Boris Johnson's journalism and the shaping of elite opinion on Europe: A framing analysis of Johnson's work and how it shaped elite Conservative opinion on Europe, through a critical elite theory perspective

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Boris Johnson's journalism and the shaping of elite opinion on Europe: A framing analysis of Johnson's work and how it shaped elite Conservative opinion on Europe, through a critical elite theory perspective

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Declaration

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Abstract

Name: Niamh Sammon

Title: Boris Johnson's journalism and the shaping of elite opinion on Europe: A framing analysis of Johnson's work and how it shaped elite Conservative opinion on Europe, through a critical elite theory perspective.

Since the Brexit referendum of 2016 a number of studies have found that Boris Johnson's decision to join the Vote Leave campaign was a decisive factor in the result. While respected commentators and politicians have claimed that his journalism played a role in shaping views on Europe, there is little literature to support this thesis. This study examines the role played by Johnson's journalism on the shaping of elite opinion on the European Union within the Conservative Party, from the early 1990s until 2016. His writing is contextualised within the history of Conservative Party Euroscepticism. Drawing on over 30 years' of Johnson's journalism, first as the *Telegraph*'s Brussels Correspondent and later as an opinion columnist, the study uses a framing analysis to explore the major themes of his work. Using a critical elite theory perspective, which focuses on inter-elite communications to understand the role of the media in the policy process, Johnson's journalism was then evaluated to determine its influence on Conservative party thinking on Europe.

This dissertation argues that Johnson's journalism deftly mined and amplified a number of British cultural pre-dispositions. The most significant was a deep distrust of any external jurisdiction that threatened British parliamentary power. The threat to sovereignty posed by the EU emerges as the major frame in Johnson's work. The dissertation presents findings from interviews with leading diplomats, Conservative politicians and journalists which indicate that Conservative party opinion on Europe was influenced by articles that Johnson – and others – wrote. The findings indicate that Johnson had greater reach and influence owing to his platform in the *Daily Telegraph*, the Conservative Party's "house journal". Conservative backbenchers during the Maastricht period viewed Europe in part through the prism of Johnson's lens. Secondly, Johnson specialised in a form of 'Euromyth' that trivialised the EU and painted it in an absurd light. This partly set the tone for coverage of Europe in other newspapers. This study presents evidence that Johnson, operating at elite sites, played a social and cultural role in shaping agendas on Europe within the Conservative Party.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

There was this fantastic pressure to create a single polity, to create an answer to the historic German problem. And this produced the most fantastic strains in the Conservative party. So everything I wrote from Brussels I found I was just chucking these rocks over the garden wall and listening to this amazing crash from the greenhouse in England.

Boris Johnson, 2005, BBC Radio 4.

Britain's decision to leave the European Union in 2016 has presented far-reaching challenges to the UK's democracy, economy and society. For over five years, economists and political scientists have sought to understand its wider impact. While the full economic cost may not be known for many years, early indicators are not positive. Research conducted by the London School of Economics has concluded that Britain will become poorer, with a drop of between 1 and 10 per cent in per capita income. (Sampson, 2017). Politically the Northern Ireland protocol represents a threat to both Northern Ireland's political settlement, as well as the integrity of the Union. (Hayward, 2021; Murphy, 2021) More broadly, Brexit presents an existential challenge to the international order that the EU represents. (Bulmer and Quaglia, 2018)

No one factor can adequately explain why Britain voted to leave the European Union. Many reasons have been posited for the referendum result, including austerity-driven welfare reforms (Fetzer, 2019), the political consequences of globalisation, and both the refugee and eurozone crises within the EU. (O'Rourke, 2018) Sampson (2017) suggests two hypotheses. The first, the nation-state hypothesis, argues that the Brexit vote was driven by concerns about the erosion of national sovereignty by the EU, which denied the UK the ability to control immigration and forced it to implement laws made in Brussels. Indeed, EU Immigration – which increased rapidly from 1.5% of the British population in 1995 to 5.3% in 2015 (Wadsworth et al, 2016) was identified by 33 per cent of Britons as the main reason for their vote to leave. (Ashcroft, 2016) The sovereignty factor was effectively encapsulated by the Vote Leave campaign's 'Take Back Control' slogan.

The second hypothesis concerns the "scapegoating of the EU" by voters who felt left behind by modern life and blamed the EU for their social and economic exclusion.

(Sampson, 2017) This theory is supported by a number of studies which reveal that support for Brexit was higher amongst low income voters and those without a university education. (Goodwin and Heath, 2016). The scapegoating hypothesis assumes that misinformation about the European Union, driven by anti-EU sentiment in the media and from Eurosceptic politicians, was one of the major drivers of Brexit. (Sampson, 2017)

While some media effects traditions argue that the media only plays a reinforcing role in strengthening views already in place (Miller and Krosnick, 1996; Bennet and Iyengar, 2008), other research has found that heavily biased, near-uniform coverage of an issue increases the likelihood that the messages will affect those who are exposed. (Noelle-Neumann and Mathes, 1987). In the case of Brexit, the circulation of Leave EU messaging newspapers outweighed remain messaging newspapers by 80 per cent to 20 per cent. (Deacon et al., 2016).

Leading figures in British politics and diplomacy interviewed for this study believe that relentlessly negative depictions of Europe in the media did have an effect on the outcome of the 2016 referendum. As documented by Anderson and Weymouth in the 1990s, coverage of the EU was persistently critical and often distorted for decades prior to the vote. (1999) More recent studies suggest that this negative coverage was one of the factors in the result. (Rawlinson, 2019) What is less well documented is the sustained impact of negative media coverage on the reinforcement of views on Europe, and on the shaping of anti-EU sentiment, amongst Conservative Party elites. This is of particular relevance as Brexit was the culmination of a 20-year political campaign against British membership of the EU, that started with the Maastricht Treaty. (Sampson, 2017). As Tim Bale noted in his study of the Conservative Party: "…the media may well have more power to influence the mood and behaviour of those who claim to serve the voters rather than the mood and behaviour of the voters themselves." (Bale, 2016, p. 17). In sum, journalists, editors and opinion writers "have a huge impact" on Conservative party strategy. (Bale, 2016, p. 2)

