were the death of this industry. We can't fish in our own waters any more and we're getting by hand-to-mouth. There's no point fishing for fish any more."

THE PENSIONER

WORRIES over British sovereignty, national pride and our inability to deport dangerous criminals are on the mind of Anne Port.

Anne, 77, of Romford, East London, said: "Before we went into the EU we were a prosperous country and we made our own decisions.

"We were the envy of the world but now we're a laughing stock. The change is radical and it's going too fast. We can't even deport criminals.

"There are some people coming here and ripping the heart out of my country. I've heard Romanians say they will rob and cheat people if they don't get benefits.

"I want my grandchildren to be able to go to university, get a job, and a home they can afford. I can see a better future ahead if we leave."

THE BUSINESS OWNER

CHEAP labour from the EU led to courier firm boss Angie Cook's first business folding, she says.

Angie, 50, said: "I want out. The migrants were coming in by the truck load. I was priced out of the market and was forced to close."

Angie, from Boston, Lincs, now has a new business. She said: "I have only ever employed British workers."

THE HOSPITAL WORKER

IMMIGRATION is having a severe knock-on effect on NHS services, says Dan Hutch.

Dan, 56 — who works in maintenance at Pilgrim Hospital in Boston — said: "The queues at A&E are abysmal and our NHS is at breaking point.

"Many Eastern Europeans sit outside getting phenomenally drunk. We must vote to leave."

THE FULL-TIME MUM

YOUNG mum Molly Turner is worried about the effects that EU immigration will have on the future of her one-year-old daughter Pearl.

The 21-year-old said: "You hear all these languages being spoken on the street and the language barrier is a real problem. You just can't communicate with people over here." Molly, from Boston, Lincolnshire, added: "I'm worried about what the immigration will mean for Pearl. There seem to be fewer opportunities now for British people as they are being undercut by foreign workers.

"I also worry about the effects on school. She won't get the education I want for her if she's in a massive class with loads of people.

"It's also impossible to get a GP appointment. It just makes life that little bit harder."

Too big ...

THE NURSE

LEAVING the EU will bring problems, says nurse Saras Srirangan — but staying will be far worse.

The 59-year-old, of Romford, said: "The NHS would close without immigrants to work in it but we have to control our borders and not be dictated to by Europe. We can decide what's good for us, not the other way round."

THE SHOP WORKER

NEWSAGENT assistant Farhan Saleem is sick of not having his own home.

The Romford-born dad, 34, said: "I have been waiting for a council property for a year and I have a wife and five kids.

"I've paid my taxes and always worked. Other communities coming to this country get houses straight away. They aren't even willing to work and it makes me so angry."

THE PENSIONER MORE than 40 years in the EU has taken its toll on much of the UK, reckons 69-year-old Trevor Cullum.

He believes leaving will stop the decline of his home town of Grimsby, a once-thriving fishing port, and others like it.

Trevor said: "I used to be proud to say I was from round here, but now it's a dump. The EU strangled our main industry, the money went and so did the investment from Westminster.

"Like so many other towns, the shops closed down and immigrants were placed here. We don't have enough resources to cope and it's not fair on locals. Voting out is our last chance to get our country back."

THE LABOUR CLUB STEWARD

THE EU's power and reach has been overextended while its accountability has diminished, believes Labour club steward Tony Booth. Tony, 45, who works at the club in Kidsgrove, Stoke-on-Trent, said: "The original idea was good, having a free-trade area. But this superstate has gone too far now and they interfere far too much.

"We have no say in how it's run. People over there we've never heard of are making all the rules, and constantly dictating to us. I want to take back control of our laws again.

"This European state has become too big."

THE SUPPORT WORKER

OLDER generations who remember life before the Common Market have convinced Natalie Whone that the young are being hoodwinked.

The 33-year-old support worker for the elderly, from Stoke-on-Trent, said: "They've told me what life was like before the EU and think we should go back to how it was. We should be able to deal with our issues ourselves. We need to stand on our own two feet. "We are part of Europe but we don't need to be part of the EU.

"Many of my friends wanted to stay when the Referendum was announced but they have all changed to out. If you listen to people who remember it, you understand there's nothing to fear from being out."

THE CLEANER

YOUTH employment is a major concern for shopping centre cleaner Alan Vickers.

Alan, 67, from Romford, said: "My 19-year-old son is struggling to find a job because immigrants keep getting them. We need to look after our own rather than caring for the immigrants who come in and immediately get jobs and benefits.

"We have to come out and fight our own corner for a change.

"It's time to start looking after our youngsters and future generations of British people."

THE FACTORY WORKER MIGRANT Sylvia Szal believes some people coming to the UK now are not making enough effort to search for jobs and integrate into Britain.

Sylvia, 29, moved to Boston, Lincs, from Poland ten years ago to find work.

She said: "Many of the new wave do not come over to work and integrate but take all the benefits that they can and misbehave.

"The country needs to have a system like Australia, where they can choose workers dependent on demand. Surely the UK should be able to choose people that are useful? You should vote out."

THE SHOP WORKER

HOUSING is a huge worry for Shiraz Younas, who is fighting to get his own home. The 28-year-old, from Romford, revealed to The Sun: "I want to see more housing

developments. We are a small country and we have to stop immigrants taking advantage.

"Everyone wants to come here to make the most of what is offered. If we are not careful things will get much, much worse.

"There isn't enough housing or schools or hospitals to cope with everybody already."

THE BUSINESS OWNER

THE European Union restricts Britain's global trading strengths, believes small business owner Ian Winchester-Fraser.

Ian, 67, has an IT support company with branches in Romford and York. He said:
"We could be what Hong Kong is to China. We should be able to trade freely throughout the whole world, with whoever we want. I'd want to trade with China, Russia, India and even North Korea.

"We are supposed to be able to influence what goes on within the EU but our influence has been diluted because of the sheer number of countries."



News

Just the business

TOM WELLS

1,075 words

21 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

2; National

6,7

English

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BELEAVE IN BRITAIN DAYS TO GO A 2 BOSSES & WWII HEROES JOIN
BATTLE FIRMS CALL FOR BREXIT I'NOT A LEAP IN THE DARK'

BOMBHELL LETTER 1 THE true voice of UK business today urges voters to back
Great Britain and go for Brexit.

A hundred small firm bosses have joined forces to warn that only by leaving the EU
can we truly be free.

In a letter for The Sun, our nation of shopkeepers calls on readers to BeLEAVE at the
polls on Thursday.

Small and medium-sized businesses make up 99 per cent of all UK firms.

And today the leaders of 100 of them argue the ideals of the EU are no longer in the best interests of British business or the British people.

They range from experienced company owners to young entrepreneurs and include migrants who have made this country their home and flourished.

The trades they represent range from butchers and grocers to vaping shop owners and interior designers.

Their letter says: Dear Sun readers, We run some of the five million small businesses that form the backbone of this country. We believe Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and the Brexit camp are right that we must vote to leave the EU on June 23.

When we voted to join Europe in 1975 it was on the basis that the EEC was a trading agreement.

Today's EU is no longer just a trading agreement. It is a project aimed at creating a massive political and economic union.

We believe many of the ideals of the EU are not in the best interests of British business or the British people.

Small and medium-sized businesses are constantly held back by unnecessary EU regulations and red tape.

We need the freedom to be able to thrive in the 21st century, to trade with other emerging nations and to create jobs for people in our local areas.

We believe the only way to achieve this is to vote to leave the EU.

A vote for Brexit is not a leap into the dark — it is a path to a brighter future.

Signatory and fruit and veg stall owner Barry Moore, 54, from Newcastle upon Tyne, said: "Being in the EU means we have to comply with a lot of their laws which causes waste.

"If a cucumber is not straight enough then we have to throw it out even though there is nothing wrong with it just because of the EU."

And Catherine Stanley, 41, of Pinnacle Arts and Crafts in Plymouth, Devon, added: "I believe Voting Out ...

pe it would be easier for people to flourish without all the EU red tape and I am definitely voting out."

Small businesses also blasted Sir Richard Branson yesterday after he claimed Brexit would be a blow to companies.

The Virgin Group billionaire, 65, issued an open letter claiming the EU made it easier to move employees and goods.

In his message Branson said: "Although I've been living in the British Virgin Islands for some time now, I have never stopped caring about the UK and its great people.

"I remember how difficult it was before the EU. I couldn't move employees between Britain and Europe without visas, moving goods was complex with high taxes and red tape. I'm saddened to think the UK would go back to that."

Catherine Stanley said: "He's a billionaire and I'm lucky to make a living. The richer get richer and the small are trying to do their best."

And Mr Moore added: "He should keep his nose out of it."

For the full list of signatories, go to thesun.co.uk tom.wells@the-sun.co.uk veg seller Barry

By HARRY COLE, Westminster Correspondent

WORLD War Two veterans yesterday begged the people of Britain to back Brexit — insisting the PM is misleading the public to keep us in the EU.

In an open letter to voters, the five heroes said they had "served the country on land, sea and air to ensure future generations could be free".

Meeting the vets at a Berkshire airfield yesterday, Brexit-backing Employment Minister Priti Patel said: "These people fought for our country and on Thursday we need to vote for our democracy."

"The prospect of having our security policy dictated by Brussels is a huge concern and makes a mockery of the claim that Britain is stronger in the EU."

The veterans' letter reads: "We never imagined 71 years ago that our country would be in this position.

"Sixty per cent of our laws are made by faceless Brussels bureaucrats who are unelected and the expanding EU military tells us this is far more than just a trade bloc.

"Before you cast your vote in the referendum 100 BOMBSHELL LETTER 2 dum on Thursday, we want you to know that's not what we fought for!

"Can you imagine how upsetting it is to us veterans that we see our own politicians, and our Prime Minister, misleading the British people to keep us in the European Union? "The EU is not democratic, and indeed the whole of Europe — which we liberated together with our Allies during the Second World War — needs to know that.

"We plead with you. Please don't give away everything we fought for. Please give your vote to our great country on Thursday."

Among the former servicemen Ms Patel met at White Waltham Airfield was 91-year-old Bryan Neely, who served in the RAF and remembers making Molotov cocktails at school in case of a Nazi invasion.

He said: "They thought we were on our backs at Dunkirk and they were wrong. We went on to save Europe and we can save it again."

Former Royal Engineer Colin Ashford, 97, said: "We have seen a steady erosion of our democracy." The lance corporal was part of the rearguard who protected Allied forces at Dunkirk. He was joined by Don Williams, 94, who fought in North Africa despite being too young.

The corporal in the Kings Royal Rifle Corps did not reveal his real age as he thought to do so would be cowardly.

Also there were Lieutenant Tony Banks and Lieutenant Francis Goode, who served with the Royal Artillery in Europe.

The letter was organised by Veterans for Britain, part of the official Vote Leave campaign.



News

Take first Brexit

TOM NEWTON DUNN

824 words

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English

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BELEAVE IN BRITAIN THE SUN CABBIE GRILLS RIVALS

EU IS CHEATING US WITH SHODDY DEAL

LEAVE TO REGAIN MIGRATION CONTROL

BORIS Johnson has called on Sun readers to vote for Brexit to punish the EU for cheating us with a shoddy new deal.

In an interview with The Sun Cabbie, the former London Mayor said other European leaders refused to listen to Britain's desperate appeal for tougher immigration controls.

Boris told London taxi driver Grant Davis — who is still undecided about how to vote on Thursday — that Remain campaign bosses are using doomsday scare tactics because they now fear defeat.

GRANT: If we come out, do you think the rest of Europe — the people of Portugal, Spain — would demand a referendum?

BORIS: I think it would be a massive signal to the rest of Europe now is the time for change. They tried to get away with cheating us. They tried to get away with zero change in negotiation. They tried to fob us off and it has not worked. It will strike a blow for freedom and democracy if you vote (Brexit) on Thursday.

G: It is all getting a bit personal, isn't it? Amber Rudd said on telly you are the life and soul of the party but she would not like you to be driving her home. What does she know about you? You are not a pervert, are you?

B: No! No! We are in a situation we can't control. It is as though I have got in an unlicensed minicab, and the guy does not know his way, he does not speak good English, and we are going to a destination I can't control.

G: Why do you think David Cameron said we could survive outside and now he says we can't?

B: Because I think they are panicked about people looking up, lifting their eyes to the horizon and feeling a sense of confidence and excitement about what Britain can do.

G: John Major has called you a court jester. Is that deserved?

B: People will try to reduce this debate to personalities when we need to focus on the facts.

G: How do you feel about them trying to give you a kicking?

B: As we say in Brussels, "Donnez moi a break!"

G: Sounds like something out of Only Fools and Horses. What does that mean?

B: Gimme a break. It doesn't matter what people say, provided we get the facts over and give people the choice. This is about the people of this country finally having a choice. They are coming centre stage now.

G: If we leave the EU, what guarantees can you give me and The Sun's readers you can get immigration down?

B: What we can guarantee is we can bring in an Australian-style points system. At the moment people can stand up and say they are going to cut immigration to the tens of thousands when they do not have the legal ability to do that, and that is ridiculous.

G: What do you think about people saying if you are an Outer you are a closet racist?

B: It is incredibly offensive.

G: Is xenophobia creeping into the Out campaign?

B: Absolutely not, because what we are calling for is a balanced policy. At the moment you could argue the EU policy is incredibly discriminatory against people who don't come from Europe and I think that is unfair. I think actually we are the antiracist side of the argument.

G: People in the cab have said to me this is about Boris wanting to be in No10, being PM.

B: Absolute rubbish. It suits people to try to turn it into a conversation about personalities.

G: You think Remain are losing the argument, Boris?

B: I do. I think that what we have seen in the last few days in particular is more and more panic by the In camp and I think they are less and less confident about the outcome, so they are really trying to scare people, which is totally wrong.

G: It has come to my attention that you dye your hair. Is it true?

B: It is not. Unfortunately I thought the journalist in question was being ironic, so I gave what I thought was an ironic answer.

G: I thought you said you reached for the platinum blond bottle.

B: No I don't. I wouldn't. I never have done.

Sun CABBIE'S VERDICT

BORIS is saying that if we leave EU, it will be the Promised Land on everything.

But is he right — is that really going to happen?

I like Boris and I want to believe what he says, but I just don't know.

What will we be left with if it all doesn't come true?



News

'Tomorrow's independence day for UK'

TOM NEWTON DUNN

298 words

22 June 2016

The Sun

THESUN

2; National

4,5

English

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BELEAVE IN BRITAIN 1 DAY TO GO

MARCHO F MIGRANTS CONTINUES

BORIS Johnson called on Britain to make tomorrow "independence day" by breaking free of Brussels, during the final EU TV debate.

The former London Mayor won a standing ovation from a 6,000-strong Wembley crowd to close the 100-minute slug-out fest last night on BBC1.

In a rousing tirade, he said: "They say we can't do it — we say we can.

"If we stand up for democracy, we will be speaking up for hundreds of millions of people around Europe who agree with us but who have no voice.

"And if we vote Leave and take back control, I believe this Thursday can be this country's independence day."

But delivering the Remain team's closing statement, fiery Scots Tory boss Ruth Davidson said the Leave campaign failed its "last chance" to spell out exactly what happens under Brexit.

She added: "You have to be 100 per cent sure, because there is no going back on Friday morning, and your decision could cost someone their job."

A voters' panel run by pollsters You-Gov last night gave the victory to Leave by 45 per cent to Remain's 38 per cent. Leave campaign boss Michael Gove also felt his team, including Tory Energy Minister Andrea Leadsom and Labour MP Gisela Stuart, won the clash, saying: "Boris bossed it."

Earlier, the Justice Secretary likened Government-cited economists rubbishing Brexit to those used by the Nazis to smear Albert Einstein in the 1930s.

He told LBC: "They got 100 German scientists in the pay of the Government to say that he was wrong and Einstein said, 'Look, if I was wrong, one would have been enough'."



News

TORIES MUTINY

TOM NEWTON DUNN; CRAIG WOODHOUSE

539 words

16 June 2016

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THESUN

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**BELEAVE IN BRITAIN 7 DAYS TO GO FLOTILLA FURY..&OSBORNE IN
HOT WATER**

65 MPs threaten to topple Chancellor

Backbench anger over 'Brexit Budget'

GEORGE Osborne's future as Chancellor last night hung in the balance after a fifth of Tory MPs laid down an ultimatum for him to ditch his Brexit Budget plan.

In an unprecedented revolt, the 65 livid pro-Leave backbenchers threatened to oust him if he presses ahead with £30billion of tax rises and spending cuts.

Mr Osborne yesterday claimed the squeeze will be necessary to fill the economic black hole brought on by a Brexit.

The Chancellor, right, said: "Rather than finding out the consequences for the nation's budget after we quit the EU, the public should know what they are before they take that choice so they can avoid these consequences altogether."

But the move triggered uproar and plunged Tory MPs into their worst bout of infighting of the campaign so far.

Branding it "a punishment Budget" and "Project Fear in hyperspace", the 65 MPs — including seven ex-Cabinet ministers — vowed to vote it down in the Commons. In a mass joint statement, they labelled the Chancellor's position "untenable" if he tried to carry it out.

Backbench rebel Nadine Dorries went further, calling on Mr Osborne to "resign right now" if he believes the emergency move could ever be a good idea.

Ex-Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith claimed he was "talking the economy down deliberately" in the hope of triggering "panic in the markets". He accused Mr Osborne of being "more irresponsible than I've seen from any Chancellor".

Even some of Mr Osborne's Remain allies privately branded his warning of cutting £2.5billion from the NHS and raising the basic rate of tax by 2p a mistake that may finish his career — even if Remain wins. One minister told The Sun: "George has

gone too far. It's because he knows his job's on the line. But this is a wound that will not heal for some colleagues."

And while other Tory MPs said it had wrecked the Chancellor's chance of being party leader, Mr Osborne was defiant. During a Q&A at the Hitachi train depot in Ashford, Kent, he said: "What's the point of getting involved in public life if you're not prepared to fight for the things you think are really important?"

The Treasury supremo told any MPs who have threatened to vote down his proposed Budget that they would be "sending the economy into a tailspin".

David Cameron was also attacked by his own MPs during PMQs over the plan.

And economist Jonathan Portes, of UK in a Changing Europe, said the PM and Chancellor were "misleading" voters by claiming a Brexit Budget was necessary.

Meanwhile, the election guru who led the PM to victory last year said warring Tories must unite after next Thursday's vote — or face Labour getting into No 10.

Sir Lynton Crosby said whatever the result, "nothing is more important than seeing Conservatives United". He said they have a duty to block Jeremy Corbyn "and the dangers he brings". tnd@the-sun.co.uk

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

December 14, 2007 Friday

Britain signs EU treaty ... eventually Critics attack dithering Brown

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield in Lisbon and James Kirkup

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 483 words

GORDON Brown finally signed Britain up to the European Union Reform Treaty yesterday after an embarrassing period of dithering over whether to attend the formal signing ceremony in Lisbon.

Mr Brown signed the controversial document in a coach museum, having arrived late and missed a ceremony in the city's 500-year old Jeronimos monastery, which was attended by all of the other 26 EU leaders. As Mr Brown put pen to paper, most of the other leaders were still eating lunch.

Some - including the German chancellor, Angela Merkel, and the Italian prime minister, Romano Prodi - had already left the summit by the time Mr Brown arrived.

The Prime Minister missed the full signing ceremony in order to appear before a parliamentary committee, even though MPs had offered to reschedule the hearing.

At first Downing Street suggested that he would miss the entire event. When his attendance was confirmed at the start of the week, it was suggested he would sign the treaty in private. It was only on Tuesday that his officials finally announced he would sign in public.

The repeated shifts in the Prime Minister's position have drawn scorn.

The Portuguese prime minister, Jose

Socrates, joked about Mr Brown's absence as he welcomed David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, to the summit, asking: "Where's Gordon Brown?"

William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, said Mr Brown's dithering had embarrassed Britain and betrayed voters.

"Gordon Brown has left Britain with the worst of all worlds today," he said. "With a stroke of a pen he has signed away a swathe of powers to the **EU**, but his sulky rudeness to our European partners means that he has actually managed to lose influence in Brussels."

Nicholas Sarkozy, the French president, also launched a coded swipe at Mr Brown's late arrival. "We've all got problems to deal with. I think that we need Britain in **Europe**," he said. "We need Gordon."

Even pro-Europeans said Mr Brown's failure to attend the full summit had weakened Britain's diplomatic standing.

Hugo Brady, of the Centre for European Reform think-tank, criticised "very ham-fisted diplomacy" on the part of Mr Brown.

The treaty will create a new European president and an **EU** foreign policy chief, and remove national vetoes in 55 areas of policy. It will also give legal force to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, which creates new labour laws including a right to strike.

EU leaders have admitted that the treaty is essentially the same as the defeated European Constitution. Labour promised a referendum on the constitution, but Mr Brown says no vote is needed on the treaty because he has agreed safeguards on British sovereignty.

European countries now have until the end of 2008 to ratify the treaty. Britain will do that by a parliamentary vote. Several dozen Labour MPs want a referendum on the treaty, but Labour will put its MPs on a three-line whip to back the document in Parliament.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 15, 2007 Monday

Britain's red lines anger EC chief

BYLINE: Andrew Porter

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 432 words

GORDON Brown has come under attack from the president of the European Commission ahead of a key summit over Britain's attempts to opt out of parts of the new European Union treaty.

Jose Manuel Barroso accused the Prime Minister of putting at risk the international community's drive to tackle terrorism.

He has been angered by Mr Brown's insistence that Britain will not sign up to the part of the **EU** Reform Treaty that deals with security.

EU leaders meet in Lisbon later this week to thrash out the final details of the treaty which most consider to be almost identical to the old **EU** Constitution that was rejected two years ago.

Mr Barroso said: "I think it is a mistake. Sometimes it appears as a contradiction.

"Britain, which is always first to ask for global action against terrorism, appears not to be as committed as other members of the **EU** to a common effort as other members of the **EU**. This surprises me."