This brings us to the role played by the journalist and politician, Boris Johnson, in delivering the Brexit result in 2016. Several important studies point to the central role he played in the success of the Vote Leave campaign. (Clarke, 2017; Goodwin, 2016) According to Clarke (2017), Johnson used his Vote Leave platform, and a strong

"likeability" factor, to successfully "cue" the public about how to vote. (Clarke, 2017, p. 149) The "Boris effect" (Goodwin, 2016) was picked up by the Remain side whose chief pollster, Andrew Cooper noted: "During the referendum campaign it was clear from all our tracking research that Boris was having a big impact. This came through clearly in the focus groups….Boris came top of the question of which politician has made the most persuasive impact." (Clarke, 2017, p. 171) As Clarke (2017) notes, "While it is not possible to conclude that 'it was Boris wot won it'…his boisterous and widely covered presence on the campaign trail was clearly very advantageous to the Leave side, whose only other salient leader was the much less popular Nigel Farage." (p. 207) Central figures in the Vote Leave campaign also credit Johnson with playing a pivotal role in securing the win. According to the campaign's mastermind, Dominic Cummings: "Without Boris, Farage would have been a much more prominent face on TV during the crucial final weeks, probably the most prominent face….It is extremely plausible that this would have lost us over 600,000 vital middle class votes." (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 200)

Johnson undoubtedly played an important role in securing a "No" vote in the 2016 referendum. But the focus of this study is not Boris Johnson and Brexit. Rather, it is an examination of Johnson's writing on Europe during his years as a journalist, and its influence on both Conservative elites and the direction of EU reporting in the British press. Long before Johnson came to public renown as the Mayor of London and as a leading voice in the Brexit debate, he carved out a unique role for himself as a leading Eurosceptic voice in the pages of one of Britain's most important right-wing newspapers. For five years between 1989 and 1994, Johnson was a successful and prolific Brussels correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*. Following his five years in Brussels, he became one of the newspaper's most high profile and well-remunerated opinion writers. As an MP and later as Mayor of London (2008-16) he continued to write columns that sometimes made front-page news.

In the wake of the referendum result, journalists and commentators accused Johnson of peddling lies about the EU during his time as a *Telegraph* journalist. This, it was claimed, negatively impacted upon the way in which the EU is perceived in Britain. (Quatremer, 2016; Butler, 2019; Barber, 2019) Among others Johnson was responsible, in Lionel Barber's words, for exaggerating "the federalist gremlin, ensuring it has loomed ever larger in the British psyche, defying political reality." (Barber, 2019) Yet to date, no

systematic analysis has sought to address the way in which Johnson depicted the EU in his writing, nor has one sought to examine its influence on the Conservative Party elite which ultimately secured him the premiership. This dissertation seeks to understand how Johnson wrote about Europe, and what influence his narratives had on elite thinking on Europe within the Conservative Party. Were Conservative MPs influenced by Johnson's writing on Europe? Did they use his column to float ideas in order to push fellow MPs in a more Eurosceptic direction? And did Boris Johnson's writing contribute to a more Eurosceptic drift in the British broadsheet press?

Boris Johnson was not the only powerful journalist writing in negative terms about Europe. But several aspects make him an important case study for understanding how the media can influence elites. In the first place, Johnson moved in elite circles by virtue of his birth and education, assuring him ease of access to the leading Conservative politicians of the day. Secondly, he was the main EU correspondent for the newspaper regarded by Conservatives as the party's "house journal". This presented Johnson, a unique and talented writer, with a high-profile platform for questionable stories about meddlesome EU laws and the looming threat of political union to British sovereignty.

Thirdly, Johnson found himself in the right place, at the right time, to both channel and amplify Eurosceptic thought through his journalism. Johnson's period in Brussels came at a critical juncture in relations between Britain and Europe. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) brought into the open divisions on Europe which had "penetrated the bloodstream of the Conservative Party" in the 1950s. (Young, 1998, p. 375) Maastricht represented "a giant leap towards European federalism" and is the moment many Conservatives cite as a turning point in their attitudes to Europe. (Shrimsley, 2018). In an interview for this study, the Tory MP Andrew Mitchell, who was a Government whip at the time, remembers Maastricht as the period when his hair turned from dark brown to grey. "It pushed Europe to the top of the agenda and destroyed four Conservative Prime Ministers – so far," he says.

As a politician, Johnson has been accused of exploiting growing distrust in conventional politics and media organizations to create "fake truths and news". (Davis, 2019) In doing so, testimony from senior politicians, diplomats and journalists suggests that Johnson was working from the playbook he created in Brussels back in the 1990s. "People live by narrative," Johnson once told a journalist from *The Atlantic*. "Human

beings are creatures of the imagination." (McTague, 2021) It was Johnson's compelling anti-EU narrative that helped to move the Eurosceptic agenda from fringe obsession to mainstream policy within the Conservative Party.

1.1 Interpreting Johnson's journalism: A critical elite theory approach

One way of seeking to understand how Johnson may have influenced elite views on Europe is to examine his work from a critical elite theory perspective. Traditionally, the media's role in society has been interpreted through studies that have examined the impact of communication from power elites to the public, using the theories of agenda setting and framing. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Noelle-Neumann, 1973; Goffman, 1974; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Gamson, 1992; Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; McQuail, 2010)

However in recent decades some scholars have argued that the elite-mass media audience paradigm has a number of limitations, including a failure to adequately examine the operation of power at elite sites, such as Westminster. (Davis, 2007b). A recent theoretical advance seeks to address this gap in knowledge. Distilled as critical elite theory by its key advocate, Aeron Davis (2002, 2003, 2007, 2007b, 2009), this approach examines how the media is used as a communications channel by elites at elite sites of power in order to further policy agendas. Using a critical elite theory lens offers insights into the way in which journalists contribute to setting the political agenda, or the "framework of interpretation" for an issue. (Davis, 2007; Thompson, 1995) Journalists can influence policy debates, act as a channel for political conflicts, and are actors themselves in the struggle for power amongst members of the elite. (Davis, 2007b). This study will use a critical elite theory lens to examine how Boris Johnson's journalism may have influenced elite ideas on Europe within the Conservative Party elite.

Drawing on nearly 30 years of Johnson's journalism, first as the *Daily Telegraph*'s EC correspondent and later as an opinion columnist, the study uses a framing analysis pioneered by Gamson and Lasch (1983) and Gamson and Modigliani (1989) to explore the major themes of his work. In their 1989 study of nuclear power, Gamson and Modigliani argue that every policy issue is set within a particular culture, around which a discourse arises that "evolves and changes over time, providing interpretations and meanings for

relevant events." (p.1) This culture comprises a set of idea elements, organised and clustered in various ways. (Gamson and Lasch, 1983) Each element within this discourse – such as symbols, metaphors and depictions – are clustered into what they term interpretive packages. Gamson and Modigliani set each package within a wider context, measuring the ebbs and flows of the frames against the evolving political and social landscape. In this case particular events – such as the negotiations surrounding the Maastricht Treaty or the eurozone crisis – provide "an occasion for display" of the culture surrounding Europe within the Conservative Party. By making this culture visible, these events offer an opportunity for analysis. (Gamson and Lasch, 1983)

Over 380 of Johnson's articles were analysed using this method, by breaking down each article into the idea elements that constitute an interpretive package. The findings strongly indicate that Johnson's journalism deftly mined and amplified a number of British cultural pre-dispositions. The most significant was a deep distrust of any external jurisdiction that threatened British parliamentary power. The threat to sovereignty posed by the EU emerges as *the* major frame in Johnson's work.

The dissertation also presents findings from interviews with leading diplomats, Conservative politicians and journalists which indicate that Conservative party opinion on Europe was influenced by articles that Johnson – and others – wrote. Firstly, the findings indicate that Johnson had greater reach and influence owing to his platform in the *Daily Telegraph*, the Conservative Party's favoured newspaper. Conservative backbenchers during the Maastricht period viewed Europe in part through the prism of Johnson's lens. According to Max Hastings, Johnson's former editor at the *Daily Telegraph*: "The contributions of our Brussels correspondent, rooted in a sharp if hyperbolic eye for the EC bureaucracy's regulatory absurdities, undoubtedly fuelled Euroscepticism." (Hastings, 2019) Secondly, Johnson specialised in a form of 'Euromyth' that ridiculed the EU and made its legislative efforts look preposterous. This partly set the tone for coverage of Europe in other newspapers. In sum, this study presents evidence that Johnson, operating at elite sites, played a social and cultural role in shaping agendas on Europe within the Conservative Party.

1.2 Opinion writing and the "climate of opinion"

This study also sheds new light on how columnists can create a "climate of opinion" and become part of the policy conversation. Johnson was one journalist amongst many who created the environment within which Eurosceptic ideas flourished. His platform in the *Telegraph* arguably conferred his work with a greater degree of credibility for Conservative elites. But there were other writers and columnists responsible for the relentlessly negative coverage of Europe from the 1990s onwards. Columnists hold a particularly powerful platform in liberal democracies, and political commentators are more likely than news reporters and correspondents to play a role in the policy deliberation process. Unlike other journalists they operate with a remarkable degree of autonomy, developing close connections with cabinet ministers and prime ministers. (Williams, 1998; Shrimsley, 2003; Jacobs and Townsley, 2011; Bale, 2016) The extent to which these close connections forge public policy has not, however, been greatly explored by scholarship.

Journalists interviewed for this project agree that politicians are preoccupied with the power of the media, believing it to hold a determining influence on the court of both parliamentary party and public opinion. "It matters enormously that sort of climate of opinion, because MPs read the papers," says the *Telegraph* columnist and Johnson biographer Andrew Gimson. The broader assumption is that while the press cannot necessarily swing elections, they can create the "mood music" which can help or harm politicians and their standing with parliamentary colleagues. Tory MPs are, in turn, deeply affected by what they read, particularly if it appears in the *Mail,* the *Telegraph* and to a lesser extent *The Times*. (Bale 2016, p. 87) According to Tim Bale, the historian and chronicler of the Conservative Party: "Certainly there is every reason to suppose that leader writers, columnists and even reporters exert more influence on the Conservative Party's leadership…than any fabled 'core vote' or fanatical bunch of grassroots activists." (Bale, 2016, p. 20) So close is the link that Anthony Forster in his study of British Euroscepticism concluded that "The Tory press comprised the third pillar on which Conservative Eurosceptic influence was built." (2002, p. 111)

By 1996 an "overwhelming" proportion of Tory commentators and opinion formers "were deeply Eurosceptic", according to John Major's biographer Anthony Seldon. (Seldon, 1997, p. 634). Senior figures within the party, interviewed for this project,

believe that the constant attrition of anti-EU stories had an effect on Conservative Party opinion. This thesis has found that in their attacks on the EU, the press was aided and abetted by successive Tory and Labour administrations which pursued active policies of blaming the EU for domestic policy failures. Lord John Kerr, Britain's most senior diplomat on Europe for almost three decades, believes that one of the main drivers of Brexit was this "connivance" between successive governments and the press "in presenting Brussels as a place of endless battles and ambushes, that Britain was alone against these horrible continentals." (Mackay, 2019) This study presents new evidence from senior politicians and diplomats who argue that this anti-EU narrative, driven by politicians and the media, ultimately damaged perceptions of Europe. "When there's a problem, the government tries to blame Brussels, and when there's success they try to take credit to Westminster," says Sir Richard Stagg, the former High Commissioner to India who also served as the British Government press spokesman in Brussels. "Over a 20-year period, the picture of the European Union in people's minds is going to be more negative than it should be."

Studying this issue provides insights into the role played by politically partisan elements within the media in influencing national policy and democratic decision making. Examining how journalists, and Boris Johnson in particular, may have influenced this momentous event, is in effect, an important case study for understanding how small elite networks of politicians and journalists worked together to exert huge, but hidden influence. These are the men and women who inhabit the realm of what the historian Maurice Cowling termed "high politics", a place where only "fifty or sixty politicians in conscious tension with one another" matter. In this realm politics is "primarily a matter of rhetoric and manoeuvre." (Cowling, 1971 quoted in Bale, 2016, pp. 13-14) For Sir Ivan Rogers, who served as Britain's Permanent Representative to the EU from 2013 to 2017, Brexit is "a classic establishment inside job of a relatively small number of people who fixated on this for about two and a half decades." This dissertation will provide new insights into how these elite networks within the world of politics and the media operate to push policy agendas, to the exclusion of the vast majority of citizens.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This study is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 details the Conservative Party's long and often tortured history with the EU, from the early 1960s when Britain made its first attempts to join the EEC, through to the 2016 Brexit referendum. It examines the social and cultural factors which predisposed the British elite to Euroscepticism, examining Enoch Powell's opposition to joining in the early 1970s, and Margaret Thatcher's resistance to deeper integration in the late 1980s. The Maastricht period emerges as a pivotal time, galvanising Eurosceptics in both the party and in the press against the European project.