His rare criticism of Mr Brown reflects a growing unease in **Europe** that the Prime Minister is being forced into a tough negotiating position by the domestic resistance to the **EU** treaty.

Mr Barroso has only reluctantly agreed to the opt-outs in order to try to get the treaty through.

He added: "I think it is better to have opt-outs for one or two countries than not to have any progress at all for the **EU**."

"I would prefer not to have them, of course. To fight international terrorism and international crime, we will need more, not less, co-ordination and integration of policies in the fields of security."

Other **EU** leaders are certain to rebuff Mr Brown if he attempts to secure more "red lines" at the summit on Thursday and Friday.

The red lines cover national sovereignty in justice and home affairs, legal rights, foreign and defence policy, tax and social security.

Opponents predict Mr Brown will try to claim victory if those areas are maintained.

Last night, a No 10 spokesman said: "Our negotiating position has not changed. The red lines are the red lines."

David Cameron, the Tory leader, intends to keep up the pressure for a referendum on the treaty.

He said: "Gordon Brown has calculated that he can bamboozle the British people with his Euro-spin, and thereby avoid the condemnation he deserves for breaking his manifesto promise."

"I think he has misjudged the mood of the country."

In an ICM poll for The Sunday Telegraph, two thirds of people said there should be a referendum.

And if a vote was held, 47 per cent say they would vote against it while 29 per cent would back it.

A Daily Telegraph campaign for a referendum has so far attracted more than 100,000 backers.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

December 12, 2007 Wednesday

Brown bows to pressure to sign EU treaty himself

BYLINE: James Kirkup and Bruno Waterfield in Brussels

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 395 words

GORDON BROWN will personally sign Britain up to the European Union treaty, caving in to demands to put his own name to the controversial document.

Downing Street had previously signalled that another minister was likely to sign the Reform Treaty at a meeting in Portugal tomorrow, because the Prime Minister will be appearing before a committee of MPs in the morning.

The timing of the premier's appearance before the liaison committee had raised suspicions that Mr Brown was trying to duck out of attending the formal approval of the treaty, which is based on the failed European Constitution.

Labour promised a referendum on the constitution, but says that no public vote is required on the Reform Treaty because the document is substantially different to the constitution and would not transfer significant powers to Brussels.

More than 100,000 people have backed a Daily Telegraph campaign demanding a referendum. Public hostility to the treaty had given Mr Brown a political incentive to stay away from its signing in Lisbon. But doubts over his attendance at the meeting had angered other EU leaders, and yesterday his spokesman announced that the Prime Minister will fly to Lisbon.

While Mr Brown will sign the document in public, he will not participate in the "family photograph" with the other leaders.

William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, said: "Some people say Gordon Brown's problems are that he isn't decisive and lacks political courage. He couldn't have done more to confirm that."

Sources in Brussels said that Mr Brown's standing among European leaders has been damaged by a Downing Street gaffe that has played badly in the diplomatic world, where "face time" and courtesies are a key part of EU politics.

Many EU diplomats believe Mr Brown has taken his eye off the ball, allowing a match advantage to rivals, especially Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president.

"Brown already has an uphill struggle to show he is the equal of Sarkozy. This episode... will certainly set him back," said one diplomat. "How seriously should other heads of state and government take a man who cannot, or will not, get his act together for the most important event in the EU calendar for years?"

Last night, Mr Brown's spokesman said: "The liaison committee agreed to move forward their meeting so the Prime Minister can be in Lisbon for as much of the day as possible."

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 18, 2007 Thursday

Brown must be brave and give the people a say on EU treaty

SECTION: NEWS; Comment; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 428 words

Gordon Brown is in Lisbon today for the final discussions on the proposed European Union reform treaty. This treaty, it will be recalled, is the document laying out the rules for the future governance of the EU. It replaces the EU constitution defeated two years ago by referenda in both France and Holland. The present Government had promised a referendum on the constitution before it could be adopted into British law. Now the constitution as such is no more, Mr Brown has reneged upon that promise: a promise made by his predecessor, Tony Blair, in the same election manifesto on which his then Chancellor fought in 2005, and to which Mr Brown signed up under collective Cabinet responsibility. Indeed, it is said Mr Brown was the predominant voice in the Cabinet calling for the vote.

He has changed his mind because, he says, the treaty is not a constitution, and therefore the promise is not binding. He goes to Lisbon, however, knowing that public opinion - mobilised not least by The Daily Telegraph in its 100,000-strong petition for a referendum - profoundly disagrees with him.

Even the House of Commons committee scrutinising the treaty says it is more or less identical to the constitution. Most assessments have it that the two documents are 90 or 95 per cent similar. It is simply wrong of Mr Brown to pretend otherwise. His reasoning, such as it is, masks one overriding consideration: that his fellow heads of government want the treaty brought in and he does not want the embarrassment of allowing Britain to thwart it. The surrender of sovereignty the treaty promises, not least on such sensitive matters as criminal justice and foreign policy, is unacceptable

to many Britons. Opposition to the treaty is such that a defeat in any referendum would be highly likely. That is why Mr Brown does not want one: yet it is the worst possible reason not to have one.

The campaign of disinformation that has been used against advocates of the referendum is that they are anti-European. That is not true in the case of this newspaper. However, unlike, it seems, the Government, we understand that **Europe** as an entity can succeed only with the consent of the people. If Mr Brown genuinely believes in a European future, he will argue his case - as should the rest of **Europe** - and seek to convince the British people why the treaty is right for our country. To resist this debate is offensively anti-democratic and brings **Europe** into disrepute. It is not too late for Mr Brown to change his mind on a referendum, and it would be a sign of strength for him if he did.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

December 15, 2007 Saturday

Brown's dithering has undermined Britain's status, says Mandelson

BYLINE: James Kirkup and Bruno Waterfield in Brussels

SECTION: NEWS; POLITICS; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 652 words

GORDON Brown faced a Blairite attack for his dithering over the new European Union treaty yesterday as Peter Mandelson suggested the Prime Minister's faltering performance had put Britain "on the back foot".

On Thursday, Mr Brown was forced to sign Britain up to the controversial document on his own after he arrived too late for a formal signing ceremony in Portugal attended by all the other 26 EU leaders.

Downing Street said the Prime Minister's late arrival was inevitable because of his appearance before a committee of MPs in the morning, but critics suggested Mr Brown contrived the delay in a flawed attempt to distance himself from the treaty.

European officials are privately unhappy about Mr Brown's behaviour. Some think it reflects a sceptical attitude towards the European project. Others simply see it as bad manners.

Mr Mandelson, the EU Trade Commissioner and a long-standing enemy of the Prime Minister, yesterday suggested that Mr Brown's manoeuvring had undermined Britain's position in **Europe**.

"In politics you don't win an argument by putting yourself on the back foot," he told the Politics Show on BBC1. "If you have a case, you make it confidently, you present it with conviction."

Echoing the private remarks of other **EU** officials, Mr Mandelson said Mr Brown should devote more attention to Britain's relations with **Europe**. "I think Gordon Brown believes in it, I think he is capable of doing it, I think he's prepared to do it," he said. "No doubt it needs to assume a higher priority."

Mr Brown last night hit back at Mr Mandelson. "I think we are very much on the front foot," he told reporters. "I think we are leading the debate."

Mr Mandelson's remarks could prove politically explosive, reopening old wounds in the Labour Party. The rest of Mr Blair's senior allies have remained publicly silent in recent weeks despite their growing concern over Mr Brown's performance as prime minister and a string of government scandals that have sent Labour's poll ratings plummeting.

Mr Brown also came under fire from the Conservatives as **EU** leaders pressed ahead with plans to set up a group of "sages" to plan the next 30 years of the European project.

Mr Brown had insisted that after the **EU** Reform Treaty, **Europe** should focus on practical policies such as economic reform that would make an immediate difference to voters' lives. But **EU** leaders meeting in Brussels yesterday approved a plan brought forward by President Nicolas Sarkozy of France to establish a "reflecting group" that will look at the long-term future of the Union.

Eurosceptics fear that the group will continue the work of the convention that drew up the failed European constitution.

Mr Brown last night said the new "reflection group" would not lead to more European integration and insisted that the **EU's** agenda was now moving on to concrete issues. "It's time to focus on the economy, on security, on the environment," he said.

Yet even as he spoke, Mr Sarkozy was telling French journalists that the new body would indeed be setting a new blueprint for the whole union.

"The job of the group of the wise is to define a new European dream," Mr Sarkozy said.

Felipe Gonzalez, a former Spanish prime minister, will lead the review. He was appointed against Mr Brown's wishes and could prove a controversial choice.

Mr Gonzalez was one of the architects of the single European currency. In 1998, he hailed the euro as a step to political integration, saying: "We need this United **Europe** - we must never forget that the euro is an instrument for this project."

Mark Francois, the Tory shadow **Europe** minister, said: "Gordon Brown has failed Britain at this summit.

"He signed the renamed **EU** constitution without a democratic mandate from the British people. He offended everyone by arriving late. And he has opened a Pandora's box by agreeing to a reflection group with no clear remit, chaired by an old Spanish socialist."

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 19, 2007 Friday

Calls for EU treaty poll ring out all over Europe

BYLINE: Toby Helm and Bruno Waterfield in Lisbon

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 498 words

GORDON Brown comes under intense pressure today from across **Europe** to hold a referendum on the **EU** treaty as academics, diplomats and politicians unite to demand votes in all 27 member states.

The formation of the European Referendum Campaign, announced on the letters page of today's Daily Telegraph, comes after the Prime Minister agreed last night to rubber-stamp the biggest transfer of powers to Brussels since the 1992 Maastricht Treaty.

The deal, finalised late last night at his first **EU** summit as Prime Minister, will end 40 national vetoes, create a European foreign policy chief and a permanent European president and also give Brussels the power to sign international treaties. Mr Brown, who effectively ruled out a referendum on the handover of powers contained in the treaty, was accused by the Tories of surrendering British interests without a fight.

But the new pan-European campaign is proof that referendum fever is not confined to Britain. The group spans the full political spectrum in **EU** politics, from Conservative euro-sceptics to Socialists, Liberals and Greens, and even Tony Blair's former economic adviser Derek Scott.

It also includes academics, former diplomats and the Sixties arts-cinema pin-up turned Left-wing activist, Susan George.

In their letter, the group says: "The adoption of this far-reaching document without referendums would further decrease the legitimacy of the **EU** and seriously damage democracy in **Europe**."

Before giving his final assent to the treaty, Mr Brown said that when it was finally agreed, **Europe** had to concentrate on the real concerns of citizens.

He claimed to have fought successfully to defend the so-called "red lines", which he insists mean Britain can run its own foreign, justice and social security policies as well as preventing the **EU** Charter of Fundamental Rights from encroaching on UK law.

"At every point we have been determined to protect the British national interest and ensure the interests of the British people are safeguarded," Mr Brown said.

Despite the mounting public pressure for a referendum, he said he did not believe one would be necessary. "If it was the old constitutional treaty that was proposed before, there would have been a referendum. But the constitutional concept was abandoned," he said.

Mr Brown set the stage for a ratification process in the House of Commons early next year. The treaty needs to be ratified in all member states to come into force.

His Government is bracing itself for parliamentary guerrilla warfare over the treaty. But Mr Brown insisted that he was relaxed about the danger that Labour faced the kind of internecine internal battles that hit the Tories over the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

He said: "Let us now have the debate in the country which will be reflected through what will be a very substantial number of days we will debate this issue in Parliament.

"People can judge for themselves, as I believe they will, that the British national interest has been protected."

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 30, 2007 Tuesday

EU treaty 'rewritten to avoid referendum'

BYLINE: Toby Helm Chief Political Correspondent

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 334 words

VALÉRY Giscard d'Estaing, the architect of the abandoned European Constitution, has admitted that EU leaders rewrote the document in a different order to avoid the need for referendums.

The statement by the former French president, who chaired the body of more than 100 European politicians that framed the original constitution, led to new calls last night for Gordon Brown to grant the British people a vote.

In an open letter to Le Monde, a French newspaper, Mr D'Estaing sought to clarify his view on the differences - if any - between two treaties.

He wrote: "The institutional proposals of the constitutional treaty ... are found complete in the Lisbon Treaty, only in a different order and inserted in former treaties."

He made clear that the purpose of the rewritten treaty, called the Lisbon Treaty, was to make people think the new version did not merit being put to referendums.

"It is to avoid having referendums thanks to the fact that the articles are spread out and constitutional vocabulary has been removed," he added.

Gordon Brown gave his blessing less than two weeks ago to the **EU Reform Treaty** at a meeting of heads of state and government in Lisbon.

He said there was no need for the Government to honour its 2005 election manifesto promise to hold a referendum because the redrafted version was much less far-reaching than the defunct Constitutional Treaty.

Labour never had to honour its pledge to hold a referendum because the Constitutional Treaty had already been rejected by voters in France and the Netherlands.

A new European treaty has to be ratified in each member state, either in a referendum or in a vote in the national parliament.

While Mr Brown and David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, have stuck to the line that many of the big changes have been removed from the text, other **EU** politicians (indetermination) have confessed that it is the same as the constitution in all but name.

Mark Francois, the Tory spokesman on **Europe**, said last night that Mr d'Estaing had "let the cat out of the bag".

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 8, 2007 Monday

EU treaty really is a revamp of failed constitution, say MPs

BYLINE: Andrew Porter, Martin Banks and Christopher Hope

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 535 words

THE European Union reform treaty is equivalent in substance and effect to the old **EU** constitution, a key Commons committee will say tomorrow.

It will add to pressure on the Government and increase calls for a referendum.

The European Scrutiny Committee will also raise doubts about the safety of Britain's "red lines". Gordon Brown yesterday repeated his pledge that he would defend the red lines that were negotiated in June which he says secures vital get-outs of key parts of the treaty.

But the Labour-dominated committee's conclusions that the treaty and the constitution are equivalent will be a blow to the Government. The annexe at the back of the report will list 440 clauses of the old constitution and demonstrate how similar they are to sections of the new treaty.

At a hearing last week, the committee's MPs were surprised to learn from Jim Murphy, minister for **Europe**, that Britain was given just 48 hours' notice of the details in the treaty before being asked to agree to it.

A Daily Telegraph campaign calling for a referendum has now got the backing of more than 100,000 people.

It has also emerged that Eurojust, the European Union crime-fighting body, is seeking new powers to freeze property and goods and gain access to British police databases in next week's controversial **EU** reform treaty.

Eurojust, based in The Hague, was set up five years ago to co-ordinate the fight against serious cross-border crime throughout **Europe**. It now wants to be given powers to issue arrest warrants, seize goods and order prosecutions. A position paper, seen by The Daily Telegraph, proposes that Eurojust, made up of prosecutors, magistrates and senior police officers from each **EU** member state, is ready to assume the role of a European public prosecutor.

The **EU** justice commissioner, Franco Frattini, also favours creating a Euro-prosecutor capable of directing national police to carry out investigations on cross-border drugs crimes, counter terrorism and fraud.

Extra tasks, it says, could include the issuing of **EU** arrest warrants and monitoring how countries help criminal investigations in other member states.

However, Tim Kirkhope MEP, leader of the UK Tories in the European parliament, said: "I have urged Mr Fratinni to concentrate on developing inter-governmental co-operation between law enforcement agencies in **Europe** but not extending the powers of any current body including and especially Eurojust."

It also emerged that under in the new treaty the European Court of Justice will have full jurisdiction over **EU** criminal justice agreements, which they currently do not have.

All of the proposals will be put to Mr Brown and fellow **EU** leaders when they come to ratify the controversial reform treaty in Lisbon next week.

The Conservatives' **Europe** spokesman Mark Francois said this "significant extension of the **EU's** power" made it vitally important that Mr Brown agreed to a referendum on the new treaty. "In time we would see **EU** judges effectively rewriting crucial areas of our law. Our criminal justice will be yet more vulnerable to **EU** interference," he said. "This climbdown by Brown makes it all the more important that he honours his promise and lets the British people have the final say."

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

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The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

March 24, 2007 Saturday

Europe's leaders to announce new treaty

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield in Berlin

SECTION: NEWS; International; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 274 words

TONY Blair will join **Europe's** leaders today to declare, amid great pomp and ceremony, that "we the citizens" are ready for an **EU** Constitution Mark II within two years.

A "Berlin declaration" is the centrepiece of a weekend of grand and lavish celebrations to mark the 50th anniversary of the **EU's** original Treaty of Rome.

Europe's heads of state will discuss a new mission statement for the **EU** after French and Dutch voters rejected the European Constitution in 2005.

A key part of the text, crafted by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the current holder of the **EU** presidency, is a commitment to agreement and ratification of a new European treaty by the time of euro elections in June 2009.

Tomorrow, Miss Merkel, Mr Blair and other European leaders will discuss possible ways of resurrecting elements of the old constitution without triggering referendums and more defeats in the months ahead.

New Brussels powers to fight climate change and terrorism, a European foreign minister and an **EU** president are old constitution proposals expected to make a comeback.

In German newspaper interviews yesterday, Miss Merkel said: "It takes a long time for the 27 member states to reach a consensus that we need an **EU** constitutional treaty to harmonise the decision-making mechanisms."

The declaration and talks come as the first ever opinion poll across all the **EU's** member states shows a growing gulf between **Europe's** elites and citizens.

The Open **Europe** survey found that 75 per cent of Europeans want a chance to vote on any new treaty that gives more powers to the **EU** - a demand almost certain to be ignored. Only 28 per cent back new powers for **Europe**

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 3, 2007 Wednesday

Hague promises law on EU votes 'by law'

BYLINE: Toby Helm Chief Political Correspondent

SECTION: NEWS; Conservatives at Blackpool; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 247 words

WILLIAM Hague made **Europe** an election battleground yesterday when he promised a change in the law to require future governments to hold referendums on further transfers of power to Brussels.

The shadow foreign secretary delighted Tory activists with a commitment not just to hold a referendum on the present European Union reform treaty, but to make it a legal requirement for all British governments to do the same if and when the **EU** seeks to expand its powers substantially in future.

Mr Hague said a Tory government would try to ensure national votes had to be held by amending the 1972 European Communities Act, the law under which Britain joined.

The commitment marked a return to traditional territory for the Tories and Mr Hague who, as Conservative leader, fought and lost the 2001 election campaign on a promise to "Save the Pound".

Under David Cameron's leadership, the Tories have sought until recently to play down European issues. But Mr Hague now believes he has Labour on the run over its refusal to hold a referendum on the proposed reform treaty - having promised one on the failed Constitutional Treaty in the 2005 election manifesto.

His comments came as the number of people to have signed The Daily Telegraph's petition for a referendum reached 104,077.

Mr Hague accused the Government of one of the most "bare-faced and deliberate misrepresentations in the modern annals of political deceit" for pretending the new treaty was less far-reaching than its predecessor.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 18, 2007 Thursday

Let's vote, say MPs Study

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 188 words

Kate Hoey, Labour MP, Vauxhall

The Prime Minister must recognise that signing up to this treaty and refusing a referendum will send a negative signal about his style of government. Gordon Brown must listen to the voice of the public.

Austin Mitchell, Labour MP, Grimsby

Gordon Brown should call a referendum. If they do not give us a referendum, they are saying that the British people are too stupid and have to be conned into it. That is not the basis for a good relationship. He should announce a referendum and that will strengthen his negotiating position in **Europe**.

Gisela Stuart, Labour MP, Birmingham Edgbaston

It's a matter of trust and integrity. A referendum was promised. It should be delivered. If Labour can't trust the people, why should the people trust Labour?

It is not too late to offer one.

Bob Crow, general secretary, RMT union: Chancellor Merkel says it's essentially the same document, former French president Giscard d'Estaing says it's 'very, very near' the original. So does Giuliano Amato, who should know, because he helped write it. It is the back-door constitution that would transform the **EU** into a state.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

March 9, 2007 Friday

Merkel's push for EU constitution

BYLINE: Toby Helm and Bruno Waterfield in Brussels

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 259 words

EUROPEAN leaders took the first steps towards reviving elements of the European Union constitution last night as they prepared to make a "clear commitment" to look again at how to strengthen its role in the world.

Over dinner in Brussels, the 27 heads of state were told by Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor, whose country holds the **EU** presidency, that **Europe** must quickly re-address issues left unresolved when the constitution was rejected by French and Dutch voters in 2005.

Mrs Merkel told fellow **EU** leaders, including Tony Blair, that a statement later this month to celebrate the community's 50th birthday should include a pledge to return to the thorny questions of how to equip **Europe's** institutions for a membership of 27 nations. The statement, to be signed off at a special birthday meeting in Berlin on March 25, is likely to refer to the need for an "institutional settlement" - the new Brussels code for a slimmed down, constitution mark two.

Mr Blair, who is desperate to avoid another row over **Europe** before he leaves office in the summer, has battled hard to persuade the Germans to avoid any direct reference to the constitution in the declaration.

"The word 'constitution' is a difficult word. It is a term that we will not use in our declaration," said one German diplomat.

Arriving at the summit, Mr Blair said: "I think the most important thing for us in **Europe** is to make changes that allow a **Europe** of 27 (countries) to work effectively."

He also reaffirmed his commitment to holding a referendum before any major changes are agreed.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 5, 2007 Friday

No need for referendum, says Blair adviser

BYLINE: Martin Banks in Brussels and Christopher Hope

SECTION: NEWS; Politics; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 285 words

TONY Blair's former **Europe** adviser says the UK should accept the European Union reform treaty.

The treaty has ignited fierce opposition, with critics claiming it amounts to a revived version of the old EU Constitution, which was abandoned after being rejected in referendums in France and the Netherlands.

The number of readers who support The Daily Telegraph's campaign for a referendum on the new treaty passed the 100,000 mark last week. The campaign is now one of the biggest in the newspaper's 152-year history.