Chapter 3 examines the background and role of the media in British public life. It examines how the rise of objective journalism fostered the development of a commentary culture within journalism, and presents evidence that columnists can create a climate of opinion at Westminster, thus becoming part of the policy conversation. It also examines the background to this study's central theoretical framework, critical elite theory, examining how the theory can shed light on how the media can become a central communications channel between elites in the furtherance of particular policy agendas.

Chapter 4 sets out this dissertation's methodological approach. It includes a full biographical profile of Boris Johnson, situating him at the heart of the British political and media establishment. It argues that Johnson is a critical case study for understanding how the media can exert influence on political elites. The chapter also examines in detail a central feature of this thesis, the framing analysis pioneered by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) which is used to examine Johnson's journalism from 1989 to 2016. It also explores the organisation and definition of interpretive packages, or frames, for this project.

Chapter 5 tracks how Boris Johnson, over the course of his five years as Brussels correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, constructed Europe through his journalistic discourse. It identifies three major frames, or interpretive packages, in his work. This study has found that during his five years in Brussels, the 'Threat to Sovereignty' emerges as *the* major frame, dominating Johnson's discourse. The second major frame in Johnson's work is 'The Threat to Liberal Free Markets.' This frame encompasses the idea that European state subsidies were interfering with the free market, that the Commission was responsible for intrusive and expensive legislation, and that the EU was responsible for fiscal waste including the alleged high cost of sustaining a large Brussels bureaucracy. The

third major frame, 'The Plot against Britain', emphasises Britain's historic hostility to France and Germany. This frame depicts what Johnson called a "Franco-German axis' intent on isolating Britain in order to further its own interests.

Chapter 6 presents the findings from a framing analysis of Johnson's opinion columns from 1994 until 2016. This reveals a continuity in terms of the major frames evident in his journalism from Brussels. The 'Loss of British Sovereignty' frame again dominated much of his opinion writing, followed by 'The Threat to Liberal Free Markets' and 'The Plot Against Britain'.

Chapter 7 sets out findings and analysis based on 29 interviews conducted between May and October 2021. A close examination of Johnson's journalism, as well as testimony from leading members of the Conservative party, some of Britain's most high-ranking diplomats, and correspondents who worked with Johnson in the field, indicate that Johnson did have an impact on Conservative Party opinion on Europe. Although not a primary focus of this work, these interviews also indicate that wider Conservative grassroots opinion was itself influenced by articles that Johnson – and others – wrote. Johnson's journalism also partly set the tone for coverage of Europe in other newspapers.

Chapter 8, the concluding chapter, considers how the framing of Europe in Johnson's writing both reinforced and amplified Conservative Party thought on Europe. It examines how Johnson's work fits within the critical elite theory perspective, in part because he set the "framework of interpretation" for the issue of Europe within the Conservative Party. The next chapter explores why, traditionally, the Conservative Party has had a long and uneasy relationship with the EU.

Chapter 2 The Conservative party and Europe since 1945

The United Kingdom's relationship with Europe has never been warm, much less passionate; it is more like a loveless arranged marriage.

Foreign Affairs, 2013

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the background to the Conservative Party's long and often turbulent relationship with Europe, from the post-war period through to the 2016 Brexit referendum. The Maastricht Treaty, agreed in late 1991, emerges as a turning point in this relationship. The Treaty represented "a giant leap towards European federalism" and is the moment many Tories cite as a turning point in their attitudes to Europe. (Shrimsley, 2018) Discord over Europe was not, however, a recent phenomenon in Conservative circles. In the preceding decades, every Conservative leader had grappled with internal battles over Europe. (Forster, 2002) While Euroscepticism failed to garner much of a following until the 1980s, it "penetrated the bloodstream of the Conservative Party in the early 1950s." (Young, 1998, p. 375)

Three formative periods in relations between Britain and Europe are identified in Anthony Forster's study of opposition to Europe within Britain's mainstream political parties. Firstly, the 1960-75 period, from the Macmillan government's first application to join in 1961 to the end of the referendum on EEC membership in 1975. Secondly, the 1979-90 period, which reignited Europe as an issue when Margaret Thatcher redefined the terms of debate. And thirdly, the Maastricht Treaty period, dominated by opposition to political and monetary union and the re-emergence of the question of whether Britain should remain a member of the EU. (Forster, 2002) This chapter covers these three periods, and also details the events leading up to the 2016 Brexit referendum.

2.2 1945-1975: The "grim choice"

After World War II, a range of different factors inclined Britain to be, in Stephen George's words, an "awkward partner" in Europe. (George, 1990) As an island people Britons were

geographically separate and also considered themselves to be "inestimably superior" both as a result of history and success in two world wars. (Young, 1998) Many of Britain's post-war leaders saw Britain in a global rather than European context. (Daddow, 2013) Another school of thought espoused by institutionalist scholars highlights structural explanations for Britain's traditionally adversarial approach to the EU, most notably the British electoral system, which creates a winner-takes-all mindset. (Klemperer, 2019) Economic arguments focus on the incompatibility of Britain's free trade and low-regulation economic model with the European model of industrial organisation. (Forster, 2002, pp. 4-5) In the 1960s, several future paths presented themselves to Britain's leaders: should the UK rely solely on its connections to the post-imperial Commonwealth, embrace the Anglo-American relationship, or look towards Europe? As Hugo Young notes in his history of Britain and Europe, "The idea that these amounted to alternative choices, the one necessarily imperilling the other, afflicted the decision making of all leaders from Churchill to Margaret Thatcher, if not beyond." (Young, 1998, p. 2)

Yet anti-European sentiment was kept at bay by one of the Conservative Party's guiding principles: it was not a party of ideology, but pragmatism. (Sheperd, 1991; Ramsden, 1998) The world's oldest political party had governed for much of the 19th and 20th centuries by adhering to this principle. (Bale, 2016) According to the Conservative politician Quintin Hogg, "Conservatives do not believe that the political struggle is the most important thing in life." (Ramsden, 1998, p. 492). However, the wars in Europe inclined the Conservative Party leader Winston Churchill to embrace the idea of European unity. In September 1946, Churchill had called for the creation of "a kind of united states of Europe", the first step of which would be a partnership between France and Germany. (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 38) Churchill recognised the potential of European economic might, calling for a single market and a governing principle akin to that of the United States of America. (Young, 1998) On occasion Churchill envisioned Britain as a full member of a European organisation with a single currency. (Ramsden, 1998) At other times, however, Churchill did not see Britain as a full member of the European family, writing: "We are *with* Europe but not *of* it. We are linked but not comprised." (Young, 1998, p. 13) Churchill's mixed messages led one contemporary to complain that on Europe, "Churchill decided to have it both ways." (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 39)

In the 1940s the entire political class shared an ambivalence towards the idea of a European project. Relations with the Commonwealth and the Atlantic relationship with America took precedence. (Gamble, 1998) However, during this period France and Germany embarked on a plan that would become the forerunner of the Common Market and the EEC. The Schuman plan (1950), which created the European Coal and Steel Community, was opposed by British diplomats who hoped and believed that the pact would fail. One senior diplomat wrote: "The idea that there should be a body with real authority over the decisions of national governments was something we felt was grotesque and absurd." (Young, 1998, p. 69) Back in power in the 1950s the new Conservative Prime Minister Anthony Eden told an audience that Britain could never join a federal Europe. To do so would be contrary to "the unalterable marrow" of Britain. (Young, 1998, p. 74) Britain did eventually become an associate member of the Coal and Steel Community and agreed to attend the 1955 Messina Conference to discuss a customs union. Ultimately Britain withdrew from the talks with the chancellor of the exchequer, R.A. Butler, later acknowledging it had been a "mistake" to attend in the first place. (Young, 1998, p. 96)

The Messina talks led directly to the signing of the Treaty of Rome on March 25, 1957, which established the Common Market. It coincided with the Suez crisis of November 1956, an economic and military disaster for Britain, and "the terminal calamity of Empire". (Young, 1998, p. 99) Within elite circles, attitudes towards closer alignment with Europe began to change. (Gamble, 1998) A new generation of diplomats now recognised that the era of empire was over. (Young, 1998, p. 101) Meanwhile trade within the Common Market was experiencing dynamic growth, compared to the sluggish growth rates in Britain's traditional Commonwealth markets. (Gamble, 2002) The new Conservative Party leader Harold Macmillan came to the conclusion that Britain's future lay in Europe. (Blake, 1997) On the 30th of July, 1960, the cabinet agreed to begin the process which would lead to Britain's application to join the Common Market.

For Macmillan, it was a "grim choice". He wrote in his diary: "Shall we be caught between a hostile (or at least less and less friendly) America and a boastful, powerful 'Empire of Charlemagne'… It's a grim choice." (Catterall, 2011) Concerns about ceding control of tariffs, and some sovereignty, as well as the undermining of Commonwealth links, were a constant source of worry. He also had to contend with a vocal lobby of an

estimated 30 to 40 Conservative MPs who opposed entry. (Young, 1998) Ultimately the Conservative government's plan was scuppered by General De Gaulle, who vetoed British membership of the Common Market in January 1963. (Gamble, 1998). For Macmillan it was a hugely damaging result. In its aftermath his leadership "lacked direction", and a year later, he was gone. (Sheperd, 1991, p. 149)

In the late 1960s Britain's declining fortunes propelled its leaders towards another tilt at EEC membership. Once more, France blocked British entry. (Gamble, 1998) From the US, one of Britain's closest allies, came an unsparing assessment of Britain's future. Dean Acheson, the US Secretary of State declared in a speech that "Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role." Britain's global leader image, he remarked, "is about played out." (Young, 1998) Then, from July 1966, Britain was hit by a series of economic crises. For the new Conservative leader, Ted Heath, Europe presented Britain's best hopes of modernisation. (Sheperd, 1991) Shortly after taking office in 1970 Heath began the process of negotiating entry. Britain would now have to accept what one German official called "an almost inconceivable flood of European law" that amounted to 13,000 typewritten pages. The rule, according to the diplomat Con O'Neill, was "Swallow the lot, and swallow it now." (Young, 1998, p. 228)

In the end, the deal agreed with Europe amounted to Britain paying 8.64% of the EEC's budget in the first year of joining in 1973, rising to 18.92 per cent by 1977. At France's insistence a large proportion of the EEC's budget would go on agricultural subsidies. Britain, as a small agricultural exporter, would not benefit to the same degree as France. In the years to come, Britain's contributions and its budget rebate would become one of the most troublesome issues between Conservative prime ministers and the EEC. (Wall, 2008, pp. 4-5) The future of the nation state, however, did not feature as an issue. According to Young (1998), "The deep, existential meaning, for Britain, of getting into "Europe" was not considered." (p. 239)

The exception was Enoch Powell, regarded by many as "the founding father of Euroscepticism". (Barber, 2019) Powell told the 1971 Conservative Party conference that the people would not tolerate British sovereignty "being abolished or transformed". (Young 1998, p. 242) Gamble's 1998 study notes how opposition to the European Union

now began to organise around a different axis which he calls "the free market nationalist right", with Powell as its main proponent. (Gamble, 1998, p. 220) This group banded together to try and stop Heath's EEC Bill becoming law, with Powell and 40 other Conservative MPs voting against the government. According to Young (1998), "Powell in 1974 was the harbinger of a faction for whom he remained an immortal hero in 1994. He was proof that Europe could divide a party and its leadership: the loudest voice to date in a long line of Conservative politicians." (p. 258)