However, Sir Stephen Wall said: "I did not see the need for a referendum in the first place as nothing in the constitutional treaty was changing the basic terms of our membership, approved by referendum already.

"We trust parliament to take decisions on the death penalty, abortion, euthanasia and going to war. Those who say parliament is not competent to decide this issue should be campaigning for a referendum on the British constitution, not **Europe**." He pointed out that two-thirds of EU member states had already ratified it.

He said: "These issues have always been controversial in the UK because they raise sovereignty questions that we have found difficult from the 1950s onwards. So it is right to have a debate. But it needs to be conducted honestly. The polemic sometimes gets in the way of the facts."

Despite critics claiming the new treaty contains "90 per cent" of the Constitution, and a pledge by Labour to hold a national poll at the last election, Gordon Brown has refused to bow to the pressure.

Mark Francois, the shadow **Europe** minister, said: "Sir Stephen's views have the merit of consistency - he has never believed in referendums. The same cannot be said for Gordon Brown."

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

December 14, 2007 Friday

Q&A Further shift of power to Brussels officials

SECTION: NEWS; EU Reform Treaty; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 221 words

What has Gordon Brown signed?

A new European Union Reform Treaty, which most other leaders admit is essentially the same as the old constitution. Mr Brown insists that the new treaty is different enough to free him from Labour's 2005 General Election pledge to hold a referendum on the constitution.

How does this treaty differ from the constitution? The difference is down to legal detail. The constitution would have created a new body of EU law. The new document is an "amending treaty" that draws on previous treaties like the Maastricht Treaty and the EU's founding Treaty of Rome.

Mr Brown says that Britain is not weakened by the treaty. Is that true? No. The term "constitution" may have been dropped but the new treaty will still give more power over foreign policy to unelected officials in Brussels. Under the new treaty, 55 national vetoes are scrapped outright.

People say that Tony Blair is going to stage a comeback as "president" of **Europe**, is that true? Possibly. Mr Blair is the current favourite for the new job when it is created in 2009.

What happens next? Mr Brown will bring forward a ratification bill to the House of Commons next month. In May or June, Ireland will hold a referendum. Unless Irish voters (unlikely) or British MPs throw a spanner in the works, the new treaty comes into force on Jan 1, 2009.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 18, 2007 Thursday

Seven in ten voters call for an EU poll but Brown insists: We don't need one

BYLINE: Toby Helm, Christopher Hope and Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 582 words

THE Prime Minister is ready to defy the British people by refusing them a vote on the EU reform treaty despite a new poll for The Daily Telegraph showing almost seven out of ten want a referendum.

Tomorrow Gordon Brown is expected to agree to the treaty at a European summit in Lisbon, paving the way for a further transfer of powers to the EU.

At Question Time in the Commons yesterday, Mr Brown made it clear he had no intention of calling a referendum, arguing that the treaty would not lead to any "fundamental change" in the way the country is governed.

However an exclusive YouGov poll shows that 69 per cent of voters want a say. When the same question was put by YouGov two weeks ago, 64 per cent wanted a referendum. In a further blow to Mr Brown's authority, the survey shows 57 per cent of Labour supporters want a vote.

Equally significantly, 70 per cent of those who support the pro-EU Liberal Democrats want a referendum, as do 87 per cent of Conservatives.

Mr Brown has tried to halt the clamour by claiming that the treaty is less far-reaching than its predecessor, the constitutional treaty, on which Labour promised a referendum in its 2005 election manifesto. The survey shows that only six per cent of

people accept his argument while 42 per cent say the treaty does not "differ substantially" from the constitutional treaty.

YouGov's findings were supported last night by another poll that found three quarters of Britons want a referendum. The Harris poll for the Financial Times also found large majorities for a referendum in Germany, Italy, Spain and France.

During heated Commons exchanges, David Cameron said Mr Brown's credibility with the British people rested on him honouring the 2005 election pledge.

If he broke that promise "no one will trust him on anything else," the Tory leader said. He added: "The reason you won't have a referendum is that you are scared of losing it."

The treaty, which Mr Brown says should be agreed by MPs in Parliament, will create a new EU foreign policy chief, a permanent president of the Council of Ministers, sweep away around 60 national vetoes and give the community new powers to sign international treaties.

Mr Brown argues that the right of the British government to run its own justice, foreign, social security and employment policies has been secured in protocols and opt-outs known as the "red lines".

However his position was undermined when David Blunkett, the former home secretary, questioned whether the red lines were as strong as Mr Brown liked to claim.

Describing himself as a "euro-sceptic" Mr Blunkett wrote in a newspaper column that the Prime Minister should be aware that demands for a referendum "will not go away".

Mr Brown could be put under further pressure by the Liberal Democrat leadership contest in which Nick Clegg, a former Euro-MP, is the front-runner.

In 2003 Mr Clegg argued for a referendum on the constitutional treaty. If he takes the same line again, the force of the cross-party campaign could force Mr Brown to give way.

One senior Lib-Dem MP said that most of the party's MPs were likely to vote for a referendum amendment when the treaty is put to Parliament.

José Manuel Barroso, the European Commission president, told the national leaders last night that there were "no reasons, no excuses" why the treaty should not be agreed tomorrow. "This will not be the Battle of Lisbon," he said.

By last night more than 107,000 readers had signed The Daily Telegraph's petition calling for a referendum.

The Daily Telegraph (LONDON)

October 1, 2007 Monday

Two thirds of voters want referendum on EU treaty

BYLINE: Christopher Hope Home Affairs Correspondent

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 543 words

TWO thirds of Britons want to have a referendum on the new European Union reform treaty - including a majority of supporters from the main political parties, according to an exclusive YouGov poll.

The treaty has ignited fierce opposition, with critics claiming it amounts to little more than a revived version of the old EU Constitution, which was abandoned after being rejected in referendums in France and the Netherlands.

Last week, it emerged that Denmark could hold its own poll and Scotland and Northern Ireland could move towards consultative polls despite the entrenched opposition from Gordon Brown.

The Prime Minister is under pressure because of a Labour commitment in its 2005 manifesto to hold a national vote on the **EU** Constitution before it was halted by the French and Dutch votes.

The survey, commissioned by The Daily Telegraph, found that 64 per cent of all voters thought there should be a national referendum on whether Britain should ratify the new **EU** treaty.

Only 12 per cent thought there should not be a national vote on the treaty.

YouGov polled 2,165 electors across Britain between Wednesday and Friday, as Labour's annual conference was coming to a close.

The study found a majority in every major political party in favour of a referendum, from 85 per cent of Conservative voters, to 55 per cent of Labour supporters and 59 per cent of Liberal Democrat voters.

Just six per cent of all voters thought "the new treaty differs substantially from the old constitution and no longer contains most of the provisions that many people objected to two years ago".

Mark Francois, the shadow **Europe** minister, said the poll showed "beyond doubt that there is overwhelming public support for a referendum".

The cross party campaign, I Want a Referendum, signed up more than 500 party activists and delegates at the Labour, Liberal Democrat and TUC conferences over the past three weeks.

Paul Stephenson, a spokesman, said: "This issue is bigger than narrow party politics - it's about democracy. If Gordon Brown refuses to listen to the people it will hurt him in the next general election."

Last week, in a surprise move in Denmark, the power-sharing Conservative party called for a referendum on the **EU's** treaty, saying it was "idiotic" not to.

A spokesman said: "We have nothing to hide and it would be idiotic to act as if we had. It would only cement a faulty perception among the people."

Pressure has also come from local parishes, which have been organising their own local referendums. Broughton Astley, Leics, has become the latest to call a referendum, asking its 7,000 adults next month: "Do you want a national referendum on the EU Reform Treaty?"

William Hague, the shadow foreign secretary, is likely to address the issue when he speaks at the Tory conference in Blackpool tomorrow.

The number of readers who support The Daily Telegraph's campaign for a referendum totals more than 102,500. The campaign is now one of the biggest in the newspaper's 152-year history.

Despite critics claiming the new treaty contains "90 per cent" of the Constitution, Mr Brown has refused to offer the British public a referendum before its introduction.

Mr Brown will head to Brussels on Oct 18 to agree the treaty, ahead of the formal signing in December.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 8, 2011 Thursday

Edition 1;

National Edition

An answer? I'm sorry, that's out of the question;

Churchillian Cameron takes up defensive position at PMQs Sketch

BYLINE: Michael Deacon

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 16

LENGTH: 534 words

DAVID CAMERON has been talking tough on **Europe**. Addressing the nation via a newspaper article yesterday morning, the Prime Minister made his position stirringly clear.

If Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy do anything that threatens to hurt the City of London, he will defend our island, whatever the cost may be. He will exercise his veto on the beaches. He will exercise his veto on the landing grounds. He will exercise it in the fields and in the streets, he will exercise it in the hills. He will never surrender.

Unless, of course, the question is about the repatriation of social and employment powers, in which case he will surrender, and we shall go on doing on our beaches, landing grounds etc, whatever Brussels orders us to do. Not that Mr Cameron put it like that. At Prime Minister's Questions he continued to present himself as a figure of

Churchillian fortitude. At tomorrow's **EU** summit, he said, he could "guarantee" to show "bulldog spirit", to "stand up for Britain", to bring home "a good deal for Britain".

For some reason, though, he never specified what this "good deal" would consist of. Time and again he was asked to do so, both by the Labour leader Ed Miliband (who delivered most of his questions with uncharacteristic confidence and skill) and many Conservative backbenchers. They all, in essence, wanted to know the same thing: what powers, if any, would the Prime Minister ask Brussels to hand back? We never learnt. Every time there was a question about the repatriation of powers, Mr Cameron gave an impassioned and lengthy reply. Unfortunately, the reply was never about the repatriation of powers. Asked about cutting European red tape, he talked about cutting British red tape. Asked about his promises on **Europe** while in Opposition, he swerved abruptly into an attack on Labour's spending policies. I wondered what improbable alley he'd dart down next.

"Can the Prime Minister tell us whether he agrees with Owen Paterson, the Northern Ireland Secretary, that a referendum on Britain's relationship with the **EU** is 'inevitable'?"

"Mr Speaker, the duckbilled platypus - Ornithorhynchus Anatinusacropus in the Latin - is a semi-aquatic mammal native to Australia. Its diet includes shrimps, worms..."

Perhaps we're being unfair. It may be that Mr Cameron is suffering from a severe build-up of ear wax, which causes him to mishear unfriendly questions.

As at last week's PMQs - when the big topic was the Chancellor's Autumn Statement - Mr Cameron seemed tetchy. Once again, Mr Miliband and Ed Balls repeatedly mouthed "Calm down!" at him. The more they did so, the less calm he became. His voice grew louder. His face grew redder.

Mr Balls brandished a bar chart that purported to show how the Government was hitting the poor harder than the rich. Mr Cameron dismissed it, instead denouncing Mr Miliband for his "scripted jokes", which felt rather like Peter Stringfellow denouncing Page 3 for its objectification of women. Sure enough, within 10 minutes the PM was repeating the joke George Osborne told yesterday about Labour's spending plans matching those of the Moldovan Communist Party.

So that was Prime Minister's Questions. A pity we didn't get Prime Minister's Answers.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 13, 2011 Tuesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

Brussels threatens to target City

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 502 words

EUROPEAN leaders yesterday warned Britain that its decision to veto a new **EU** treaty would not protect it from far-reaching financial regulation.

Nicolas Sarkozy, the French president, said David Cameron's demands to protect the City of London were "unacceptable" and would not protect Britain's economic interests against **EU** regulation.

Mr Sarkozy said he blamed "Anglo-Saxon capitalism" for the financial crisis and warned that Britain's refusal to enter the euro would have "consequences".

He told Le Monde, the French newspaper: "I would add that the demands on financial services were not acceptable."

He added: "**Europe** must move towards more regulation."

The European Commission said Mr Cameron's veto was a "mistake" and that Britain would face further oversight.

Ollie Rehn, the Commissioner for Economic and Monetary affairs, said: "If this move was intended to prevent bankers and financial corporations in the City from being regulated, that is not going to happen. We must all draw lessons from the financial crisis and that goes for the financial sector as well."

Concerns that the City now faces a hostile **Europe** deepened yesterday after Jean-Pierre Jouyet, the head of the Autorité des Marchés Financiers, the French financial regulator, launched an extraordinary attack on Tory eurosceptics.

"For a long time it was said that the French Right was the world's stupidest," he said. "I think the English Right has shown it is capable of being the world's stupidest, in serving purely financial interests and not the national interest."

Mr Cameron's insistence that the **EU's** institutions would not be used by the new Euro-Plus grouping were undermined yesterday when the Council Legal Service, which gives legal advice to European governments, presented plans for the drafting of its new fiscal treaty.

The **EU** lawyers told a meeting of Brussels ambassadors, including Britain's Sir Kim Darroch, that a draft Euro-Plus treaty could be ready as early as next week.

European Commission sources yesterday added to British fears when officials admitted that the new Euro-Plus group would have a majority at meetings of European finance ministers, effectively hijacking the **EU**. But Britain was looking less isolated yesterday as it emerged that several non-eurozone countries, including Sweden, Hungary, Denmark and the Czech Republic, need parliamentary approval before signing up to the Euro-Plus treaty next March.

Splits are also emerging in the Franco-German alliance at the heart of the Euro-Plus after the French president dismissed plans by Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, to give the new "fiscal compact" treaty powers to enforce budget cuts and austerity.

The issue of the loss of French budgetary sovereignty has become a central presidential election issue after François Hollande, the Socialist candidate who is challenging Mr Sarkozy, refused to accept any agreement that would enshrine spending limits in France's constitution.

He said he would negotiate a new agreement if elected next year.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 8, 2011 Thursday

Edition 3;

National Edition

Cameron faces another revolt from the ranks as Tory rebels demand referendum on euro deal

BYLINE: James Kirkup; Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 613 words

DAVID CAMERON faced a further Conservative revolt over **Europe** yesterday as a Cabinet minister and the Mayor of London told him he must hold a referendum on the fiscal union being created to save the euro.

Tory anger will be further inflamed today by a German rejection of Britain's demand that the eurozone rescue deal must include legal protections for the City.

Owen Paterson, the Northern Ireland Secretary, broke ranks by declaring that backing a more integrated eurozone would make it "inevitable" that the Prime Minister would have to give voters a say.

Boris Johnson, the London Mayor, said Mr Cameron would have "absolutely no choice" but to hold a referendum. **EU** leaders were "in danger of saving the cancer and not the patient", he said.

Mr Cameron also suffered embarrassment in the Commons as his backbenchers urged him to fight harder to win back powers from Brussels. Ed Miliband, the Labour leader, mocked the Prime Minister for failing to deliver on promises.

Ahead of talks on a rescue deal in Brussels today, Standard & Poor's, the ratings agency, placed the EU on watch for a possible credit downgrade after sending a similar warning to 15 eurozone nations. It said it might cut the EU's AAA longterm issuer credit rating if it lowered the AAA ratings of member states.

Mr Cameron is going to Brussels to discuss a treaty that further integrates the fiscal systems of countries using the single currency.

Despite warnings that failure to agree a deal will lead to a catastrophic loss of confidence in financial markets, some officials were pessimistic, suggesting that big decisions could be postponed.

France and Germany have said a treaty should be finalised by March. Paris and Berlin yesterday circulated a proposal for fiscal union that also suggests a tax on transactions between banks within the eurozone.

The US government has called for a swift resolution to the crisis, and President Barack Obama is understood to have discussed the issue with Mr Cameron yesterday.

Tory MPs told Mr Cameron the summit was a "once-in-a-lifetime opportunity" to win back power from Brussels in exchange for giving his consent to the fiscal union. Andrew Rosindell challenged Mr Cameron to "show some bulldog spirit" at the summit. John Baron demanded "a fundamental renegotiation of our relationship with the EU".

But the Prime Minister insisted that his "key aim" was saving the euro, signalling that the repatriation of powers must wait. He has also ruled out a referendum on the rescue deal. Mr Cameron insists that he will veto any deal that does not offer clear assurances that the City will be shielded from EU regulation.

Almost 30 Tory MPs and peers have signed a letter to The Daily Telegraph telling Mr Cameron it is "imperative" he gets protection for the financial sector. "Without strong action, the present drift seriously threatens both British jobs and Exchequer revenues," they warn.

Germany yesterday dismissed Mr Cameron's claim for concessions. A senior official insisted that noneurozone countries had no grounds for concessions because the treaty changes would not affect them.

In Brussels, senior officials in the European commission were said to have described Mr Cameron's tactics as "obnoxious and disruptive". A senior German official warned that attempts to exempt the City from regulation could derail the talks.

In a tactic to isolate Britain and split the 10 non-eurozone EU members, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy yesterday invited the 23 members of a "Euro Plus" economic pact to monthly summits. The move will lead to decisions on economic policy being taken without British involvement.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Cameron makes his euro stand, in splendid isolation;

THE SUMMIT Conference delegates joked about wife swapping but the Prime Minister remained firmly wedded to Britain's financial services

BYLINE: James Kirkup; Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4,5

LENGTH: 1553 words

"IT'S the right thing to say, 'I cannot do that.' " With those few words well before dawn yesterday, David Cameron announced a momentous shift in Britain's relationship with the European Union.

It was just after 6.20am in the British briefing room of the Justus Lipsius summit centre in Brussels and the Prime Minister was ending almost 12 hours of intense diplomatic turbulence.

Mr Cameron arrived in Brussels at 6pm on Thursday after a bumpy flight from RAF Northolt, fresh from watching his son Elwen in his school nativity play.

Shortly before 7pm, he arrived at the summit and went into a meeting with Mario Monti, Italy's prime minister. That meeting was described as "short and sweet". The next one was neither.

For 45 minutes, Mr Cameron met Nicolas Sarkozy and Angela Merkel, the Franco-German partnership now widely known by the portmanteau "Merkozy".

Mr Sarkozy and Mrs Merkel are the motor driving plans for a fiscal union between the 17 eurozone states, a union that will require a new treaty.

In exchange for backing that treaty among all 27 EU members, Mr Cameron wanted promises that the City of London would be shielded from future EU financial regulation. That demand was a product of the growing insistence from Conservative MPs that he should not return from Brussels empty-handed.

Even before Mr Cameron had arrived, the French had given his claim short shrift. As a country outside the euro, Britain had no right to claim special favours.

Some of the French objections were couched in decidedly undiplomatic language: one source likened his position to a man attending a wife swapping party without his spouse. Yet Tory MPs were being equally evocative, with one warning Mr Cameron not to return with a "piece of paper" and an empty promise, like Neville Chamberlain in 1938.

In the "Merkozy" meeting, Mr Cameron made clear the pressure on him. If he did not return with concessions for his party, he could not promise that Conservative MPs

would pass legislation now before Parliament to ratify the eurozone bail-out fund due to be launched in 2013.

Britain will not pay into the European Stability Mechanism, but as an instrument of the EU, a British ratification is required for it to come into being. British officials insisted that it was not a threat, merely a statement of political fact. But in the febrile atmosphere of the summit, even the perception of such a threat against a key element of the eurozone rescue could be dangerous.

The simmering tension over Mr Cameron's demand was put on hold as all 27 leaders sat down to a dinner of soup, cod, chocolate cake and ice cream, and a conversation meant to end the crisis.

Leaders attended the dinner alone, their closest aides monitoring from an adjacent listening room. Mr Cameron was also in regular contact with his advisers over a BlackBerry, reading and sending emails and staying abreast of media coverage including The Daily Telegraph's "wife-swapping" report.

With 27 politicians around the table speaking several languages, conversation cannot flow. For almost four hours the leaders debated the details of the Franco-German plan. Only after 1.30am did the talk turn to just how the plan would be enacted under **Europe's** complex laws.

Most leaders wanted a new EU treaty, signed by all 27 members. Most, but not France. Paris had been pushing for a deal among the 17, excluding Britain and its "Anglo-Saxon" free market influence.

The French position was well known, and British officials insist Mr Cameron was ready. He made his pitch: I'll sign a new treaty, in exchange for some "very reasonable" assurances on financial services.

In an offer that would have angered some Tories, the British demands were decidedly modest. By being so reasonable, Mr Cameron hoped to win German backing. Other countries would follow and Mr Sarkozy would have no choice but to fall in line.

After 2am, it emerged that hope was forlorn. Mrs Merkel caught the British by surprise with an adamant rejection of Mr Cameron's demands.

"At some point, 2,3,4 in the morning, it became clear to me we were not going to get the safeguards we needed," Mr Cameron recalled. Quite how firmly that was made

clear was suggested in reports in the Greek media that during the session, Mr Sarkozy became so animated he had to be physically restrained.

At 3.30am, Herman Van Rompuy, the **EU** president chairing the meeting, allowed the leaders a break: five minutes after more than six hours of debate.

If that was meant to cool tempers, it failed. At about 4am, messages leaking out of the summit suggested a breakdown. The French began to whisper that Britain was "out of the talks".

Not long after 5am, Mr Sarkozy had the first public word, blaming Britain and Mr Cameron's "unacceptable" demands.

The Prime Minister prepared his statement and made telephone calls to Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister and head of the pro-**EU** Liberal Democrats, and George Osborne, his Chancellor and confidant. Mr Clegg agreed to the veto reluctantly; Mr Osborne enthusiastically.

At 06.19am, Mr Cameron, unnervingly composed for the hour, strode into the briefing room to explain his decision.

By 6.50am, he was at the British residence in Brussels. He slept until 8.15am and ate a breakfast of scrambled eggs, bacon, toast and strong coffee.

As he ate, Mrs Merkel returned to the summit with cutting remarks about Mr Cameron, suggesting that he had not been negotiating in good faith. "I really don't believe David Cameron was ever with us at the table," she said.

The remainder of the summit was lowpowered compared with the earlier drama. Leaders signed the treaty allowing Croatia to join the **EU** next year. Pictures of the signing session showed Mr Cameron sitting alone.