2.3 Margaret Thatcher: from crusader to sceptic

In later years, Margaret Thatcher came to regret staying silent about Britain's loss of sovereignty. As an up-and-coming politician she regarded the arguments that Powell and others put forward as "rhetorical devices", telling an interviewer in 1962 that "To enter into commercial obligations and treaties is an exercise of sovereignty, not a derogation from it." (Moore, 2013, p. 167) Her views did not change on her election as Conservative Party leader in 1975. Throughout the 1975 referendum on EEC membership she supported a 'yes' vote. She also favoured joining the process that led to the setting up of the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1979, and called the Labour government's decision not to get involved a "sad day for Europe". (Young, 1998, p. 310)

The historian Robert Blake argues that Thatcher in office followed a traditional Conservative doctrine: British nationalism, or what he terms "Britain first". This informed her thinking about Europe and was the ideological driver of her first term as prime minister. (Blake, 1997, p. 341) For other observers, Thatcher's approach to Europe was one of "straightforward inconstancy: once routinely favouring Europe, she became its passionate enemy." (Young, 1998, p. 311) Her earliest encounters with European leaders were marked by this inconstancy. She told Helmut Schmidt, the German Chancellor who was the first foreign leader to visit her, that "Ours is not a grudging acquiescence in Community membership," whilst also complaining to him about Britain paying the "lion's share" for agricultural subsidies. (Moore, 2013, p. 444) Complaints about the budget became a constant drumbeat at EEC Council of Ministers meetings. According to her biographer Charles Moore, "She wanted a fight; she wanted the money; and she found the whole EEC set-up uncongenial." (Moore, 2013, p. 486)

At the Stuttgart Council of 1983 Thatcher reluctantly agreed to sign the Solemn Declaration on European Union which committed countries to deeper integration. (Moore 2015) Thatcher had been persuaded to sign the declaration in order to appease the Germans and get a better budget deal. Even as she did so, her unhappiness with the declaration was clear. She wrote to her aides: "I dislike it intensely…. Do we have to sign it. Can't we just adopt it. It is a dreadful document." (Moore, 2015, p. 390) At the Council of Fontainebleau in June 1984, Thatcher did get her budget rebate of 66 per cent of Britain's net contribution, worth £1,100 million. (Moore, 2015, p. 378; Young, 1998)

Fontainebleau marked another notable success for Thatcher. At the conference she presented Europe's leaders with a pamphlet entitled 'Europe – The future'. Above all else the document was a rallying call to create a single market. Huge barriers remained to trade within Europe, with protectionism and heavily state-subsidised state industries the norm across many EEC countries. (Wall, 2022) Thatcher regarded the negotiations for the Single European Act (1986) as her chance to impose a British economic vision on Europe. (Crowson, 2015) The act, regarded as one of the EU's greatest achievements, owes a great deal to Thatcher's singular vision of Europe. (Wall, 2022) It also carried with it major implications for Britain's sovereign power. Britain had now committed itself to the goal of creating a single market by the end of 1992, the extension of qualified majority voting, and greater union. (Moore, 2015) Only 17 conservative MPs rebelled against the act. As Moore (2015) notes:

> The fact was the Margaret Thatcher, alone of all leading British politicians, was capable of carrying pro-European legislation without much difficulty in the country or her party. Being a sceptic herself, she could marginalize the sceptics: if she said it was all right, who would listen to their objections? In that sense, if in no other, Mrs Thatcher was the most effective promoter of European integration Britain has ever known. (p. 406)

The political and economic implications of signing up to the single market would set the scene for the next big schism: the splitting of the Thatcherite wing within the Conservative Party. (Gamble, 1998)

At the time of the passing of the Single European Act "she [Thatcher] was not a profound sceptic," according to Charles Powell, Thatcher's key foreign policy adviser. Powell concluded that Thatcher had different periods with the EEC, "like Picasso in his painting. The first period was the budget row; the second was that of the SEA [Single

European Act]; the third – the violent stage – came on with the rising power of [Jacques] Delors and the issue of EMU." (Moore, 2015, p. 408) Economic and monetary union was regarded as a necessary next step for the smooth functioning of the single market. (Gamble, 1998) Joining the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), the European Community's system of linking currencies, was a key part. The Solemn Declaration of Stuttgart, signed by Margaret Thatcher in June 1983, thus committed members of the EEC to EMU. (Moore, 2016) After 1987 Thatcher had cooled on the idea of joining the Exchange Rate Mechanism, putting her on a collision course with Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and her Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, both of whom favoured joining.

Another key development was the appointment of Jacques Delors as President of the European Commission. An avowed federalist, Delors gave a speech to the British Trades Union Congress on the 8th of September 1988 that hardened Thatcher's attitudes to Europe. Delors emphasised Europe's "social dimension," calling for "collective bargaining and legislation at European level." (Moore, 2015, p. 147) Thatcher reacted with fury. In her memoirs she later wrote: "The more I considered it the deeper my anger became….I had by now heard about as much of the European 'ideal' as I could take." (Thatcher, 1993)

In 1988, Thatcher delivered a speech in Bruges which is widely regarded as "a turning point" in Britain's relationship with Europe. (Blake, 1998, p. 377) One of the most famous passages was seen as an attack on Europe, but according to Powell, Thatcher merely wanted to convey her "desire to work together but not be glued together". Thatcher told the audience: "We have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels." (Moore, 2019, p.149)

Thatcher clearly stated that Britain's destiny "is in Europe, as part of the Community", but expressed concern about the EC involving itself in "arcane institutional debates" and Brussels' "appointed bureaucracy" with its centralised power. She also warned against the creation of a single currency. These warnings were delivered "in good faith" according to her biographer Charles Moore, "as her suggestions for a better Europe." (Moore, 2019, p. 149) Stephen Wall, then head of the European Communities department

at the Foreign Office, agrees with this assessment, arguing that much of the speech is actually pro-Europe. (Wall, 2008, p. 80) The speech was reported, however, "as a sensational attack upon Delors." (Moore, 2019, p. 149) Within the Conservative Party, the schism over Europe that had remained dormant for years was brought back into the open. (Blake, 1998)

The months following the Bruges speech would be marked by increasingly bitter divisions and policy disasters for Thatcher's government, including the poll tax. Thatcher responded in part by ramping up her anti-EU rhetoric. (Moore, 2019) The issue of Europe came to a head in June 1989. Earlier in the year a Delors-led committee had recommended a three-stage process for monetary union, with a requirement for all member states to enter the ERM. Both Howe and Lawson threatened to resign if Thatcher did not sign up. Thatcher, though resenting what she later described as "an ambush" by the two men, reluctantly agreed to set out conditions for the UK's entry into ERM, but refused to give a date. (Thatcher, 1993) A few months later, both Howe and Lawson were gone from cabinet. Their replacements, Douglas Hurd and John Major respectively, continued to push for a date for joining. Thatcher eventually conceded, and Britain joined the ERM on October 5th, 1990.

Just weeks later, at the EC summit in Rome, Jacques Delors predicted that a single currency would be in place before the end of the millennium. On her return from Rome, Thatcher launched her most famous public attack on Delors, accusing him of trying to "extinguish democracy" and introduce a federal Europe "by the back door". He wanted, she said, "the European Parliament to be the democratic body of the Community, he wanted the Commission to be the executive and he wanted the Council of Ministers to be the Senate. No. No. No." (Moore 2019, p. 645) The speech prompted her enemies to act. (Moore 2019, p. 646) Directly after hearing it, Geoffrey Howe told a colleague: "She is using her political capital to shift the centre of gravity of the Conservative Party in an anti-European direction. Unless she is resisted, she will succeed." (Moore, 2019, p. 648)

On the 1st of November, Howe resigned over Thatcher's European policy. His resignation speech to the Commons was so critical of her approach that it "drew gasps" from fellow MPs. Her vision of Europe was a "nightmare image" about a continent

"positively teeming with ill-intentioned people…scheming… to lead us through the back-door into a federal Europe." Britain, he warned, risked isolation by failing to embrace the opportunities Europe presented. (Moore, 2019, p. 662-3) The following day Michael Heseltine announced his candidacy for the leadership, claiming the support of 100 MPs. "In essence," he told the assembled press, "Mrs Thatcher holds views on Europe behind which she has not been able to maintain a united Cabinet." (Moore, 2019, p. 666)

Thatcher was in Paris for an EC summit when word came through that she had failed to win enough votes in the first round ballot of the leadership contest to see off Michael Heseltine's challenge. At first, she pledged to fight on, but when her closest advisers told her Heseltine could win on the second ballot, she stepped aside as leader. (Ramsden, 1998, p. 470) The unpopularity of the poll tax and splits over Europe were both major factors. As Young notes, "She was voted out of office by a party which, at this time, came to be repelled by the extremity of her anti-Europeanism." (Young, 1998, p. 370) This is indeed hard to believe for a party that would soon come to be defined by its Euroscepticism.

2.4 Maastricht and the rise of Euroscepticism

John Major, as Margaret Thatcher's chosen heir, was regarded by her supporters as "an ideal person to consolidate the achievements of the last decade into a kinder, gentler Thatcherism." (Norman Lamont quoted in Bale, 2016) Yet Major shared none of Thatcher's instinctive distrust of Europe. As chancellor, he had successfully lobbied Thatcher to take Britain into the ERM in October 1990. In his early days in Number 10, he was "open minded" about monetary union. "My aim," Major later wrote, "was to bring together a fractured party… On Europe I offered 'gradualism, practicalism and common sense'." (Major, 1999, p. 193) But Thatcher's ousting, while a victory for pro-Europeans, had stirred up a hornet's nest of Euroscepticism.

For a long time, Eurosceptics had formed a small rump within the Conservative party. Some were anti-Europe over concerns about sovereignty, others suffered from "guilt" at supporting Europe in the past. (Young, 1998, pp. 383-387) There was also an influential cabal of anti-Europe journalists, or what historian Tim Bale refers to as "the party in the media". This was a group of editors, journalists and opinion writers "who have

a huge impact on Tory strategy, or whatever passes for it." (Bale, 2016, p. 2) According to Seldon (1997), the most notable members of this right-wing clique of Eurosceptic journalists in the 1990s were Simon Heffer, Paul Johnson, Boris Johnson and Charles Moore. They "mixed freely with the dispossessed Thatcher court, and with disaffected backbenchers and ministers such as Redwood, Lilley and Portillo. The journalists lapped up stories from those close to them." (Seldon, 1997, p. 708) At this stage, this cabal of anti-Europeans in the party and the press did not want to leave the EC and for now gave Major a grudging welcome. (Young, 1998)

The Maastricht Treaty would bring many of these tensions into the open. European leaders hoped that the treaty would, in Helmut Kohl's words, lay "the foundation stone for the completion of the European Union…which within a few years will lead to the creation of what the founding fathers of modern Europe dreamed of after the last war: the United States of Europe." Although Major was opposed to the further transfer of power to Europe, he was keen to heal relationships with European leaders. In his first major policy speech on Europe on March 11, 1991 in Bonn, Major set out his vision. "My aims for Britain in the Community can be simply stated: I want us to be where we belong. At the very heart of Europe." Major later clarified his remarks, saying he did not want Britain to "slavishly follow" Germany and France's lead, but rather see Britain at the centre of debate where she would be best placed to frame decisions. (Seldon, 1997, p. 167) He was thus "astonished" by open attacks from Eurosceptics, and from Thatcher's decision to step into the debate and voice her own concerns. (Moore, 2019, p. 759).

On the 9th of December, Major and his delegation arrived in Maastricht. The Maastricht Treaty renamed the European Community as the European Union, expanded majority voting and set Europe on the path to the single currency and deepening political integration. Over two days of negotiations, Major won significant concessions for Britain, including an agreement that the Social Chapter on workers' rights would not be included in the Treaty, but would instead be signed separately by the other 11 European leaders. Monetary union would go ahead, but Britain secured an opt out from the single currency. Foreign, defence and security policy would remain in the hands of national governments rather than the Commission. (Wall, 2008) Major said he was "very happy" with the outcome, declaring it "a success both for Britain and for the whole of the Community."