Shortly before leaving Brussels at 3pm, Mr Cameron sat down with reporters to discuss the summit. Showing few signs of having had less than 90 minutes sleep, he teased those who had slumped into bed before his press conference. Recalling how he made his "very reasonable asks" to the meeting, he banged his hand on the table for emphasis.

And far from following a policy of splendid isolation in **Europe**, he insisted that Britain would remain engaged in the **EU**, for as long as he judged to be in the national interest.

Mr Cameron, confident as ever, was determined not to take things too seriously. Eyes glinting with mischief, he insisted that his dealings with Mr Sarkozy had been "good natured and reasonable" at all times. But just for the record, he added: "I have not and have no intention of attending any wife swapping parties."

After the veto What next for the two sides of the great European divide?

Will **Europe** forgive the UK for rejecting the treaty?

The French and Germans are angry with David Cameron for now. However, European leaders have a long history of disagreements that are sorted out in the end.

Britain is not part of the single currency, so there is no great practical difficulty in deciding not to integrate further. It is also still part of the European Union, so if Brussels officials are involved, then the UK will still expect to be included in discussions.

There is also an economic argument that Britain and the rest of **Europe** need each other. They are major trading partners, so neither side has much to gain from isolation. Three million British jobs depend on European trade, which accounts for about 40 per cent of all exports and imports. At a time when most European countries are struggling, they need all the crossborder trade they can get.

But is there a risk that France and Germany will now make life difficult for the UK?

One of the worst-case scenarios is years of political sniping between the UK, France and Germany. Britain may simply find itself unpopular for a while and the butt of jokes from its European neighbours. But a more serious consequence could be if the UK finds itself without a place at the negotiating table when the other countries want to discuss important economic and foreign policy issues.

The UK's isolated position means there could well be arguments in the future over whether it is allowed to take part in discussions. There could also be an increase in protectionism - where countries or a bloc make it difficult to export goods or labour over borders.

Can David Cameron go any further and seize back more powers?

The Prime Minister's rejection of the European treaty has pleased many Conservative backbenchers who think Brussels has too much power. This could whet their appetite for a more confrontational relationship with **Europe**. However, Mr Cameron may not want to further antagonise France and Germany. He will have to tread a diplomatic

line, as some Conservative MPs, such as Bill Cash, are already calling for a complete renegotiation of Britain's relationship with **Europe**.

Could it lead to Britain's complete exit from **Europe**?

If the relationship between Britain and the rest of **Europe** deteriorates, this is a possibility. More than 80 backbenchers want a referendum on whether Britain stays in the European Union and polls suggest that the British people are deeply split over whether to leave the **EU**.

However, any move towards a referendum would likely destroy the Coalition between the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives. Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister and Liberal Democrat leader, would never allow a vote that could lead to a complete exit.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

March 2, 2012 Friday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Cameron plan for EU growth to solve debt crisis is ignored

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 506 words

DAVID CAMERON has accused the European Union of ignoring his proposals to tackle its debt crisis by cutting red tape to free markets and unleash economic growth.

Despite support from 11 countries for the Prime Minister's growth plan sent to Brussels 10 days ago, Herman Van Rompuy failed to include any of the proposals in a draft text to be agreed at a summit today.

Instead, said diplomats, the President of the European Council, who runs EU summits, included proposals from France and Germany "almost word for word".

As last night's EU employment and growth summit opened, Mr Cameron stood up to "complain" that his call for "clear targets, timetables setting out dates and accountability" had been snubbed, government sources disclosed.

"He complained. He asked why it was that the views of 12 countries, representing more than half the EU's population, had not been reflected," said a source.

Mr Cameron clashed with Mr Van Rompuy over his plan to tackle the "crisis of growth" minutes before the Belgian was appointed to a second two-and-a-half-year term as **EU** president.

Mr Van Rompuy, who earns £249,000 a year, more than twice the salary of the British leader, has been accused of doing the bidding of Germany and France and of failing properly to represent all 27 **EU** countries.

Arriving in Brussels for the summit, Mr Cameron insisted that the **EU** had to do more than tackle high public debt, by focusing on economic reforms to generate growth.

"Britain, together with 11 other European countries, has come together and set out a whole series of measures that the **EU** can take that would help drive growth, including deregulating businesses to set them free to create more jobs," he said.

"That's the agenda I am going to be driving at this European Council, and the aim is to get as many of those measures approved as possible."

The joint letter called for "bold decisions" and recruited Italy and Spain to the traditionally free market liberal bloc of Nordic, Baltic and East European states led by Britain.

After Mr Cameron's intervention, Dutch, Finnish and Italian leaders also criticised Mr Van Rompuy for ignoring any ideas not emanating from Berlin or Paris.

Draft summit conclusions, written by the **EU** president's staff, have used the same specific wording as in Franco-German texts, stressing that "fiscal consolidation is an essential condition of higher growth and employment".

In contrast to the Germanic emphasis on austerity, Britain's proposals call for the **EU** single market to be opened up in services and the digital economy, potentially providing 9 per cent growth. They demand "clear and detailed actions to improve implementation of the rules".

"There's a whole series of measures that the European Union could take, including deregulating businesses to set them free, to create jobs," Mr Cameron told the summit.

Accepting his reappointment as the **EU's** unelected president, Mr Van Rompuy said: "It's with pleasure that I accept a second mandate. A privilege to serve **Europe** in such decisive times; also a big responsibility."

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 13, 2011 Tuesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

**Coalition at odds as Clegg snubs PM;
PM attempts to soothe Lib Dem anger over veto**

BYLINE: James Kirkup

SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1,4

LENGTH: 856 words

NICK CLEGG yesterday laid bare the Coalition's rift over **Europe** by refusing to even attend Parliament as David Cameron briefed MPs about his decision to reject the new European treaty.

The Prime Minister yesterday signalled he was prepared to give ground to the Liberal Democrats by not obstructing other **EU** nations as they tried to implement the reforms.

But in a calculated snub, the Deputy Prime Minister did not attend Mr Cameron's statement, saying afterward they "clearly did not agree" about the the summit.

Mr Cameron told MPs he alone among **EU** leaders had refused to back a new treaty to create a "fiscal union" among the eurozone nations because he was not offered legal safeguards for the City.

"The right answer was no treaty," he insisted, although he accepted Britain's veto would make new budget rules meant to save the euro "more difficult to enforce".

He was lauded by Conservative MPs for showing "bulldog spirit", but faced Labour allegations of Coalition disunity.

Mr Clegg and other Liberal Democrats have openly criticised Mr Cameron's decisions in Brussels, even though Mr Clegg initially backed the outcome.

Despite Liberal Democrat anger, both Mr Cameron and Mr Clegg insisted that their partnership would survive their differences.

Mr Cameron was said to be privately exasperated by Mr Clegg's absence as he delivered a statement that the Deputy Prime Minister had approved in advance. However, Mr Cameron made moves to pacify the Liberal Democrats and dampen the hopes of Conservative sceptics who hope last week's summit will lead to further British steps away from the EU.

"We are in the European Union and we want to be," Mr Cameron said. "Our membership of the EU is vital to our national interest."

Rejecting Conservative MPs' calls for a referendum, the Prime Minister also chided a backbencher who attacked the Lib Dems as "lickspittle euro fanatics".

Mr Cameron is also preparing to make a significant concession to Mr Clegg and his party on the way Britain deals with the countries who sign the new European treaty, which will put limits on euromembers' budget deficits.

France and Germany want EU institutions like the European Commission and the European Court of Justice to monitor and enforce those deficit limits.

Mr Cameron had suggested he would try to block any use of the institutions by the new Euro-Plus group. But yesterday, he promised to "look constructively at any proposals with an open mind."

Downing Street sources said Mr Cameron offered this "olive branch" to the Lib Dems as a "Coalition consideration". They also conceded that the Government's legal advice suggested that Britain could not stop the institutions having some role.

However, a further row is in prospect as Mr Clegg pushes for Britain to attend the meetings of the new group.

Mr Clegg dismissed questions about his failure to attend the Commons. "I don't think people mind too much where people sit in the Commons," he said.

Mr Clegg, who did not watch Mr Cameron's statement on television, last night insisted he stood by his criticisms of the summit outcome.

Mr Clegg on Sunday warned that being outside the new treaty could reduce Britain's global influence and leave Britain a "pygmy" on the world stage.

That warning was rejected by Hillary Clinton, the US Secretary of State. Speaking after meeting William Hague, the Foreign Secretary, she said: "Our concern has not been over the position that the UK has taken, it's whether the decisions made by other members of the eurozone countries within the **EU** will work."

Meanwhile, business leaders raised fears about the impact of Mr Cameron's decision. Labour has said that by remaining outside the new treaty group, Britain could be more exposed to decisions to push through damaging new regulations on financial services.

John Cridland, the head of the CBI, said: "Businesses want the recriminations to stop while the UK moves swiftly to secure our influence in the single market."

Ed Miliband said Mr Cameron had struck a bad deal for Britain by remaining outside the new treaty group. "Far from protecting our interests, he has left us without a voice," the Labour leader said.

Mr Cameron mocked Mr Miliband for refusing to say if Labour would have accepted the new treaty or not, and Conservative backbenchers suggested that refusing to back the accord will strengthen Britain's position in **Europe**.

Last week's summit was the latest to be billed as the last chance to save the single currency from the crisis of confidence threatening debt-stricken governments.

Despite **EU** leaders insisting the summit made progress, financial markets fell across **Europe** yesterday as investors calculated that the lack of more significant intervention, especially from the European Central Bank, meant the crisis would continue.

In the Commons, Mr Cameron appeared to admit that, by staying out of the new treaty, Britain had made it harder for European leaders to implement their solution. "This approach will be less attractive, more complex and more difficult to enforce," he said.

Mary Riddell: Page 22

Editorial Comment: Page 23

Business: B1

'Where can we see the next Changing of Nick Clegg's Mind ?'

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Don't blame UK for eurozone's failure to put its house in order;

Analysis

BYLINE: Jeremy Warner

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 507 words

FOR better or worse, Britain's relationship with **Europe** changed fundamentally early yesterday. The eurozone's decision to go it alone, with its own rules, regulations and institutions, enshrines in principle what has long been apparent in practice - that there

are now two **Europes**: the **Europe** of the single currency and the **Europe** of the rest, a possibly quite lonely group of Britain and just a few others.

In being manoeuvred into this outsider's disposition, Britain finds itself outrageously accused of standing in the way of a deal to save the euro and bring solutions to **Europe's** interminable debt crisis.

Mr Cameron, it is said in France and elsewhere, has put the City and narrow domestic political interest before the stability of the eurozone and the world economy.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The new fiscal contract agreed in Brussels yesterday does virtually nothing to address the underlying causes of the crisis, either in the short or the long term, while the eurozone's refusal to contemplate the limited roster of British protections asked for by way of return demonstrates bad faith of quite breathtaking proportions. Britain is being used as a convenient scapegoat for the eurozone's own lack of answers. The reality is that the UK Government was perfectly happy to go along with the **EU** treaty changes the eurozone wanted, but only if adequate safeguards were introduced to preserve the sanctity of the single market and the **EU** institutions that police it.

Nothing like the opt-out from changes to financial regulation was in fact demanded, but merely a number of specific protections for the City, the most important of which was to make any extension of supervisory powers subject to unanimous agreement, rather than qualified majority voting.

Most European countries found these requests reasonable but, determined from the start to make the new "fiscal compact" a matter for the eurozone alone, Nicolas Sarkozy branded them unacceptable, giving Britain little option but to back away from wider treaty change.

The new "fiscal compact" masquerades as a vital first step towards restoring confidence in the eurozone, but in practice takes us no nearer a solution to **Europe's** balance of payments and accompanying debt crisis. All the new arrangements achieve is to put a few more teeth into the old stability and growth pact, a demonstrably failed set of rules to keep the public finances of eurozone members on the straight and narrow.

There was no agreement on increasing the size of the firewall to prevent sovereign debt contagion, there was no progress on debt mutualisation, and there was no hint of action from the European Central Bank to calm the gathering economic storm with

widescale bond purchases. Most disappointing of all, there was no growth plan and no mention of how the ever widening gulf in competitiveness between north and south is going to be bridged. This is a project which it is indeed best to be no part of.

"Britain is outrageously accused of standing in the way of a deal to save the euro

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

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Edition 2;

National Edition

Duncan Smith leads Eurosceptics' praise of 'right thing for Britain';

CONSERVATIVES

BYLINE: Tim Ross; Christopher Hope

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 442 words

IAIN DUNCAN SMITH publicly congratulated David Cameron on wielding Britain's veto in **Europe**, as Tory Right-wingers stepped up their campaign to repatriate powers from Brussels.

The Work and Pensions Secretary was said to be "delighted" after Brussels talks resulted in the 26 other member countries agreeing to work for new agreement on tackling the eurozone debt crisis without Britain.

Eurosceptic Conservatives lined up to praise Mr Cameron for defending the "national interest" and called on the Prime Minister to take the opportunity for a referendum on a "fundamental renegotiation" of Britain's relationship with **Europe**. There was no public reaction from Kenneth Clarke, the famously Europhile Justice Secretary.

With the departure of Dr Liam Fox as Defence Secretary, Mr Duncan Smith is the leading Eurosceptic in the Cabinet, who earned his reputation after taking part in Tory rebellions over **Europe** during Sir John Major's years in power.

Mr Duncan Smith's spokesman said he welcomed Mr Cameron's stance: "He thinks the Prime Minister has shown leadership and been true to his word. He thinks the Prime Minister's actions are the right thing for Britain."

A source close to Mr Duncan Smith added that "conversations" at the top of the Conservative Party about Britain's future relationship with **Europe** would be likely "down the line".

The support for the Prime Minister flowed from senior figures throughout the day. Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, said: "David Cameron has played a blinder."

Mark Pritchard, a secretary of the 1922 Committee of backbenchers, said he thought the Government would have to order a referendum on Britain's relationship with the European Union before 2015. He said: "It is a paradigm shift in the balance of power [with Brussels]", adding that Britain should use the opportunity to "play hard ball" before accepting any further increases in the **EU** budget.

Bernard Jenkin, a former Tory front bencher, said the veto meant "a very big change" in Britain's relationship with **Europe**. "We are going to be a satellite on the edge of what is going to be an economic superpower," he said.

Bill Cash, the chairman of the Commons European scrutiny committee, said his group would be examining the legality of the plan being drawn up by the 26 other **EU** countries to move forward with their own deal. He said Mr Cameron had put Britain

on a "path towards renegotiating in a fundamental way the whole of our treaty relationship with the **EU**".

Mr Cameron is due to make a statement in the Commons on Monday and will then address his own backbench MPs on Wednesday.

One senior Tory said the Prime Minister could expect a "hero's welcome".

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 20, 2011 Tuesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

EU vital to 3m UK jobs, big business warns

BYLINE: Christopher Hope

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 517 words

AT LEAST three million jobs will be at risk if Britain does not remain at the heart of **Europe**, a group of leading businessmen have warned.

In a letter to The Daily Telegraph today, 20 of the country's most successful wealth creators said it was "imperative" that Britain has a place at the negotiating table when major decisions about the European Union are taken.

Signatories including Sir Richard Branson, the Virgin tycoon, and Sir Mike Rake, the chairman of British Telecom, argue that the future of **Europe** is vital to the country's economic interests.

Their intervention, which comes 10 days after David Cameron vetoed **EU** treaty reforms, will put pressure on the Prime Minister not to bow to the Conservative Right and demand the repatriation of powers from Brussels.

The letter, which is also signed by Sir Martin Sorrell, the chief executive of advertising group WPP, and Paul Marshall, the chairman of hedge fund Marshall Wace, urges the Government to "reengage in the decision-making process in **Europe**". Co-ordinated by the lobby group Business for New **Europe**, it suggests that disengaging from the **EU** could threaten British jobs.

"The Government estimates that three million British jobs rely on exports to our European partners," says the letter.

"The **EU's** institutions, from the Commission to the European Court of Justice, exist mainly to safeguard the single market's level playing field.

"This narrative on the single market has to be the bedrock of our re-engagement with **Europe**."

The businessmen also argue: "It is in Britain's interest that the Euro survives and we therefore should do everything we can to ensure the necessary steps are taken to guarantee its viability.

"The **EU's** single market, whilst not complete, is of great importance to the UK. It accounts for over half our trade, but we must deepen and widen it, and push for reform in services, telecoms, the digital arena and energy."

Other signatories include Roland Rudd, the chairman of Business for New **Europe**; Lord Brittan, the former **EU** trade commissioner; Lord Kerr, the deputy chairman of Royal Dutch Shell and Sir Stephen Wall, Tony Blair's former adviser on **Europe**. The letter will be welcomed by the Liberal Democrats, who are desperate to counter what the party fears is an increasingly Eurosceptic influence on government policy towards the **EU**.

Last week Danny Alexander, the Lib Dem Chief Secretary to the Treasury, pleaded with business leaders at a private meeting to help the Government re-engage with **Europe**.

Mr Alexander is understood to have told a business breakfast in London last week: "Business needs to speak out if you want us to be engaged with **Europe**."

A senior Lib Dem source told The Daily Telegraph: "The Coalition has agreed that what is needed now is a process of constructive re-engagement with our European partners.

"Talking to business about their concerns is a big part of that process. British jobs and British growth are best served by Britain continuing to have a strong voice at the top table in **Europe**.

"That is what business wants to see and it's what the Government wants to see."

Letters: Page 21

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Franco-German plan 'abuses power';

THE LEGAL VIEW

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 391 words

THE plan by France and Germany to build a separate fiscal union after Britain blocked changes to the European Union's treaty is an "abuse of power", according to confidential legal advice.

David Cameron warned countries planning to join France and Germany that they would not be allowed to use the EU's summit venues and offices when holding meetings.

"Clearly, the institutions of the EU belong to the union, they belong to the 27. They are there to do the things that are in treaties, that we have all signed up to over the years," the Prime Minister said following the breakdown of negotiations in Brussels yesterday.

Legal advice seen by The Daily Telegraph warns that the breakaway group of 26 countries cannot use the EU institutions or change European treaties without Britain's consent.

The advice was drawn up by senior officials and lawyers working for the Council of the EU, the service that advises governments on the legality of their decisions.

In an attempt to overcome the debt crisis by strengthening enforcement of the euro's fiscal rules, the so-called Euro-Plus group will draw up its own treaty. But documents agreed at yesterday's summit continue to mention "reinforcement" of existing eurozone rules that would require treaty change, and set out enforcement mechanisms to be policed by the EU's courts and the European Commission.

"To do this is a 'détournement de pouvoir' or 'abuse of power' because it changes rules that were agreed by all 27 EU countries," says the legal advice.

"Moreover, any treaty at less than 27 cannot make use of the community institutions if they changed the character of those institutions, and any use of the institutions has to be agreed by all."

The controversy is expected to swamp the courts with litigation, including challenges from Britain.

"It is going to be a bonanza for lawyers and will create an even bigger backlog at the EU courts," said a diplomat. "It's not a good way to spend money and prioritise resources during a crisis."

Officials have also noted that because the new pact will be outside binding EU treaties, sanctions against future fiscal offenders will be based on a "political declaration of intent".

"These will have no legally binding character and could be revoked following the election of a new government. Is this really going to impress the markets?" said one official.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 10, 2011 Saturday

Edition 2;

National Edition

Sarkozy's push for power poses 'biggest threat to EU unity';

BREAKAWAY PACT

BYLINE: Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 559 words

FRANCE is the biggest threat to the unity of the European Union, a former Belgian prime minister has warned, after Nicolas Sarkozy succeeded in his mission of splitting Britain from **Europe** to cement French power.

Guy Verhofstadt, the leader of European liberals in the European Parliament, said the French president's long-standing intention to reduce the size of the **EU**, allowing France to punch above its weight, was the main threat to the **EU** as Britain's influence waned.

(My note: First the claim without specifying the source --- following the logics that the statement is more important --- and only then does the particular source become known).

Mr Sarkozy has frequently lamented the size of the **EU** and declared his preference for building a smaller breakaway "avant garde" to achieve fiscal union without disruption from economically liberal Britain and its allies in eastern European member states. (Not clear if quoting someone or a paper's statement?!)

Mr Sarkozy celebrated as other European leaders expressed dismay in Brussels after David Cameron used the British veto in Brussels to block eurozone treaty change. Mr Cameron's move came after France and Germany opposed "safeguards" to protect Britain's economy.

The French president regards the decision by the majority of the eurozone and European countries to form a "fiscal compact" outside the **EU's** legal framework as a triumph, rather than a setback.

"This has been a historic summit because the decisions we have taken have been mighty decisions that change radically the way the eurozone and **Europe** in general functions. It is heartening," Mr Sarkozy said.

Mr Verhofstadt expressed his concern, echoed by many European diplomats, that Britain's decision in Brussels to veto treaty change among all 27 **EU** countries could allow France to "hijack" **Europe**.

France has long pushed for an "intergovernmental" organisation that could reshape **Europe** around the kind of protectionist model that has traditionally been opposed by Britain and a coalition of free-trade nations.

"The fear is not the possibility of an intergovernmental treaty between 26 **EU** countries. We have to remember and beware Sarkozy and his speeches calling for a smaller union," said Mr Verhofstadt. "Everyone knows that is the big risk now."

In a speech in Marseilles yesterday, Mr Sarkozy called for a "real European industrial policy", a revision of the **EU's** single market competition policy and the imposition of trade barriers on Asian countries, such as China, with lower social standards. "I would like to see **Europe** stop allowing products to enter its territory that respect none of the rules we impose on our producers, our farmers and our stockbreeders," he said.

The French leader successfully rallied Germany to oppose a request from the Prime Minister for a legal "protocol" to protect the City of London and to preserve the **EU** single market to be inserted in any new treaty.

The draft text, seen by The Daily Telegraph, did not create any new opt-outs but sought to protect Britain's financial sector from a tide of EU legislation that has been tabled by Michel Barnier, the French internal commissioner.

If passed, the protocol would have given Britain a veto if the EU tried to give European financial supervisors powers to overrule national authorities such as the FSA.

This follows constant attempts by Mr Barnier to chip away at Britain's regulatory sovereignty through piecemeal legislation, recently on derivatives and hedge funds. "We consider that a part of the world's woes stem from the deregulation of the financial sector," said Mr Sarkozy.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 6, 2011 Tuesday

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National Edition

Sort crisis or lose top credit rating, EU told;

Tories call for vote on new EU treaty

BYLINE: James Kirkup; Bruno Waterfield

SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1,2

LENGTH: 790 words

EUROPEAN leaders were threatened with a downgrade in their credit ratings last night if a Franco-German plan to resolve the eurozone debt crisis does not soon show progress.

Standard and Poor's, a credit-rating agency, said 15 eurozone members, including France and even Germany, could lose their AAA ratings without speedy action to resolve the crisis.

A downgrade would effectively scupper the euro rescue because the EU bail-out fund would no longer be able to raise money on bond markets.

According to a leaked report, S&P has told eurozone countries including Germany, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland and Luxembourg that they could be downgraded because of the failure of leaders to resolve the debt crisis.

The "lack of progress the European policymakers have so far made in controlling the spread of the financial crisis may reflect structural weaknesses in the decision-making process within the eurozone and European Union," the agency is said to have told them.

The warning overshadowed the latest Franco-German attempt to agree a treaty creating a fiscal union in the eurozone. Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, and Nicolas Sarkozy, France's president, yesterday warned David Cameron that they would push ahead with their new treaty whether or not Britain signs up.

The challenge came as the Prime Minister hit back at Iain Duncan Smith and other Tory Eurosceptics who have suggested that any change in EU rules should be put to the British people in a referendum.

Mrs Merkel and Mr Sarkozy met yesterday in Paris to discuss a new European treaty to create a "golden rule" of balanced budgets for eurozone states. Members would face automatic sanctions for large deficits.

Financial markets rose after the meeting as traders calculated that the plan would protect indebted countries such as Italy and Greece. The rally came even though

Germany backed away from plans to let the European Court of Justice veto national budgets that would run up excessive debts.

The two leaders also made no progress on letting the European Central Bank intervene in the crisis.

Mrs Merkel and Mr Sarkozy said the new treaty should be agreed by March. The details will be debated by **EU** leaders at a summit in Brussels on Thursday. Herman Van Rompuy, the **EU** president, said the summit would determine "the survival of the euro".

Critically for Mr Cameron, France and Germany said that they were now willing to agree a deal among only the 17 eurozone members instead of also getting the consent of the 10 **EU** members who do not use the single currency. Mr Sarkozy said all leaders would be asked for their decision in Brussels. "We will go around the table, and then we will see if we have an agreement of the 27 or an agreement of the 17," he said.

The challenge leaves Mr Cameron choosing between two options that allies admit are both likely to trigger a Conservative rebellion. Some senior Conservatives believe a treaty signed by only 17 states would accelerate a two-speed **Europe** where euro members would form a "caucus" that could push through financial regulations and damage the City.

A treaty of all 27 **EU** states would expose Mr Cameron to Tory demands to win back British powers from Brussels in exchange for his consent, and bolster calls for the new text to be put to British people in a referendum.

Mr Cameron is said to lean towards a 27-member treaty, but is also prepared to see the 17 euro members go alone. Government sources last night admitted it would be "difficult" to avoid a eurozone-only treaty. Chris Heaton-Harris, a leading Conservative eurosceptic, said that a 17-nation treaty would create "an awful lot of caucusing of power around the eurozone countries, which directly affects how the UK is represented in the **EU**".

Iain Duncan Smith, the Work and Pensions Secretary, is among Tories who have suggested that a "major treaty change" would automatically trigger a referendum under the European Union Act. The Prime Minister's spokesman said Mr Duncan Smith's interpretation of the law was incorrect: "That is not what is set out in the Act."

Mr Cameron insisted that he had no intention of holding a referendum. "As prime minister, I am not intending to pass any powers from Britain to Brussels. So I don't think the issue will arise."

Even if Mr Cameron could beat back a Tory call for a referendum after a 27- nation treaty, he would still face intense pressure to regain British control over social and employment legislation.

An aide to Owen Paterson, the eurosceptic Northern Ireland Secretary, said a new treaty was "a major opportunity" for Mr Cameron to begin a repatriation of powers to the UK.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 10, 2011 Saturday

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THE DAY EUROPE TOOK REVENGE ON BRITAIN

BYLINE: Daniel Johnson; Henry Samuel

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 30,31

LENGTH: 2535 words

The real hostility to the City of London and the free market fester in the German capital, says Daniel Johnson

'The real hostility to the City of London and the free market festers in the German capital, says Daniel Johnson 'The English are to blame' - a German newspaper headline sums up the bitter reaction in Berlin this weekend. David Cameron's decision to veto Angela Merkel's plan to rush through a new treaty to impose fiscal federalism on the entire European Union has enraged the German political and media establishment.

Berlin is infuriated by the Prime Minister's refusal to submit to the proposed transaction tax and other punitive regulations. They accuse David Cameron of selfishly placing the interests of the City of London before those of **Europe**, of preferring splendid isolation to saving the world from financial ruin. The tone of public utterances towards Britain has indeed become bitter in recent weeks. Their private comments, we may safely assume, are unprintable. Unfortunately, the feeling is mutual.

So we may be witnessing a new era of Anglo-German antagonism. How will people in both countries react to the prospect of Germany re-emerging at the helm of something very like a United States of **Europe**, with Britain banished to the sidelines? Berlin is not Germany. Some Germans with long memories are aghast. Helmut Schmidt, the most Anglophile of the post-war Chancellors, has come out of retirement to warn his successor against throwing her weight about. But the anxieties of old men, however prescient, count for little.

While Cameron and Merkel were falling out on Thursday night, I was at a dinner given by the German Embassy. As usual, I was struck by the admiration of my fellow guests for all things British - but also by their determination to ignore British warnings of the dangers of propelling **Europe** into an ideologically driven adventure. The wisest of the **EU's** founding fathers, Konrad Adenauer, restored Germany's reputation from the infamy bequeathed by his predecessor, Adolf Hitler. Adenauer's slogan was "No experiments!" Yet Germany seems to be governed by men and women who see the eurozone debt crisis as an opportunity to embark on an alarming new experiment.

Comparisons with the Third Reich are never justified. Talk of the Federal Republic as a "Fourth Reich" is offensive. Yet there are historical continuities that may illuminate the present. Before me is a German novel, published anonymously in 1915, during

the First World War. The cover bears a picture of the London skyline surmounted by a gigantic German eagle, sending forth red bolts of lightning. The title is: Hindenburg's Invasion of London.

What has this crude propaganda to do with today's predicament? Buried in this nightmare vision of the Kaiser's armies marching through London is one theme which still has resonance in Germany. It is the fear and loathing of the free market, of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. The anonymous author exults in the destruction of the City of London: "England's holiest of holies is its stock exchange." He claims that the word "business" has no equivalent in German.

This invidious comparison between "English traders and German heroes" (in the phrase of a leading German professor at the time, Werner Sombart) has not vanished from German discourse. The critique of capitalism as an English creation began with the German émigrés Marx and Engels. They came to Manchester and London, saw the future, and rejected it in the name of a communist utopia - in reality a dystopia that brought misery to mankind.

One of those millions who grew up under communism was Angela Merkel. This experience inoculated the Chancellor against any totalitarian temptation. But it does not seem to have saved her from the antiquated prejudices that still afflict many Germans in relation to the British commitment to free trade and free markets.

When David Cameron insisted that he would not - could not - compromise in his defence of the City's competitiveness, he evidently touched a raw nerve in his German and French counterparts. "Unacceptable" was the politest word that Nicolas Sarkozy could come up with. But the real animus against the City of London comes from Berlin: the capital of reunified Germany which, unlike Germany's Hanseatic ports and free cities such as Hamburg, derives its power and wealth not from trade but from the state.

The self-conscious political correctness of this post-modern metropolis, with its memorials to the Holocaust and other victims of Nazism, does not tell the whole story. The buildings of Berlin, many of them designed by British architects, were overwhelmingly state-financed. The restored Reichstag, topped by Sir Norman Foster's cupola, symbolises the triumph of democracy over the grim legacy of the Nazi past. But it is also a monument to big government, Berlin-style.

A **Europe** built in the image of Berlin, rather than of London, is what came into being this week. If the English, as Sir John Seeley said, "seem to have conquered and

peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind", then the Germans seem to have done the same with their austere vision of a tightly regulated, state-subsidised **Europe**. Except that most Europeans do not speak German and will not take kindly to the imposition of an austerity that comes naturally to the nation that gave us the Protestant work ethic and the highest savings ratio in the West. That is why the markets will take a lot of convincing that this latest experiment can work.

Angela Merkel may be a good experimental chemist, but she has done nothing for the chemistry between European leaders. Politics is not particle physics, and the search for a **Europe** that will work is not like the search for the Higgs boson. The talk of "technocrats" is a euphemism for a power grab. The Germans go on endlessly about taking responsibility for their history, but some of them seem, as Talleyrand said of the Bourbons, to have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

In Berlin an assumption seems to be made that liberty, democracy and sovereignty are luxuries which **Europe** - or at least its weaker sisters - cannot afford in an age of austerity. This is of a piece with a sneaking admiration for Vladimir Putin: once a KGB colonel in communist Dresden, now Germany's (and **Europe's**) energy tsar. Only in Germany could a former leader walk into a job on Putin's payroll straight after leaving office, as Chancellor Merkel's predecessor, Gerhard Schröder did in 2005.

In their hearts, most Germans know that they need Britain: not only as a market, but also as a mentor. For much of their history, and especially in their "zero-hour" after 1945, Germans have looked across the North Sea for inspiration.

In Brussels, Mrs Merkel underestimated the importance of keeping the British on board. Now, as we watch the slow-motion implosion of the eurozone, she may recall Bismarck's tribute to Disraeli at the Congress of Berlin: "The old Jew! That is the man."

David Cameron may be no Disraeli - but then Merkel is no Bismarck either. **Europe** is now being redesigned in Berlin. But the architects of a free economy and an open society can only be found in Britain.

Loyalty and trust have always proved elusive in Franco-British relations, writes Henry Samuel

'David Cameron is not a gentleman.' It is with these words that one close advisor to President Nicolas Sarkozy of France summed up the British Prime Minister after a "muscular" debate over **Europe's** future between the two men in the early hours at yesterday's Brussels summit.

Add that to Sarkozy's furious remark to Mr Cameron last month that he "lost a good opportunity to shut up" after a row that almost ended in fisticuffs, and the stage is set for one of those choreographed public spats that have long punctuated Franco-British relations.

Such Gallic insults are hardly the first French leaders have sent in the direction of Britain, and we have returned the compliment in style.

Horatio Nelson famously instructed his officers that, "You must hate a Frenchman as you hate the Devil"; and the Duke of Wellington proclaimed that: "We always have been, we are, and I hope that we always shall be detested in France?"

The Nelson remark is, of course, jingoistic history. Objectively, France and Britain are each other's oldest and closest allies, with war unthinkable between the two since 1815. Twice, arguably three times, the two nations have even discussed becoming a single state, most recently during the Suez crisis of October 1956.

Just a month before the offensive began, an Anglophile French premier, Guy Mollet, revived a proposal Churchill and de Gaulle had discussed, in June 1940, for a Franco-British union.

Weeks later, the British unwittingly brought this honeymoon to an abrupt end. Without informing their French ally, they capitulated to a US ultimatum by agreeing to a ceasefire in the Suez Canal zone.

When Britain's prime minister, Anthony Eden, broke the news to Mollet by telephone, the French foreign minister, Christian Pineau, said he sensed that "for such a convinced partisan of the Franco-British alliance, abandonment in such conditions was a bitter blow". The West German chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, was also in the room. "**Europe**", he reassured Mollet, "will be your revenge".

His prediction proved entirely accurate. In Britain, Suez is widely seen as a catastrophic miscalculation ending in the realisation that the nation was no longer a stand-alone world power. It sealed the special relationship with America.

The main lesson France drew from the Suez Crisis was that its future lay elsewhere than in a close relationship with America and Britain. Charles de Gaulle summed his position up as: "France must continue to behave like a great power precisely because she no longer is one."

Those events go some way to explaining why de Gaulle chose to veto Britain's application to join the Common Market in 1963, and again in 1967, warning France's five partners in the European Economic Community that if they tried to impose British membership on France it would result in the break-up of the community.

When all five said they would support negotiations towards British membership only France remained opposed, with the French president saying he would only consider British inclusion if it came "naked" - without non-EU allegiances or ties - to the table. This week, France got its way once again, after Cameron refused to strip safeguards for the City.

Since de Gaulle's veto, France and Britain have lived through a series of theatrical moments that have usually played out to their mutual benefit.

"What more does this housewife want from me? My balls on a plate?" Jacques Chirac's famously cried in exasperation after some severe handbagging from Margaret Thatcher.

François Mitterrand described Thatcher as having "the eyes of Caligula and the mouth of Marilyn Monroe". Chirac went onto to have a memorable row with Tony Blair in Brussels in 2002 over the Common Agricultural Policy, with the French president shouting: "You have been very rude and I have never been spoken to like this before."

There were regular rapprochements, but a close friendship has failed to develop with loyalty and trust proving elusive. A thaw, then renewed frosting of ties, has been a constant for decades. Yet this time, we had been led to believe Sarkozy and Cameron were onto something new - a true "Entente Amicale" to supersede the 1904 Entente Cordiale friendship pact.

We have agreed to pool defence resources, and worked hand in hand in the Franco-British-led Nato campaign in Libya. Samantha Cameron and Carla Bruni, we are told, get on wonderfully. On a personal front, Mr Cameron was deeply touched when Sarkozy opened his Riviera retreat to him after his father died while on holiday in the area.

So how bad is the diplomatic damage this time?

"It's not so much a row as a divorce, a passing of the ways," says Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform. "It's more fundamental because the survival of the euro is existential for Sarkozy. He, like the Germans, will do everything he can to ensure its longevity and Britain is not part of that."

"France's relationship with Germany, which has invaded it three times since the 1860s, has been crucial to its view of the outside world," adds the Cambridge historian Robert Tombs, who with his French wife Isabelle, wrote *That Sweet Enemy* - an analysis of Franco-British relations over 300 years.

"The euro was a French idea. It was France's price for supporting German unification and was seen as a way of preventing it from becoming too powerful. The way they have tried to bring this about is by holding them tight, in a sort of bear hug to link them into whole lot of institutions of which the single currency was the most important. That Sarkozy should make his relationship with Merkel the crucial part of his stance in this crisis is utterly predictable."

Indeed, many French politicians believe that Britain only joined the EU to spoil the show, to control federalist leanings and dilute the EU into an everexpanding free trade zone.

"The British only came in because it was the best way for them to control it and prevent it really advancing," claims Michel Rocard, a former French prime minister.

But there are also suspicions about the extent of the bad feeling between Cameron and Sarkozy, with some observers in France suggesting its dramatisation has been almost stagemanaged by both sides.

"The way [the failure to agree with Britain] was announced was pure theatre - like a couple telling the children they're going to separate but just for show," says the French political analyst Dominique Reynié.

With Sarkozy hoping for re-election next spring, the French president believes his handling of the euro crisis is key to electoral success. He still trails his Socialist rival, François Hollande, in the polls, but there are signs he is catching up.

"Both leaders stand to gain domestically," adds Mr Reynié. "It could kickstart Cameron at a time when he needs to affirm himself as head of state, while on Sarko's side, bashing the Brits is an old habit that still boosts popularity."

Charles Grant is more blunt. "Britain didn't want a deal. It pretended it wanted one, but it didn't. If Cameron got some kind of safeguard for the City adopted by the 27 he would then have to sign up to a new treaty. That would then have to go through the British Parliament, which would split the Conservative Party. So Cameron bid for something he knew was impossible, a complete opt out of financial regulation which nobody was ever going to agree to.

"It's very useful for Cameron to say, 'Sarkozy was so unreasonable, what could we do?' But the result of no deal is that the City of London has no protection and will probably be screwed in the future."

On some level, both Cameron and Sarkozy have walked away with a result that will please their voters at home. But the price has been immense - a blow has been dealt to their own relationship, and indeed, to the future of the euro itself.

The pursuit of the Grand Bargain has cost both dear.

"Bashing the Brits is an old habit in France that still boosts a politician's popularity

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 5, 2011 Monday

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**Time for public vote on Europe, urges IDS;
PM told that failure to hold EU poll would be a 'breach of trust'**

BYLINE: James Kirkup

SECTION: NEWS; FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1,4

LENGTH: 772 words

IAIN Duncan Smith, the former Tory leader, yesterday put himself at the head of a Conservative push to force David Cameron to hold a referendum on the European "fiscal union" being drawn up by France and Germany.

The Work and Pensions Secretary said that any "major treaty change" in the EU should be put to a British vote, a promise that the Prime Minister has so far carefully avoided making.

Mr Cameron will this week attend a summit in Brussels where Angela Merkel, the German leader, and Nicolas Sarkozy, the president of France, will outline plans to resolve the eurozone debt crisis by integrating the tax and spending systems of countries using the single currency.

The far-reaching plans have put Mr Cameron under intense pressure to deliver clear changes in Britain's relationship with the **EU** in exchange for his consent to changing the **EU's** rule book.

Mr Duncan Smith, the Cabinet's leading Eurosceptic, made clear he expects Mr Cameron to put any significant change in the treaties to the British people.

The Coalition's "referendum lock" law would mean a popular vote in the UK, Mr Duncan Smith told Sky News.

"The Prime Minister has always said if there is major treaty change - it is now legislated for - that we would have a referendum and he has never shied away from that," he said.

"The British public will have a say, will have a right to have a say."

Mr Cameron has said that a referendum will only be held on changes that mean significant powers are transferred to Brussels, a narrower criterion than the one offered by Mr Duncan Smith.

Mr Duncan Smith was contradicted by Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister. He said: "No, the referendum will only take place if there is an additional surrender of sovereignty from us to the European Union, to Brussels."

Downing Street made clear the Prime Minister does not believe a referendum will be justified by the Franco-German plan.

Mr Duncan Smith is understood to have the backing of many Conservative MPs, including ministers, who feel that there is a moral obligation on the Government to offer a vote, regardless of the legal niceties. "It would be totally wrong to try to wriggle out of a referendum on some legal technicality," said another Government source last night.

The Prime Minister was last month buffeted by the largest Conservative rebellion over **Europe** when 81 of his MPs voted in the Commons for a referendum on British **EU** membership.

In opposition, Mr Cameron gave "castiron" promise of a referendum on the **EU's** Lisbon Treaty, but later abandoned the pledge when the treaty was incorporated in to European law.

Mark Pritchard, the secretary of the Conservative backbench 1922 Committee, said that MPs and voters would not forgive the Prime Minister another decision not to hold a referendum.

He said: "A failure to deliver on a referendum, however plausible the excuses, would be a fundamental breach of trust between the Prime Minister and Conservative voters.

"Such a denial of democracy could have severe political consequences for Conservative marginal seats."

Mr Cameron is also facing calls to secure at the Brussels summit a clear promise from other leaders that the City of London will be protected from future **EU** regulations. Some Conservatives fear that a "core" **Europe** of the 17 euro members could unite to push harmful redtape on the City.

"If the countries of the eurozone draw closer together, if they vote as a bloc in the European Union, they could outvote the UK," said Martin Callanan, the leader of the Conservative Party in the European Parliament.

MPs will today study plans set out by the Open **Europe** think-tank for an "emergency brake", giving London the right to block **EU** financial regulation.

George Eustice, the MP and co-chairman of the Fresh Start group of Eurosceptic Tories, said that Mr Cameron should seek a legal protection for the City. He said: "The UK government should determine future policy, not the **EU**. We must establish an 'emergency brake' procedure in any future treaty so that we can veto proposals that are against our interests.

" Mr Clegg yesterday raised the prospect of the "whole edifice" of the **EU** collapsing unless fundamental reforms were put in place. He said: "Obviously, we must protect British interests ... but any reasonable person must wish the French and German and others the best of luck in sorting this out."

The prime minister of Portugal, Pedro Passos Coelho, yesterday warned that failing to find a solution to the eurozone crisis could lead to the end of the European Union. On the streets of Berlin: Page 25 Editorial Comment: Page 27

"The British public will have a say, will have a right to have a say

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

December 16, 2011 Friday

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National Edition

Whitehall joins the treaty talks

BYLINE: Rowena Mason

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 392 words

BRITAIN will take part in fresh talks about the European treaty next week in a sign that David Cameron's veto has not left the country out in the cold.

Officials will travel to Brussels for "practical" negotiations about how changes to the treaty will work.

The Prime Minister last week rejected the new agreement aimed at binding European countries more closely and saving the single currency from collapse.

Mr Cameron feared that tighter regulations of the financial services industry would harm the City of London.

After the veto, there were fears that Britain could be left out of the room in talks between the other members of the European Union who plan to join the pact.

Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister, said he was "disappointed" by the veto and was concerned that Britain would be "isolated". It now appears that officials will at least be in the room when treaty changes are discussed.

Britain will be especially keen to know whether existing Brussels institutions are used to carry out the new pact.

At first it seemed as though all 26 other **EU** members were signing up to the new treaty. However, some other leaders now appear doubtful about whether they can get the agreement voted through their parliaments.

Mr Cameron has been speaking to the leaders from the Czech Republic and Sweden.

A Downing Street spokesman said it was Britain's choice to take part in the latest negotiations.

"There are discussions going forward on an official level about what the practical agreements will mean," she said.

"We chose to participate in those discussions. We've made the choice to be in the room. It means we can voice our views."

Mr Cameron is also planning to attend a summit of European leaders early next year where jobs, growth and the new treaty will be discussed.

Herman Van Rompuy, president of the European Council, said the summit would be held in Brussels in late January or early February.

Germany and France called for the extra meeting to discuss economic affairs as the threat of a second recession is growing.

"In times of stagnation, in times of even quasi-recession, it is very important to have those topics on the agenda and not only speaking on fiscal consolidation," Mr Van Rompuy said.

Despite the treaty agreement, the debt crisis still hovers over some of **Europe's** economies, threatening the whole area covered by the single currency.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

June 23, 2016 Thursday

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French, Italians and Dutch want own referendum

BYLINE: Matthew Hole house

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 306 words

VOTERS in France, Italy and the Netherlands are demanding their own votes on European Union membership and the euro, as the continent faces a "contagion" of referendums.

EU leaders fear a string of copycat polls could tear the organisation apart, as leaders come under pressure to emulate David Cameron and hold votes. It came as German business leaders handed a considerable boost to the Leave campaign by saying it would be "very, very foolish" to deny the UK a free trade deal after **Brexit**.

Markus Kerber, the head of the BDI, which represents German industry, said that 1970s-style trade barriers would result in job losses in Germany.

"Imposing trade barriers, imposing protectionist measures between our two countries - or between the two political centres, the European Union on the one hand and the UK on the other - would be a very, very foolish thing in the 21st century." In Italy, the anti-establishment Five Star movement on Tuesday declared it would demand a

referendum on the euro. The party wants the euro to be split - one for the rich north and one for the south.

Beppe Grillo, the party's leader, has called for a full referendum on **EU** membership. He said: "The mere fact that a country like Great Britain is holding a referendum on whether to leave the **EU** signals the failure of the European Union."

Five Star won 19 out of 20 mayoral elections on Sunday, including in Rome and Turin, in a major blow to Matteo Renzi, the Prime Minister.

In France, Marine Le Pen, the Front National leader, last night called for France to have its own referendum on the "decaying" **EU**. "I would vote for **Brexit**, even if I think that France has a thousand more reasons to leave than the UK," she said.

In the Netherlands, polls show a majority of voters want a referendum on membership, and voters are evenly split over whether to stay or go.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

June 22, 2016 Wednesday

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National Edition

German minister expresses sympathy with Leave voters

BYLINE: Matthew Hole house

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 246 words

WOLFGANG Schäuble, the German fi-nance minister, said he sympathises with British Leave voters, as he insisted that "self-regarding" Brussels needs to change its ways whatever the outcome.

Mr Schäuble said European integration had gone "too far" and warned the **EU** had lost touch with voters.

It came as the Austrian foreign minister warned that the **EU** was not controlling its migration policy and had put people smugglers in charge.

"The fact is that we have lost control.

At the moment it is not us as the **EU** that is deciding who comes into Europe, it is the people smugglers," said Sebastian Kurz.

Mr Schäuble told a conference in Berlin: "The Britons who have expressed scepticism in the European Union have also to a certain extent expressed our

concerns. Perhaps we didn't understand quite correctly, and it's led to an excessive level of self-regard in the institutions and apparatuses in Brussels and Luxembourg. Perhaps we went too far and to some extent lost contact with our citizens."

Even if Britain stays in the **EU**, "we won't simply be able to go on as before," he said. This follows Donald Tusk, the European Council president, saying that the **EU** must take a "long, hard look" at itself and listen to the British "warning signal".

Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, said **Brexit** would be an "act of self-harm".

"To turn your backs on your neighbours and retreat into isolation would go against everything that Europe and the UK stand for," he said.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

June 22, 2016 Wednesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

Gove's 'Nazi' jibe at Remain;

Brexit leader compares pro-EU experts to German propagandists 'in pay of government' as FTSE chiefs make call to stay In ; Business leaders to make case for staying in Union

BYLINE: Peter Dominiczak;Steven Swinford;Ben Riley-Smith

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1,2,3

LENGTH: 665 words

ECONOMIC experts who dismiss Britain's chances of success outside the European Union are like Nazi propagandists "in the pay of the government", Michael Gove suggested last night.

The Justice Secretary, a leading Leave campaigner, warned voters not to be influenced by economists and big business leaders who have forecast dire consequences in the event of a **Brexit**.

It comes as more than 1,000 business leaders and 50 FTSE 100 bosses signed a letter urging people to vote to stay in the **EU** ahead of tomorrow 's referendum.

Last night, Mr Gove compared the repeated interventions of economic experts to Nazi scientists who dismissed Albert Einstein in the 1930s.

He said: "We have to be careful about historical comparisons, but Albert Einstein during the 1930s was denounced by the German authorities for being wrong ... They got 100 German scientists in the pay of the government to say that he was wrong and Einstein said 'Look, if I was wrong, one would have been enough'."

He added: "The truth is that if you look at the quality of the analysis, if you look at the facts on the ground, you can come to an appropriate conclusion.

"And the appropriate conclusion, I think, all of us can come to is that with growth rates so low in Europe, with so many unemployed and with the nature of the single currency so damaging, freeing ourselves from that project can only strengthen our economy."

Mr Gove's comments came as Boris Johnson claimed that the experts being used by Downing Street to make the economic case were being offered honours and government contracts in exchange for their support.

Mr Johnson said that a Downing Street "operation" was being used to put "pressure" on business leaders to ensure their support in the referendum campaign. Yesterday two of Europe's most prominent politicians criticised the creeping influence of Europe and its failings over the migrant crisis. Wolfgang Schäuble, the German finance minister, said he sympathised with Leave voters and insisted "self-regarding" Brussels needs to change its ways, whatever the outcome.

Sebastian Kurz, Austria's foreign minister, said the EU had now "lost control" of its borders and people smugglers were "deciding who comes into Europe".

On the penultimate day of campaigning before the referendum, David Cameron was criticised after he gave an address to the nation from the steps of Downing Street, urging older Eurosceptics to think of the "hopes and dreams" of their unborn grandchildren before backing a **Brexit**. Mr Johnson last night used a BBC debate to declare that Friday can be the UK's "independence day" as he attacked Remain for "woefully underestimating" the country. He also criticised the "invective" of the Remain campaign after he was repeatedly accused of telling "big fat lies" over immigration.

However, Ruth Davidson, the Scottish Tory leader backing Remain, accused Mr Johnson of "lying" about the cost of Europe, Turkey and an EU army

Today's letter is signed by 1,285 business leaders employing a total of 1.75 million people.

Signatories backing the letter are understood to include chairmen or chief executives of companies including Vodafone, Diageo and BP. Other high-profile signatories are expected to include John McFarlane, the Barclays chairman, Stephen Hester, RSA chief executive and Sir Martin Sorrell, of WPP. Mr Gove has previously said of warnings about the consequences of a **Brexit**: "People in this country have had enough of experts."

The letter - organised by Downing Street - states: "Britain leaving the **EU** would mean uncertainty for our firms, less trade with Europe and fewer jobs."

Tate & Lyle, the sugar company and one of Britain's oldest firms, yesterday wrote to its employees recommending that they back Leave because the **EU** is damaging their business.

The Daily Telegraph

The Daily Telegraph (London)

June 22, 2016 Wednesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

PM 'offering contracts' to secure Remain support from bosses

BYLINE: Steven Swinford

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3

LENGTH: 469 words

DAVID CAMERON is offering business leaders government contracts and honours in exchange for their support in the **EU** referendum campaign, Boris Johnson has claimed.

Dozens of Britain's biggest business leaders are today expected to sign a letter urging people to vote to stay in the European Union amid concerns about economic security.

However, Mr Johnson yesterday claimed that a Downing Street "operation" is being used to put "pressure" on business leaders to stop them supporting a **Brexit**.

The former mayor of London said: "I can't tell you the pressure Project Fear and Remain put on senior business leaders not to articulate their views.

"Everyone has an interest one way or another in keeping friendly with Government.

"I do not wish in any way to be disparaging or critical of my friends in Government but it is well known there is an operation in Downing Street.

"You will get a call from certain gentlemen, whose names you can discover. They will say 'look, you know, we want to continue to have contracts with you.

"It's very important that you have friendly relations. There's an honours system. And that's how it happens. There's a bit of leaning on.

"And the heroism of people therefore like [Anthony] Bamford and [James] Dyson [who have come out for Leave] is very remarkable."

Scores of FTSE 100 chief executives and chairmen are poised to sign up to a letter arguing that the economy and the jobs market will be stronger if Britain votes to stay in.

In a draft letter, which was leaked at the weekend, they argued that "**EU** membership is good for business and good for British jobs".

They say: "Businesses and their employees benefit massively from being able to trade inside the world's largest single market without barriers."

The letter goes on to warn "leaving the **EU** would mean uncertainty for our firms, less trade with Europe and fewer jobs", while smaller firms would be "particularly vulnerable" to "any economic shock" in the wake of a **Brexit**. The open letter is being co-ordinated by Downing Street and the Britain Stronger in Europe campaign and

aims to repeat the success of a letter from business leaders on the eve of the Scottish independence referendum. Mr Johnson has dismissed a warning from George Soros, the billionaire investor, that the value of the pound could fall further than it did on Black Wednesday in 1992.

He said he is prepared to make a public apology if Britain falls into a recession after a **Brexit**: "I don't think that London has anything to fear from coming out of the EU - this is a most incredible economy - and nor does Britain. "I would [make a public apology] because I don't think it's going to happen ... I think I've always been pretty humble about everything. All right, OK, sometimes."

'Everyone has an interest one way or another in keeping friendly with Government'



The Mirror

October 24, 2007 Wednesday

3 Star Edition

EU DOPE, DAVE

BYLINE: KEVIN MAGUIRE

SECTION: LEADERS; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 170 words

EUROPE is blowing up in the face of the Tory toff. The slippery Old Etonian yesterday wriggled like an eel fighting to stay out of the pot.

David Cameron's refusal to promise the referendum he demands from the government was laughable. So much for the great issue of "trust" and fulfilling promises.

The Tories exaggerate the Reform Treaty, a relatively modest streamlining of **EU** decision-making, to beat Brown.

But when push comes to shove, he looked distinctly uncomfortable.

What he has done is uncork the European genie that has cast a miserable spell on the Cons for nearly 20 years.

The public only demands a referendum now when prodded by an opinion pollster's pen. It's the top priority for only a few swivel-eyed fanatics.

Come the next election, Brown will promise to oppose further **EU** institutional changes.

What will the Tories offer? The same.

Yet Cameron's Europhobic right is now demanding a referendum on pulling out of the **EU**.

Europe will wreck the Tories, not Labour, and foolish Cameron never saw it coming.



The Mirror

October 3, 2007 Wednesday

3 Star Edition

**EU STILL DON'T GET IT, HAGUE;
THE TORIES AT BLACKPOOL 2007**

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 98 words

FAILED former leader William Hague lurched to the right again yesterday - 30 years after his first conference rant as a 16-year-old Tory boy.

Hague, who led his party to humiliation at the polls in 2001, reverted to anti-EU obsessions which helped cause that disaster.

The Shadow Foreign Secretary, right, drummed up fears of a European superstate in his speech.

But Labour's ex-**Europe** minister Denis MacShane said: "This is vintage Hague 2001, saying Britain is becoming a foreign land because we're in the **EU**."

"It's disgraceful that David Cameron still keeps him on as Shadow Foreign Secretary."



The Mirror

December 14, 2007 Friday

3 Star Edition

MISSING EU;

BROWN BLASTED FOR TURNING UP LATE TO SIGNING OF TREATY

BYLINE: BY JAMES LYONS POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 621 words

GORDON Brown was the only European leader to miss the **EU** treaty signing ceremony yesterday.

He arrived in Lisbon three hours later as the other premiers were finishing lunch at a nearby coach museum.

When Mr Brown finally turned up at the historic Jeronimos Monastery in the Portuguese capital, he stayed just 15 minutes to sign the document before the cameras.

He then headed off for private talks with **EU** chief Jose Manuel Barroso and Portuguese PM Jose Socrates.

It was left to Foreign Secretary David Miliband to sign the treaty at the ceremony and line up for the traditional "family photo".

Downing Street insisted Mr Brown's late arrival was due to an appointment before a Commons committee he could not change.

But MPs on all sides slammed the decision. It was also blasted by other leaders, who, many feel, he needs onside to make the **EU** focus harder on protecting jobs and the environment.

Tories claimed Mr Brown bottled the signing because of their referendum demands on the treaty which streamlines the **EU** after its enlargement to 27 countries.

Some Labour MPs claimed the diary clash could have been avoided, while Lib Dem Foreign Affairs spokesman Michael Moore said Mr Brown's absence made him look weak.

He repeated acting leader Vince Cable's jibe about him, saying: "This is another Mr Bean moment. Gordon Brown has managed to damage both his support among pro-Europeans and to get no credit with the Eurosceptics.

It's hard to understand what on earth he has achieved."

And French President Nicolas Sarkozy fuelled fears the bungled signing made Mr Brown look stand-offish and had upset the other leaders when he said: "We've all got problems to deal with."

Though Mr Sarkozy added: "I personally think that we need Britain in **Europe**. We need Gordon."

Critics claim the treaty will transfer more power from Westminster to Brussels and is essentially the same as the proposed constitution which was rejected by France and Holland in referendums.

But Mr Brown insists this is not so because he has laid down areas, such as home and foreign affairs and tax, where the **EU** cannot interfere.

What'll it mean for us?

Q Will the Lisbon Treaty create an **EU** superstate?

A No. A constitution would create a new legal body - this does not. The previous constitution, which was dumped, would have replaced previous treaties - this just amends them.

Q Then what is the treaty's real purpose?

A It is a reform treaty to make **EU** decision-making faster and easier now there are 27 members. The original **EU** rules were laid down when there were just six.

Q So why are Eurosceptics upset by it?

A Brussels will still get new powers in areas such as environment, transport and some policing and business policy. The same happened with the Maastricht, Nice and Amsterdam treaties which saw countries hand over power to Brussels on economic matters and set up the single currency.

Q But will the treaty's provisions just stop there?

A Brown has laid down areas where the **EU** cannot interfere - justice and home affairs, social security, tax, defence and foreign policy - which he calls "red lines". The PM negotiated opt-outs for them but Eurosceptics claim the European Court of Justice will overturn these.

Q Will there be a new President of **Europe**?

A Yes. Countries currently take it in turn to hold the presidency for six months. A new post - the President of the European Council - will have a two-and-half-year term, but governments will give this person orders, not the other way around.

Q Are we going to get a vote on the treaty?

A No. Brown said if there was a plan to scrap the pound or set up an EU constitution we'd get a vote. Instead, MPs will debate treaty details before it passes into UK law.

Voice of the Mirror: Page 8

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The Mirror

October 23, 2007 Tuesday

Scots Edition

MPS WIN VETO ON EU GRAB

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 118 words

GORDON Brown yesterday gave MPs the right to veto new moves to hand more power to the **EU**.

He said they would be able to vote on any proposal to give up British powers in new areas.

The Premier told MPs the aim was to "ensure no government can agree without Parliament's approval any change that could alter the constitutional balance between Britain and the **EU**."

The move effectively hands over part of his negotiating power with Brussels to Parliament.

It came as Mr Brown defended his stance on the **EU** Reform Treaty, which he signed last week.

He said key opt-outs mean UK law will not be over-ruled by **Europe**.

David Cameron renewed calls for a referendum. He says the treaty is the same as the ditched constitution.



The Mirror

October 20, 2007 Saturday

2 Star Edition

NO MORE;

**BROWN WINS 10-YEAR BAN TO STOP EU GAINING MORE CONTROL
OVER UK**

BYLINE: BOB ROBERTS, DEPUTY POLITICAL EDITOR, IN LISBON

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 360 words

GORDON Brown yesterday ruled out giving any more power to Brussels for at least the next decade.

Speaking after the European summit in Lisbon, he said the time had come for the EU to concentrate on increasing prosperity, boosting jobs and protecting the environment.

In a joint statement the European leaders said they would draw up a new set of priorities and drop plans for further integration.

And Mr Brown said it would be at least 2017 before there would be any move to change EU voting rules and internal structures.

The Prime Minister said: "We have agreed we should rule out further institutional change for years ahead. We have agreed there should be a declaration of new priorities.

"**Europe** will move away from the institutional, inward-looking debate of the past to deal with new agenda that faces us.

"We will get on with the business I believe all citizens of **Europe** want us to address - making sure there are jobs, making sure there is prosperity and making sure there is a more sustainable environment."

The move came after a new treaty was agreed in the early hours of yesterday. It will simplify the rules of the way **Europe** works with its 27 members.

But Britain will give up vetoes in 60 areas, including environment, transport and business regulations.

Mr Brown defended the UK's "red lines", meaning Brussels cannot interfere in crime, tax, social security and foreign policy.

He said the UK would also join forces with France and Germany to propose new measures to avoid the sort of financial turbulence seen this summer which led to the run on the Northern Rock bank.

The 27 heads of state and government struck the deal after late-night wrangling over the number of Italian MEPs and Poland's voting strength.

Conservative leader David Cameron attacked the new treaty, claiming it already handed over too much power to Brussels.

He said: "This is, once again, Gordon Brown and his government treating the British people like fools. They have signed a constitution that transfers, that gets rid of, our right to say no, our veto, in 60 areas."

There is now expected to be a bitter battle to put the Lisbon Treaty into British law.

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The Mirror

October 12, 2007 Friday

3 Star Edition

WE'LL WIN ON TREATY

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 86 words

BRITAIN is heading for victory on the European treaty in next week's showdown summit, the **EU** boss said yesterday.

European Commission President Jose Barroso said he had "every reason to believe" the UK will get the concessions demanded.

Gordon Brown has threatened to veto it unless Britain, not Brussels, keeps control of our tax, foreign and crime policies.

After talks in No 10 Mr Barroso said he thought "the opt-outs so hard fought for by Britain are going to be in the text.

"Now we need to have this matter settled."



The Mirror

December 10, 2011 Saturday

3 Star Edition

BILLY NO MATES;

TORIES' EURO CRISIS UK STANDS ALONE

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8,9

LENGTH: 621 words

BRITAIN was left isolated and friendless in **Europe** last night after David Cameron refused to sign a deal to protect the single currency.

His stubborn demands for something in return meant we were the only one of the 27 **EU** member states not to back a new treaty.

The Prime Minister refused to sign the pact following a 3am bust up with French President Nicolas Sarkozy - and our dramatic veto of the "do or die" package has thrown our future in the **EU** into doubt.

The Brussels summit saw the PM and Mr Sarkozy embroiled in a heated discussion in front of other **EU** leaders in the early hours. Mr Sarkozy, who at one point had to be

physically restrained during the 10-hour talks, said Mr Cameron had made "unacceptable" demands.

The French President later snubbed him by refusing to accept his offer of a handshake.

And in a sign of the bitterness between the two countries, French officials likened Mr Cameron to a man who attended a wife-swapping party without his wife.

The 17 single-currency countries will push ahead with strict spending rules to stop Greece-style debts bringing the euro crashing down. But Mr Cameron blocked an EU-wide financial transaction tax - known as a Tobin or Robin Hood tax - because it would have damaged our vast banking industry, with the City of London accounting for 10% of the UK's wealth.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel, architect of the new treaty, said: "I didn't think David Cameron sat with us at the table. We had to get some sort of agreement and we couldn't make compromises, we had to meet tough rules."

But the PM's tough stance delighted Conservative euroscep-tics, with London Mayor Boris Johnson saying he had "played a blinder". And Tory MPs said they would give him a "hero's welcome" when he returns on Monday.

Defiant Mr Cameron insisted Britain had not been pushed to the fringes of **Europe**.

He declared: "We are in the European Union, we are a leading member of the single market, and when it comes to defence we're the leading member of Nato."

He said he would try to block "the 26" from using EU buildings to hold meetings without the UK. But he faced a furious backlash from his Lib Dem Coalition partners, with MEP Chris Davies accusing him of "betraying Britain".

Mr Davies said: "Far from keeping Britain strong, Cameron has ensured that we will lose our influence at the top table.

"By seeking to protect bankers from regulation, he has betrayed Britain's real interests and done nothing in practice to help the City of London.

"The consequence of the xenophobic attitudes towards our European neighbours that have been allowed to develop has been to leave Britain weak. We have shot ourselves in the foot."

Lib Dem leader and deputy PM Nick Clegg also warned that Britain could be left behind in **Europe**, which would be bad for growth and jobs here. He said: "I think any eurosceptic who might be rubbing their hands in glee about the outcome of the summit should be careful what they wish for."

Labour's former Foreign Secretary David Miliband said Britain had "jumped into a rowing boat" alongside a 26 nation "supertanker." And ex-Foreign Secretary Lord Owen was also withering about Mr Cameron's decision.

He commented: "Is this coalition able to really represent British interests or are we being driven by about 80 to 90 Conservatives who really want us to get us out of the European Union?" Labour leader Ed Miliband said: "The summit was a terrible outcome for Britain."

And the rest of **Europe** questioned our long-term **EU** future. German newspaper De Spiegel summed up the mood with the headline in English "Bye Bye, Britain".

WHO BUYS BRITAIN'S GOODS?

The UK exported nearly pounds 143bn of goods and services to the in 2010, compared with pounds 121bn to the rest of the world.

GRAPHIC: DEAL Mr Sarkozy & Germany's Mrs Merkel GESTURE PM offers to shake French leader's hand SNUB But Mr Sarkozy just walks past him instead



The Mirror

January 31, 2012 Tuesday

3 Star Edition

CAMBUSHED;

EURO LEADERS AND TORIES GANG UP ON BUNGLING PM

BYLINE: JAMES LYONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 17

LENGTH: 360 words

DAVID Cameron came under attack from **Europe** yesterday and was also branded a lame duck leader by a fellow Tory.

In an astonishing onslaught about our ailing economy, French president Nicolas Sarkozy claimed the UK has "no industry".

And European Commission president Jose Manuel Barroso compared our youth unemployment to economic basket case Spain's in a dressing down ahead of a summit.

Mr Cameron also faced humiliating heckles from his party, with one Tory dubbing him another John Major.

The PM was blasted in Brussels after lecturing eurozone states on their economies - the day after figures showed UK growth shrivelling.

Mr Sarkozy was Mr Cameron's closest European ally for the Libya war but the pair had not spoken since the PM vetoed UK backing for a deal to save the euro in December. And the French leader launched his attack while explaining plans to raise VAT. When journalists pointed out it had caused painful price rises in the UK, he sneered: "The United Kingdom has no industry any more."

Downing Street accused Sarkozy of lying to boost his re-election chances this year. But the PM faced more flak when Mr Barroso spoke about youth unemployment.

The ex-Portuguese PM said: "You can see the scale of the problem we face when you realise that youth unemployment is below 10% in only three member states - our three best performers are Germany, Netherlands and Austria.

"You can also see that the number of young unemployed is close to one million in Spain and in the UK. While the UK percentage is lower, one million unemployed young people is a big problem."

And at home, Mr Cameron was blasted by Conservatives for backing down from his threat to block the use of EU buildings by a new eurozone financial pact.

Backbencher Philip Davies said: "This will define whether he's seen as a Thatcher or a Major - and if he caves in I'm afraid the comparison will be with John Major." The retreat came despite calls to stand firm from anti-EU Cabinet minister and ex-Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith and London Mayor Boris Johnson.

ON MOVE France still has its own famous car brands - Citroen, Renault and Peugeot. Shipbuilding also remains a major industry there.



The Mirror

December 6, 2011 Tuesday

Scots Edition

DAVE'S THE PAWN IN EU CHESS GAME

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 170 words

LET'S hope the local chemist near Downing Street stocks plenty of Nurofen because David Cameron has been given a major headache.

The plans put forward by Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy may end up saving the euro - but they threaten to plunge the Tories into a new war over **Europe**.

He will not want to agree to anything that would hand more powers from Britain to Brussels as that would force a referendum.

But the alternative is not much better. That would see the changes agreed by the 17 eurozone countries.

This would be a large step towards a two-tier **EU** - with Britain left on the sidelines.

The 17-strong euroland may then go on to set new rules - such as a financial transactions tax - which could affect Britain even though we would have no say on them.

And that is not the end of his problems. Tory eurosceptics are pushing him to use Friday's summit to claw back more powers from Brussels.

They will not be happy if he comes back with chocs for Samantha, but nothing to prove he has stood up for Britain's interests.



Sunday Mirror

December 11, 2011 Sunday

1 Star Edition

**EU'VE GONE TOO FAR...;
CAM LASHED FOR VETO**

BYLINE: VINCENT MOSS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 9

LENGTH: 1215 words

THE Coalition was under massive strain last night after David Cameron's decision to veto a European rescue package.

The Prime Minister's tough stance began to unravel hours after he turned his back on a deal to save the euro, claiming the tough **Europe**-wide budget rules were not in Britain's interests.

As more details emerged of the late-night bargaining in Brussels, it was reported that Mr Cameron had flunked the negotiating process.

One source close to the talks said the PM had "overplayed his hand" and miscalculated the response to his demand for concessions.

It now looks likely that all 26 other members of the **EU** will agree to the new accord.

Labour and the Liberal Democrats warned Britain was now dangerously isolated. There was growing evidence that Cameron has left Britain powerless to resist new European tax raids on the City.

While he opted out of a **Europe**-wide transactions tax, British firms who operate abroad will be subject to it in the European countries where they trade. But unlike those countries, the Government will have no say in setting the tax rate or how it is administered.

Labour said it was a disaster for British firms. New taxes could still be imposed on the City because other European nations can agree them by qualified majority voting.

Business Secretary Vince Cable has told Nick Clegg he should never have agreed to Cameron rejecting the **EU** deal. Mr Cable said: "Financial service regulation was not nearly a big enough issue to use the veto."

Clegg and Cameron were believed to be in tense talks last night amid signs the row could force pro-European Lib Dems to turn their back on the Coalition. "Clegg has been sold a pup," said one Lib Dem MP. "This could bring the whole Coalition agreement crashing down."

More details emerged last night of the panic that led to Mr Cameron's decision. As well as facing a Tory backbench rebellion, the PM was warned that Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith and Northern Ireland Secretary Owen Paterson were close to quitting, the Sunday Mirror has learned.

Labour and the Lib Dems have accused the Prime Minister of caving in to pressure from the Eurosceptic right wing of his party. Britain has pounds 143billion of exports with **Europe**, more than with the rest of the world put together.

Writing below in the Sunday Mirror, Lib Dem peer Lord Oakeshott of Seagrove Bay says: "Cameron has cut Britain off from her main trading partners. It is deeply dangerous. Millions of jobs all over Britain, not just a few thousand in the City, have been put at risk."

COMMENT:

Was Cameron right to walk away from the **EU**?

YES

MELISSA KITE Political writer and Spectator columnist

IMAGINE what the headlines would have been if David Cameron had signed up to sweeping new European fiscal rules... Betrayal... Sell-out... Cameron breaks his promise to the British people.

The Prime Minister pledged in his election manifesto not to cede any more power to Brussels. And the Coalition agreement re-stated that any new transfer of power to the European Union would be put to the British people in a referendum.

The reason Mr Cameron made that promise is not just because he wants to keep his own MPs on board - though any leader must do that. He wants to keep the British people on board.

The majority of us simply do not want the **EU** to have any more say in our affairs. Most of us recoil in horror as we watch Monsieur Sarkozy saying: "Just one more wafffer-thin power grab..." as he pushes yet another treaty change at Britain like the maitre d' in Monty Python's The Meaning of Life.

But Mr Cameron was not swallowing it this time. This country cannot stomach any more European interference. We're bloated to bursting point with **EU** bureaucracy, and our Prime Minister knows that.

Faced with draconian new **Europe**-wide rules which would govern, and potentially cripple, the City of London, Cameron decided enough was enough.

He had to demand concessions to allow our financial institutions an opt-out from measures including a transactions tax.

Like it or not, the financial sector is still our biggest industry, which remains vital for our country's growth and central to any chance we have to recover from hard times.

But most of all, Cameron had to say no because the new rules would mean ever closer **EU** integration.

They force eurozone nations to consult France and Germany when they set their budgets and, if we had ratified it, the entire **EU** machine was going to be used to enforce that regime.

By deploying the veto, Cameron has prevented that abuse of power, for now.

REFERENDUM If he had signed, he would have triggered a referendum here in the UK. Because he promised to put any new Europewide power to the British people, we would have been facing huge disruption.

As it is, he has drawn a line in the sand and must now hold his nerve. The Europhiles will say we are isolated. But being isolated from something that would harm our country is no bad thing at all.

NO

LORD OAKESHOTT former Liberal Democrat Treasury spokesman

BLACK Friday came again this week... when David Cameron returned from Brussels posing as a great national leader who had saved us from our enemies in **Europe**.

With the world's economy on a knife edge and millions of jobs all over Britain at risk, he put special treatment for the Tories' fat-cat donors in the City before working together with France and Germany.

For bonus-loving bankers and private equity sharks, today's toast is "Cameron and Osborne".

But the leaders of British industry and commerce and the serious long-term investors responsible for our pension funds are appalled.

They know the Conservatives are playing with fire by walking out and leaving the big decisions on the future of European economies to be taken while we sit in the waiting room.

There will now be an empty seat at the negotiating table where Britain should be sitting while massive decisions are taken which impact our economy.

And because of QMV - qualified majority voting - our European partners will still be able to push through decisions affecting the City, just without our influence.

The truth is that Cameron has cut Britain off from our main trading partners, our main allies, our main friends.

It is deeply dangerous and deeply damaging. Millions of jobs all over Britain, not just a few thousand in the City, have been put at risk by this very reckless move.

Make no mistake, the right wing of the Tory party has tasted blood. All their talk of renegotiation and repatriation of powers from **Europe** is just a smokescreen. They want Britain out of the **EU**, and they don't care how much it hurts British jobs and trade.

Deep down they are Little Englanders, longing for the past when Britain ruled the waves. Tory MPs talk up Cameron as a British bulldog standing alone - like Churchill in 1940 after Dunkirk. But there are three big differences.

Cameron is no Churchill. He is snarling at our friends, allies and key trading partners across the Channel, not our enemies. And far from standing defiant on the white cliffs of Dover, he is marching us over the edge.

Liberal Democrats were shocked and stunned on Friday. But we are now finding our voice.

Nick Clegg must force Cameron back to the negotiating table to fight for our interests in **Europe**, not leave an empty chair and Britain isolated, impotent and ignored.

GRAPHIC: David Cameron ... 'overplayed his hand'



The Mirror

December 7, 2011 Wednesday

3 Star Edition

I'LL STEAL THE DEAL;

**CAMERON'S EU TREATY VETO THREAT AS RIGHT WINGERS TALK
UP REFERENDUM**

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 262 words

DAVID Cameron last night threatened to veto the eurozone rescue package.

The Prime Minister put himself on a collision course with **Europe** after declaring he would not back the plans put forward by Germany and France if they damaged British interests.

Mr Cameron said: "Obviously there will be British safeguards and British interests that I will want to insist on, and I won't sign a treaty that doesn't have those safeguards in it.

"As long as we get those then that treaty will go ahead. If we can't get those, it won't."

Mr Cameron did not spell out exactly what safeguards he was seeking, but is understood to be against any measures which force a new banking transaction tax on the UK. He will head to Brussels tomorrow for a key summit where European leaders are being asked to agree to a rescue package for the euro drawn up by France's Nicolas Sarkozy and Germany's Angela Merkel.

But senior European Union officials made it clear that Mr Cameron would come away empty-handed if he tried to use the meeting to claw back more powers from Brussels.

The PM's comments were seen as an attempt to quell a growing Tory rebellion over German and French plans to rewrite the EU treaty. He is facing growing demands from within his party for a referendum on the deal.

And that pressure intensified yesterday when the Irish Government signalled that it could hold a national poll on the new treaty.

ED Balls yesterday ruled out a Labour Government joining the euro "in my lifetime". He told MPs: "There's no possibility anytime in my lifetime of a British Government joining the euro."

GRAPHIC: PRESSURE Cameron fears a Tory revolt



The Mirror

December 13, 2011 Tuesday

3 Star Edition

NICK CLEGG'S IT!;

**LIB DEM BOSS HIDES AS DAVID CAMERON DEFENDS EU TREATY
VETO TO MPS**

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE; TOM MCTAGUE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 524 words

BIG, brave Nick Clegg stayed hidden in his office yesterday as David Cameron stood in the Commons to defend his decision to veto the euro rescue plan.

At the weekend Mr Clegg called the move "bad for Britain", saying it would leave us a "pygmy" on the world stage. But he was the laughing stock of Westminster yesterday when he failed to sit beside the Prime Minister for his Commons statement.

Mr Cameron mocked his deputy during his 90-minute address as Energy Secretary Chris Huhne appeared to doze off by his side. "I am not responsible for his whereabouts. I'm sure he's working extremely hard," the PM said.

And he compared Mr Clegg's **Europe** shilly-shallying with his firm stance.

"I did exactly what I said I was going to do. Apparently in politics these days, that's very surprising," the PM said.

Mr Clegg did later show his face to claim he had not wanted to be a "distraction" while Mr Cameron spoke to MPs.

But he stuck to his view that the EU Treaty veto was a mistake saying: "The Prime Minister and I do not agree on the outcome of the summit.

"Isolation is potentially bad for jobs, bad for growth and bad for the livelihoods of millions of people in this country."

Mr Clegg insisted the Coalition was still strong. But Tory MPs lined up to ridicule him in the Commons.

Philip Davies MP urged Mr Cameron not to make concessions to the "lickspittle Euro fanatics on the Lib Dem benches", and Nadine Dorries asked Mr Cameron: "Does he share my concern that the most cowardly negative attacks over the weekend did not come from the opposition but from the Lib Dems - cowardice only surpassed by the absence of the Deputy Prime Minister today?"

Labour MPs joined in the taunting by shouting "Where's Clegg?" before Party leader Ed Miliband tore into the Prime Minister for coming back empty-handed from Brussels.

"You have given up our seat at the table, you have exposed not protected British business and you have come back with a bad deal for Britain," he said.

He went on: "We will rue the day this Prime Minister left Britain alone, without allies. It is bad for business, it is bad for jobs, it is bad for Britain."

But Mr Cameron countered: "It is possible both to be a full, committed and influential member of the European Union and to stay out of arrangements where we cannot protect our interests."

But he was stunned when his own MPs sat in silence after he refused a referendum on EU membership.

And in a further blow, EU Economics Commissioner Olli Rehn said Britain could still face regulations on its financial services industry. "If this move was intended to prevent bankers and financial corporations in the City from being regulated, that is not going to happen," he said.

Sir Martin Sorrell, boss of advertising giant WPP, criticised the veto saying: "I'd prefer to be inside the tent. Change is easier to achieve from within. It seems to be more about politics than economics."

And French President Nicolas Sarkozy underlined Britain's isolation, saying: "We did everything, the Chancellor Angela Merkel and I, to allow the British to take part in the agreement. But there are now clearly two **Europes.**"

Voice of the Mirror: Page 8.

GRAPHIC: BREAKING COVER Nick Clegg yesterday LISTEN **EU** The PM speaks in the Commons yesterday but Chris Huhne shuts his eyes



The Mirror

December 3, 2011 Saturday

3 Star Edition

ON EUR OWN;

POWER-GRAB BY FRANCE AND GERMANY MAY SIDELINE UK

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 10

LENGTH: 463 words

BRITAIN faced being sidelined yesterday as German Chancellor Angela Merkel set out plans for a new "euroland".

She will use a summit next week to demand a "fiscal union" so all 17 eurozone countries are bound by the same budgetary rules.

A new treaty, forcing governments in the single currency to give up tax and spending powers, was essential to rescue the eurozone, she said.

But the power-grab by France and Germany may create a two-tier European Union and see Britain - not in the single currency - lose its place at the top table.

David Cameron met the French President Nicolas Sarkozy in Paris yesterday ahead of Thursday and Friday's "make or break" summit. The PM urged EU leaders to use "everything they've got" to defend the euro and solve the debt crisis.

But he denied the UK was being marginalised and questioned the suggestion by Mrs Merkel that major changes to the EU treaty were needed to create a fiscal union.

"We're one of **Europe's** major economies and a big player in the single market," he said after the talks.

"We want growth on the continent to help the UK economy.

"We want to drive change in the single market to get it and help solve the crisis.

"But I am very clear that if there is treaty change I will make sure we further protect and enhance Britain's interests."

During a speech to the German parliament, Mrs Merkel promised to take "concrete steps towards a fiscal union" at next week's Brussels summit. She wants it to usher in a "new phase in European integration".

Voice of Mirror: Page 8

A guide to euro maze

Q Why is the eurozone currently in this crisis?

A A string of countries, including Italy and Greece, have run up huge debts without the means to pay. They need a bail-out by Germany and other rich single currency nations to stay in the eurozone.

Q What are leaders doing to solve the problem?

A Mrs Merkel is demanding fiscal union for all 17 eurozone nations. This could see Germany and France tell debt-ridden countries how they set their budgets and tax rates.

Q What will happen next in the fight to avert catastrophe?

A Any treaty change emerging out of next week's Brussels summit to discuss fiscal union could mean some of the 27 EU countries having to hold a referendum. If they vote no it may spell the end of the euro.

Q Why does any of this affect Britain?

A The Government is backing fiscal union because it will bring stability to the eurozone, the UK's biggest trading partner. The danger is it may create a two-tier **Europe** - with Britain being left on the sidelines.

Q What is David Cameron trying to achieve?

A The PM wanted to claw powers back from Brussels. That was dropped as it could wreck the negotiations.

But if he agrees to change the EU treaty at the summit he will face new Tory pressure for a referendum on Britain's membership.

GRAPHIC: DEMANDS 3 Angela Merkel TALKS3 Sarkozy& Cameron yesterday



The Mirror

December 10, 2011 Saturday

3 Star Edition

Q&A WHAT IT MEANS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8

LENGTH: 273 words

What has David Cameron actually done?

He has vetoed plans to rewrite the European Union treaty for all 27 member states so they can bring in tough new rules on tax and spending. The Prime Minister said he could not sign the pact because it would damage the UK's financial services industry.

What will happen now?

The other 26 will press ahead with the reforms aimed at securing the single currency's future. Hungary, Sweden and the Czech Republic say they will need approval of their own parliaments first.

Is this a victory for Mr Cameron?

He is being cheered by Tory MPs for standing up for Britain's interests. But Mr Cameron will face calls for a referendum on Britain's membership. The decision has put severe strain on the Coalition. Senior Lib Dems are furious Mr Cameron's "betrayal" has left the UK with no voice at the top table.

Is this good for Britain?

Mr Cameron has protected the City of London from new regulations and a tax on financial transactions. But the 17 eurozone countries could use the **EU** machine to

bring in rules affecting the UK. Britain is already contesting whether this is allowed under **EU** laws.

Could we leave the **EU**?

Some say that is the logical result of what has happened. Britain will be on the sidelines and could end up having no say on other decisions made by the Eurozone countries. If so, it will be hard to justify why we are staying in the **EU**.

Are the Eurozone's problems over?

Far from it. The size of the bailout fund and what sanctions to apply to countries refusing to stick to new tax and spending rules still must be agreed. Ireland and Denmark may have to put the new treaty to a referendum.

GRAPHIC: CONCERN J David Miliband



The Mirror

December 1, 2011 Thursday

3 Star Edition

THAT'S EUR LOT;

**BRITISH BANKS URGED TO GET SET FOR SINGLE CURRENCY
FAILURE**

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 1184 words

THE big guns of world finance joined forces yesterday in a desperate bid to avert global economic meltdown - as the euro teetered just 10 days from the brink of collapse.

The Bank of England, the US Federal Reserve, the European Central Bank and the central banks of Canada, Japan and Switzerland announced combined action to keep credit flowing.

They say they are ready from this Monday to let banks buy cheap US dollars - and make it easier for them to get access to other major currencies if credit dries up.

The move sent stock markets soaring. The FTSE closed 3% up. The banks also did well, with Barclays shares climbing 6% and Lloyds 7%.

Even the euro showed a flicker of improvement, up 1.5 cents against the dollar.

But experts warned the banks' rescue package was a "sticking plaster" which did nothing to sort out the massive underlying debt problems facing **Europe**.

European finance ministers meeting in Brussels yesterday were told they had just 10 days to save the single currency. Ollie Rehn, the **EU's** Economic and Monetary Affairs Commissioner, said: "We are entering the critical period of 10 days to complete and conclude the crisis response of the European Union."

He added: "The economic and monetary union will either have to be completed through much deeper integration or we will have to accept a gradual disintegration of over half-a-century of European integration."

French foreign minister Alain Juppe claimed there was a danger of **Europe** being torn apart by war unless the debt crisis is resolved. He said the collapse of the single currency could lead to "the explosion of the European Union itself".

He added: "In that eventuality, everything becomes possible, even the worst.

"We have flattered ourselves for decades that we have eradicated the danger of conflict inside our continent, but let's not be too sure."

European Council President Herman Van Rompuy described the eurozone as being in the grip of a "full-blown crisis of confidence".

David Cameron's official spokesman revealed the Government has stepped up its contingency plans for the possible break up of the euro.

He said: "Clearly there is a very serious situation in the financial markets. We are experiencing a credit crunch and central bank action is about trying to mitigate the effects." One senior Whitehall official voiced fears of a Lehman Brothers-style disaster - a reference to the collapse of the American bank which triggered the 2008 global crash. "We are not at Lehmans... yet," he said.

The scale of the crisis was underlined when the Financial Services Authority called in Britain's major banks to discuss their preparations for the possible collapse of the euro.

Chief executive Hector Sants told top representatives from leading financial institutions, including Barclays, HSBC, Lloyds, RBS, Santander and Standard Chartered to plan for the worst-case scenario.

He urged them to run "stress tests" to see what the potential fall-out would be.

One senior banker revealed that his organisation had already been "rehearsing" various potential crises. He said: "It's my job to assume the worst.

"If something really bad - say a sudden overnight default of Italy - were to happen and we hadn't tested that, I wouldn't have been doing my job properly.

"There simply wouldn't be enough time to sort out all the various trading positions and look at all the paperwork."

Christian Noyer, France's central bank governor and a governing council member of the European Central Bank, said: "We are now looking at a true financial crisis - that is a broad-based disruption in financial markets."

A G20 official who did not want to be named said: "Nobody wants to spend money on something they doubt would work. That goes not only for **Europe** but for any other country outside **Europe**.

"The threshold for IMF help is quite high. Those seeking help need to be willing to give up some of their jurisdiction on fiscal policy and undergo painful reform. Mere pledges and speeches won't do."

Chancellor George Osborne admitted yesterday that the situation facing Britain would be "very much worse" if the eurozone "went belly-up".

His words came as the Institute for Fiscal Studies warned that households face a "lost decade" of falling income and savage cuts.

It also emerged yesterday that UK National Security Adviser Sir Peter Ricketts is planning an emergency meeting to discuss the security implications for the Britain if the eurozone collapses.

In a joint statement last night, the central banks said they had taken action to help boost the supply of credit to business.

The statement added: "The purpose of these actions is to ease strains in financial markets and thereby mitigate the effects of such strains on the supply of credit to households and businesses and so help foster economic activity."

Richard Batty, investment director at Standard Life Investments, said: "Reducing funding costs and making more liquidity available is helpful. But the solvency issue remains."

WHAT CRISIS MEANS TO HARD-HIT BRITISH FAMILIES AND BUSINESS

WHY are banks taking emergency measures?

THE action is designed to stop the world's banking system seizing up leading to a second credit crunch.

WHAT would a second credit crunch mean?

IF access to funds from financial markets and other banks becomes tight, the cost rises.

If banks find it hard to access funds they become more cautious about who they will lend to and charge more.

WHAT does that mean for me?

IT would push up the cost of loans for businesses and increase the cost of mortgages.

Firms or individuals who have had any problems repaying past debts would be regarded as too risky and be refused credit.

WHAT's being done to stop this happening?

THE Federal Reserve, Bank of England, Bank of Japan and European Central Bank are clubbing together to help get funds flowing around the system.

They have agreed to make funds available to banks at lower interest rates until February 2013.

WHY did they need to do this? FEARS that the eurozone was on the brink of meltdown had made people wary of lending to its banks.

Fearing they might not get repaid, lenders demanded higher interest rates while some just refused.

WHAT did this mean?

IT was getting more expensive for banks in the eurozone to get the funds, particularly dollars, they need.

HOW did we get in this mess?

IT stems from the failure to find a genuine solution to the eurozone debt crisis.

The longer **Europe's** leaders dither the greater the fear that the eurozone could break up.

WHY would that matter?

IF the eurozone collapsed and some countries defaulted on their debts it would blow big holes in bank finances which are all interlinked.

UK banks are owed billions of pounds by their counterparts in **Europe**. If those loans turned sour they would have less cash to lend to consumers and businesses here at home.

WILL the action solve the problem?

NOT really but it will help. It is a form of medicine designed to treat the symptoms. It is not a cure for the patient's ills. It should however, buy those in the eurozone more time to fully diagnose the problem and decide on the surgery needed to return the region's finances to rude health.

GRAPHIC: CHAMPION Adlington WARNING EU Council President Herman Van Rompuy yesterday ORDER FSA chief Hector Sants



The Mirror

December 8, 2011 Thursday

3 Star Edition

TORIES AT WAR;

EURO CRISIS MPS' MUTINY

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8,9

LENGTH: 672 words

DAVID Cameron took a hammering yesterday as London Mayor Boris Johnson and a Cabinet minister joined the Tory mutiny over **Europe**.

Mr Johnson and Northern Ireland Secretary Owen Paterson piled pressure on the Prime Minister to demand a referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union.

The revolt came ahead of Mr Cameron's trip to Brussels today for a crisis summit aimed at rescuing the eurozone.

And he is being accused of failing to stand up for the nation's interests in the face of plans by Germany and France to create a stronger euro bloc without Britain.

In a direct challenge to his authority, Mr Johnson and Mr Paterson said there would have to be a poll if European leaders agreed major treaty changes or decided to create the strengthened zone of the 17 countries using the currency.

TORRID

Their comments came just hours after Mr Cameron was harangued by his own backbenchers at PM's Questions, with nine Tory MPs demanding he take a tougher line on **Europe**.

The growing rebellion gathered pace last night as MPs from No Turning Back and other Tory political groups met to discuss the party's stance on the **EU**.

On a torrid day for the PM, his promise to use the summit to claw back powers from Brussels fell to pieces when German leader Angela Merkel made clear she would make no concessions to Britain in the talks.

Mr Cameron has pledged to veto any deal if it damaged the UK's financial interests.

Britain is opposed to any measure which would see more powers pass to Brussels and any attempt to impose a tax on bank transactions in the UK - a key demand of Mrs Merkel and France's Nicolas Sarkozy. But the PM could be left on the sidelines at the summit, as France and Germany have said they will press ahead with reforms even if they cannot get the agreement of all 27 members of the EU.

Mrs Merkel and Mr Sarkozy - now dubbed "Merkozy" - want new rules forcing the eurozone states to stick to strict tax and spending limits.

But the plan will require rewriting the European treaty.

And Mr Paterson told the Spectator magazine: "If there was a major fundamental change in our relationship, emerging from the creation of a new bloc, which would be effectively a new country from which we were excluded, then I think inevitably there would be huge pressure for a referendum."

Asked whether a referendum would be necessary, he replied: "I think there will have to be one, yes, because I think the pressure would build up." He is the second Cabinet Minister to defy the PM by calling for a referendum. At the weekend, Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith also said Britain's EU membership should be put to a vote.

London Mayor Mr Johnson also piled pressure on Mr Cameron by echoing the call for a national poll if the treaty change was agreed.

"The real problem is everybody is desperately scrabbling around to try and patch this thing together and keep the euro in its current form and not to let anybody escape."

He added: "To use the rather graphic phrase of someone the other day - I think we are in danger of saving the cancer and not the patient."

FAILURE

But in a sign that **Europe** had split the Tories apart again, Justice Secretary Kenneth Clarke insisted there was no need for a referendum.

The depth of the Tory civil war was underlined at PM's Questions when Mr Cameron faced a barrage of questions from Tory MPs about his failure to stand up for Britain's interests.

Tory backbencher Andrew Rosindell said the PM needed to show some "bulldog spirit".

Fellow Conservative MP John Baron said the PM should use the talks to demand a "fundamental renegotiation" of Britain's relationship with the **EU**.

And Julian Lewis warned that the German and French plans would create a "dangerously undemocratic single government" for those in the single currency.

Labour leader Ed Miliband mocked Mr Cameron for failing to keep his promise to haul back powers.

"Six weeks ago he was promising his backbenchers a handbagging for **Europe**, now he is just reduced to hand-wringing. That is the reality for this Prime Minister," he said.

GRAPHIC: YULE FOOL Osborne fails quiz on tax **REBELS** London Mayor Boris Johnson and Ulster Secretary Owen Paterson defied the PM **QUIFF OF FAILURE**
The PM, with his Tintin-like hair yesterday, is off on his travels again today



The Mirror

December 13, 2011 Tuesday

3 Star Edition

VERDICT

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 169 words

NICK Clegg yesterday showed why the Lib Dem party colours are yellow.

The Deputy Prime Minister was faced with sitting next to the PM while he was toasted by Eurosceptic Tories, or hiding in his office. He took the latter option. No wonder the PM, when once asked for his favourite joke, replied "Nick Clegg".

But if he was there, he would have seen this was not the victory parade the PM expected, with growing fears he might not have played a blinder in Brussels.

His MPs did not cheer when he ruled out a referendum on Britain's membership and were silent when he stressed the importance of staying in the EU.

Ed Miliband, in perhaps his best performance as Labour leader, pointed out that for all Mr Cameron's posturing, he failed to secure a single safeguard for Britain's financial services.

Mr Cameron also climbed down on his pledge to stop the eurozone using Brussels to impose tougher tax and spending rules, saying he was "open minded" over it.

Mr Clegg may be running scared, but Mr Cameron is running backwards.



The Mirror

December 12, 2011 Monday

3 Star Edition

**VETOTAL WAR;
EURO CRISIS CON DEMS' BIG SPLIT**

BYLINE: TOM MCTAGUE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4,5

LENGTH: 1110 words

THE Coalition was plunged into bitter civil war yesterday as Nick Clegg launched a savage attack on David Cameron's decision to veto last week's EU treaty.

The Deputy Prime Minister slammed Mr Cameron's tactics, hit out at eurosceptic Tory MPs and said isolating the country was "bad for Britain".

His anti-Tory rant was echoed by the Lib Dem Business Secretary Vince Cable who insisted he would "fight, fight, fight" against the "spectacularly misguided" Tory backbenchers who, he suggested, had held Mr Cameron hostage.

After rumours that Mr Cable could resign over the issue were denied, his close friend Lord Oakeshott admitted the row could spell the end of the Coalition. "It could do, [but] I hope it doesn't," he said.

Former Lib Dem leader Lord Ashdown called the decision "catastrophically bad" and Tory Justice Secretary Kenneth Clarke said it was "disappointing".

But it is the Deputy PM's words which will most worry Mr Cameron. Mr Clegg said: "There is now a real danger that the United Kingdom will be isolated, and marginalised within the European Union.

"I don't think that's good for jobs in the City or elsewhere, I don't think it's good for growth, I don't think it's good for families up and down the country." He revealed that, after being woken up at 4am and told about Mr Cameron's veto, "I made it clear that it was untenable for me to welcome it."

Slamming Tory MPs' celebrations, he went on: "No one can believe it is good for Britain to be in an opposition of one."

The Lib Dem leader then accused Mr Cameron of being too weak to get an EU deal saying the PM "couldn't come back to London empty handed because he wouldn't have been able to get what had been agreed through the Commons".

And, asked whether he would have acted differently in Brussels, he said: "Of course. I'm not under the same constraints from my Parliamentary party that David Cameron is."

Mr Clegg said: "A Britain that leaves the EU will be considered irrelevant by Washington and will be a pygmy in the world." But he dismissed talk of the Coalition breaking up, saying that would be even more damaging to the country.

Defending his Party, Foreign Secretary William Hague insisted Britain was "not marginalised" and suggested Mr Clegg had signed up to the Government's position. "The negotiating position was agreed with the Lib Dems," he said.

Labour leader Ed Miliband demanded Mr Cameron "explain why he did something that was bad for Britain and British jobs" when he makes his statement to the Commons today.

He added: "This is a bad deal for Britain. We're now going to have 26 countries going ahead without us in the room.

"David Cameron has mishandled this negotiation and the... reason he did this was not because of threats to the City, but because of the Conservative Party."

And Chuka Umunna, Labour's Shadow Business Secretary, yesterday wrote to Vince Cable, saying: "Business leaders question whether the approach adopted

in the European Council was in the best interests of British business given that a substantial number of their orders come from **EU** member states."

Even Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond accused Mr Cameron of "blundering into changing the UK's entire relationship with the **EU**".

Voice of the Mirror: Page 10

PM DAVID Cameron's risky veto gamble pays off.

European leaders are forced to hand back powers to Britain after he threatens to take them to court if they use the **EU** to enforce a new treaty.

The eurozone leaders get their act together without the Prime Minister's interference - while Britain manages to thrive in the outside lane.

THE Prime Minister is eventually forced to do a deal with Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy after they threaten to pass regulations that are hostile to the UK.

David Cameron is ultimately left humiliated by the encounter, but the collapse of the euro is avoided, with Britain only suffering a mild economic dip in the aftermath.

Labour win the next election.

CAMERON'S stubbornness leaves the eurozone teetering on the brink, with world markets concerned that the treaty has no legal force.

A tense standoff between the UK and **Europe** rumbles on for several months, hitting growth and jobs.

But the prospect of calamity forces the leaders back from the brink and the euro survives - just.

MARKETS begin to realise the Euro deal does nothing to solve the core problems affecting Greece, Spain and Italy.

The German Chancellor Angela Merkel refuses to budge and France sees its credit rating downgraded.

Britain's economy is dragged into a double dip recession but just about weathers the storm with the help of the Bank of England.

THE treaty fails to convince the markets and the price of Italian and Spanish debt soars - leading to another heated **EU** summit.

Eurozone leaders, furious with Cameron's behaviour at the first meeting, push through damaging regulations that hit the UK economy hard.

Britain is isolated and the crisis is still not solved. Europewide recession.

MERKOZY'S deal stutters along for six months before collapsing after the Irish reject the treaty in a referendum.

Markets panic, sending eurozone debt prices up.

George Osborne imposes more cuts as Britain's economy crashes with rest of **Europe**.

The Germans eventually accept they will have to pick up the tab for the rest of the eurozone, putting an end to the crisis.

DIVISIONS emerge between France and Germany, while other countries start to question opening up their books to Brussels.

Governments are forced to give more money to the banks as the prospect of a country going bust increases, the US is dragged into recession, and Chancellor George Osborne is eventually forced to ditch his deficit reduction plan.

WITHIN weeks of the **EU** summit, Greece is forced out of the euro after government debt prices across the eurozone surge out of control, forcing Merkozy into taking drastic action.

European banks take a massive hit and Britain's own faltering institutions are nationalised.

The world economy falls into recession, but Italy, Spain and Portugal are all saved.

IRELAND rejects the **EU** treaty and is forced out of the eurozone alongside Greece and Portugal.

Banks across the continent have to be nationalised and the British economy contracts by 8%, with unemployment soaring past 3.5 million.

The Coalition eventually collapses and a government of national unity - led by Chancellor George Osborne - is formed.

THE cost of Italian debt surges past 7%.

Germany refuses to let the European Central Bank step in.

Italy forces **Europe** into recession then goes bankrupt, dragging the eurozone down with it.

The world economy goes into meltdown, hyperinflation is rife and the **EU** collapses.

The Coalition falls and a technocratic government is set up.

GRAPHIC: TRADE FEARS Mr Umunna BAD FOR BRITAIN David
Cameron ATTACK On TV yesterday



The Mirror

December 15, 2011 Thursday

3 Star Edition

YOU OBSTINATE KID

BYLINE: JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 4

LENGTH: 210 words

Gloating Sarkozy rubs Dave's nose in his EU treaty 'defeat'

FRENCH President Nicolas Sarkozy yesterday branded David Cameron an "obstinate kid" who he out-manoeuvred in Brussels last week.

His comments came as it emerged Britain could have to pay pounds 10billion extra to rescue the eurozone.

Mr Cameron vetoed a EU treaty to rescue the single currency, leaving Britain isolated after the 26 other EU countries agreed the reforms.

Mr Sarkozy reportedly told a French magazine: "Cameron behaved like an obstinate kid, with a single obsession: protecting the City. No country supported him. That is the mark of a political defeat. I manoeuvred well.

"The world saw my proposal was the only possible course."

But the German Chancellor Angela Merkel yesterday offered solace to Mr Cameron by saying that Britain remained an "important partner in the European Union". Downing Street refused to comment on Mr Sarkozy and also denied reports that Britain was ready to hand over an extra pounds 30billion to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for a eurozone bailout.

No 10 said pounds 10billion could go to the IMF in addition to the pounds 20billion already pledged, but the Prime Minister's spokesman said: "We have not made any commitment."

Voice of the Mirror: Page 8

GRAPHIC: SMUG J Sarkozy MOCKED



Daily Mirror

June 21, 2016 Tuesday

Edition 1;

National Edition

Corbyn: Don't risk job rights

BYLINE: BEN GLAZE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 192 words

THE next 48 hours will "shape Britain's future" Jeremy Corbyn warns.

The run-in to the EU referendum on Thursday will see both sides make last-ditch pleas to electors.

Labour big beasts are out today urging supporters to back Remain.

Mr Corbyn will be in Manchester, former PM Gordon Brown in Glasgow, ex-deputy leader Harriet Harman and former boss Ed Miliband in Birmingham. Neil Kinnock will be in Cardiff.

Mr Corbyn said last night: "These next hours will shape Britain's future for years to come.

"We have a choice: Do we remain to protect jobs and prosperity that depend on trade with Europe? Or do we step to an unknown future with Leave, where a Tory-led **Brexit** risks economic recovery and threatens a bonfire of employment rights?

"A vote for Remain puts our economy first. Join me in voting Remain to protect jobs and rights at work."

Unite union general secretary Len McCluskey said "pulling up the drawbridge is the wrong answer".

Labour also warns up to 15,000 OAPs may lose vital support if ministers raid budgets after **Brexit**. Council cash for housing and caring could plunge.

Brexit also risks losing almost 20,000 affordable homes by 2020, it says.

GRAPHIC: PLEA Corbyn



Daily Mirror

June 21, 2016 Tuesday

Edition 2;

National Edition

Don't abandon workers' rights;

EU VOTE: EX-PM, SHOPS BOSS AND MIRROR COLUMNISTS 'Brexit will chip away at hard-won protection'

BYLINE: TONY BLAIR

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8,9

LENGTH: 464 words

THURSDAY'S referendum on the European Union is a massive moment in British politics.

The result - whatever it is - will have a huge impact on our economy and society for years to come.

It will shape the wider world in which we live and help determine the prospects of our children and grandchildren.

I am certain that voting to Remain in the EU is the right choice for the United Kingdom - the right choice for jobs and the right choice for our future prosperity.

A vote to Remain is a vote to stand up for working people across the country whose jobs and communities depend on our ability to trade with Europe.

Three million jobs in the UK are linked to EU exports. That's around one in every 10 in the country. These jobs are the livelihoods of people up and down the country, working in companies big and small, in vital industries like manufacturing which rely on exporting.

The Leave campaign has completely failed to explain how, if we leave Europe, we can still have access to Europe's market - vital for UK jobs. That's a risk that our country simply can't afford to take.

A vote to Remain will also be a vote to stand up for the rights of everyone to be treated fairly at work. This is something the Labour Party cares passionately about.

It's why, when a Labour Government was elected in 1997, I as Prime Minister signed up to the European Social Chapter - to ensure decent terms and conditions for British workers including guaranteed paid holidays.

It's too easy to take these rights, which are underpinned by EU law, for granted.

Never forget one thing. Many of those leading the Leave campaign opposed the Social Chapter, opposed our introduction of the minimum wage, opposed basic trade union rights.

They believe being out of Europe gives them a chance to chip away at all of these hard-won and necessary protections. Don't let them.

Thursday's vote is fundamentally one about the sort of country we want to live in and the sorts of opportunities we can provide for future generations.

If we stay, future growth and trade with our European neighbours promises hundreds of thousands more jobs in industries like digital services, energy and tourism. These are the jobs of the future we need to seize with both hands if we want to ensure our children thrive in a globalised world.

I understand that people are often frustrated about the way the EU works.

But Britain is undoubtedly better off in. Our membership has already brought us huge opportunities and staying in will allow us to benefit even more.

Let's not forget that the decision on Thursday is a one-off choice between staying in or leaving completely. Given what's at stake for British jobs and our economy, choosing to Remain is the best option for Britain.

"It's easy to take these rights, underpinned by EU law, for granted

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



Daily Mirror

June 20, 2016 Monday

Edition 3;

National Edition

Don't quit on Europe;

BOTH SIDES GEAR UP FOR THE FINAL PUSH IN REFERENDUM

**Cameron's emotional plea after Chamberlain accusation Claims on £350m,
Turkey & army 'completely untrue'**

BYLINE: JACK BLANCHARD; JASON BEATTIE

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8,9

LENGTH: 639 words

DAVID Cameron came out fighting in his final **EU** referendum showdown, warning it would be a "tragedy" if Britain went for **Brexit** based on Leave camp lies.

The Prime Minister exploded into life in a BBC Question Time special after an audience member compared him to Nazi appeaser Neville Chamberlain.

Mr Cameron shot back that walking out on Europe would be "quitting".

He said: "At my office I sit two yards away from the Cabinet room where Winston Churchill made the decision to fight on against Hitler. He didn't quit.

"He didn't quit on Europe. He didn't quit on European democracy, he didn't quit on European freedom."

The audience cheered as he went on: "We want to fight for those things today. You can't win, you can't fight, if you're not in the room. You can't win a football match if you're not on the pitch."

The PM's **EU** reform deal had been attacked by an audience member, who claimed it could be "overruled" by a "dictatorship" in Brussels.

An enraged Mr Cameron hit back: "This is not some empire or dictatorship. If Britain wants to leave this organisation, we can. We are a sovereign country.

"But let us be clear, if we do leave, that's it. We are walking out the door, we are quitting, we are giving up on this organisation, which, even if we leave, will have a huge effect on our lives.

"And I don't think Britain in the end is a quitter. I think we stay and fight."

Mr Cameron tore into Vote Leave claims that Turkey was poised to join the **EU** in the next three years.

He insisted it would be "30 or 40 years" before Turkey got membership, and said: "It is a red herring. People who have decided to vote leave, obviously it's a choice, it's a referendum.

"But to do it on the basis of Turkey joining the **EU**, you would be voting to leave an organisation, to damage our economy, on the basis of something that is not going to happen. And that would be a crazy thing to do."

Mr Cameron slammed Vote Leave's other "untruths" - that the **EU** is planning to create its own army and that Britain's membership costs us £350million a week.

He said: "I don't want anyone to vote on the basis of Turkey joining, because it is not going to happen. Just like the **EU** Army is not going to happen, just like the £350million isn't true."

He said: "It would be a tragedy if we damaged our economy, wrecked job prospects in our country on the basis of three things that are completely untrue."

The PM's campaign receives a major boost today as the bosses of Jaguar Land Rover, Toyota, BMW and Vauxhall warn that quitting the **EU** could put jobs and investment at risk.

In a statement organised by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders they say **Brexit** could threaten 800,000 jobs supported by the motor industry, which contributes £15.5billion to the economy, with 57.7% of the cars exported abroad going to the **EU**.

Vauxhall chairman, Rory Harvey, said: "We believe not to be part of the **EU** would be undesirable for our business."

And underlining the dangers of leaving, Chancellor George Osborne told Peston on Sunday: "If we vote to leave there is no turning back.

"It's a one-way door to a much more uncertain world where people's jobs and their livelihoods are at risk."

Mr Osborne said estimates that **Brexit** could shrink the economy by as much as 6% could be too conservative. He said: "Personally, I think it's possible that it would be quite a lot worse than that."

He said uncertainty over the vote was already affecting the economy as people delayed buying houses and cars. He said: "They're delaying investment. This is a taste of things to come."

It has emerged that major banks are drafting in staff to work through the night on Thursday amid fears a **Brexit** could cause turmoil in the financial markets.

Some banks have predicted that **Brexit** could cause the pound to fall to parity with the euro for the first time ever.

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GRAPHIC: PASSIONATE PM last night
BATTLE D-Day landings in 1944
DEPRESSION Jarrow March protest in 1936



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Stock market turmoil hits pensions

BYLINE: Tricia Phillips

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NOBODY knows 100% what a **Brexit** will mean for our finances but there are major concerns the stock market will hit rocky times which will mean a dip in the value of pension funds.

That could leave older workers vulnerable, without enough time to make up these losses before they retire.

Expats in **EU** countries risk losing tens of thousands off their state pension if they lose the triple lock guarantee that increases pensions by at least 2.5% every year.

I think pensioners, and those approaching retirement, have been hit hard already with pathetic interest on savings.

Many are already struggling to make ends meet and I don't want to see them any worse off. That's why I'm voting to Remain.