The press reaction was uniformly positive with *The Times* declaring the deal "an emphatic success". Even Thatcher publicly congratulated Major on the outcome. (Moore, 2019, p. 770)

In less than a year, the press would turn on Major and his government "in the most scathing terms, and cite the Treaty of Maastricht as evidence against him… Never in modern British democracy was so much confidence, given by so many people, so swiftly been removed from the Cabinet on whom it was conferred." (Young, 1998, pp. 434-5) The treaty, signed on the 7 February 1992, would come into force in January 1993 pending approval by national legislatures. With an election looming Major made the fateful decision not to rush it through parliament, but to wait until after the election result. In that time, several events and deeper historical factors coalesced to galvanise Euroscepticism within the party. The April 1992 general election brought 50 new Tory MPs into parliament, including Eurosceptics Iain Duncan Smith and Bernard Jenkin. At the same time leading Europhiles, including Chris Patten, either lost their seats or retired. Maastricht also raised deeper questions about Britain's place in the world, questions which every Conservative and Labour leader since Churchill had grappled with:

> …major strategic choices such as those raised by the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 are rare in the life of any state and when they occur they encourage different perceptions and definitions of sovereignty and the national interest, to come into open conflict. This pushes to the surface vexed questions of national interest, ideology, and identity, causing political realignment in parties, interest groups, and even governments. (Baker and Seawright, 1998, p. 3)

At the second reading of the bill on 21 May, 22 Conservative MPs voted against it – the biggest revolt over Europe since British entry in 1972. Commentators warned of a rising "corrosive factionalism" which could destroy the government. (Stephens, 1996, p. 204)

Then, in June, the Danes rejected Maastricht in a referendum. Cabinet ministers including Norman Lamont, Michael Howard, Peter Lilley and Michael Portillo suggested to Major that he reject the treaty and renegotiate "a looser agreement" with the EC. (Seldon, 1997, p. 294) In response Major told the Commons that he would delay the Maastricht Bill, but not abandon the treaty. The Eurosceptic Michael Jay recalled: "Behind him there were rows of sullen faces. He had virtually no support. Suddenly, we had the sense that whatever goodwill and pro-European feeling there had once been, was gone, and that the atmosphere from then on was going to be ugly." The Danish referendum became

the "catalyst" for open opposition. (Seldon 1997, pp. 294-295) Writing in his diary, the Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said the result had left the British government "holed below the waterline." (Wall, 2008, p. 139) In early June, 84 backbenchers signed an Early Day Motion calling for a "fresh start" for government EU policy.

Then came Black Wednesday. More than any other factor, this was the defining moment both for John Major's leadership and for Britain in Europe. (Moore 2019). On that day, the 16th of September, 1992, Britain was forced to devalue the pound and leave the ERM. Black Wednesday is now regarded as one of the most "politically calamitous" events in post-war Britain, destroying the Tories reputation for economic competence. (Ramsden, 1998, p. 479) The press reaction was overwhelmingly negative. Major became the target of increasingly personal attacks, with *The Times* even publishing a piece questioning his mental health. (Seldon, 1997) According to Hugo Young (1998), "A kind of fusion was beginning to appear between strands of polemical opinion that were to remain ever present in the future demeanour of most of the Tory press: a ferocious line in Euro-scepticism, bound together with a deepening contempt for the un-leaderlike leader who was failing to show the same exuberance for the cause as they did." (p. 442)

Major never recovered his good relations with the press. New appointments of openly Eurosceptic editors – Peter Stothard at *The Times*, and Paul Dacre at the *Daily Mail* – only added to his woes. Max Hastings at the *Daily Telegraph* also became more critical. (Seldon, 1997, p. 326) Charles Moore, then the paper's deputy editor, wrote that Major had lost "two of the props on which he most relied, the Germans and the press." (Moore, 1992)

In November 1992, the Government faced another vote on Maastricht, this time a "Paving debate" which would allow the Commons to resume progress on passing the treaty. Twenty six Tory MPs voting against and 7 more abstained. It was only with the support of Liberal Democrat MPs that the paving vote narrowly passed. At every stage of the Maastricht Treaty's passage through parliament the Eurosceptics gained more supporters. In January 1993, rebels successfully held up the passage of Maastricht by tabling numerous amendments and a motion to put the treaty to a referendum. (Blake, 1998, p. 399) Eventually the Maastricht Bill made it to the third reading in May, but it only passed with the support of Labour, with 46 Conservatives voting against. According to the Foreign

Secretary Douglas Hurd, Eurosceptic Tory MPs were in a state of "reckless emotion" by July 1993. (Hurd, 2002, p. 477) On the 22nd of July, the Government faced a Labour motion to prevent ratification of the Treaty without the Social Chapter. When Tory rebels voted with Labour, the Government was defeated. Major chose to turn this issue into a vote of confidence, which he won with a majority of 38. Finally, on the 2nd of August, Maastricht was ratified after 61 days of debate.

Maastricht created a hard-core of Eurosceptics who would continue to question and undermine John Major's leadership. The perceived loss of sovereignty was now the most vexing issue for many. (Ludlam, 1998) Major himself was becoming increasingly sceptical about the EU. In 1993 he infuriated Europhiles with an article in the *Economist*, predicting that monetary union would not happen: "I hope my fellow heads of government will resist the temptation to recite the mantra of full economic and monetary union as if nothing had changed. If they do recite it, it will have all the quaintness of a rain dance and about the same potency." (Major, 1993) In March 1994, Major found himself at odds with EU leaders over enlargement and the blocking minority voting rules. Douglas Hurd described the row as the "worst episode" in his six years as Foreign Secretary. He later recalled: "The episode altered [Major's] own attitude on European matters, or rather hardened a change which I had seen taking shape in him for some time." (Hurd, 2002, p. 484)

Throughout 1994 Major faced open unrest about his leadership and a great deal of speculation in the press about leadership contenders. Finally on the 22nd of June 1995, he gathered the press in the garden behind Number 10, declaring it was time for his critics to "put up or shut up." He announced he was resigning as party leader, thus triggering a leadership election. (Hogg and Hill, 1995, p. 270) John Redwood emerged as Major's challenger, leading the *Sun* to dub the race "Redwood v Deadwood". Both the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Telegraph* came out against Major, with the latter running a leader on the front page urging Conservative MPs to vote him out of office. However Major's team mounted a successful fightback, coming up with the phrase "barmy army" to describe Redwood and his team. Major won the leadership vote by 218 votes to 89. For now the leadership question had been settled. (Seldon, 1997)

The peace would not last long. In March 1996, the European Union imposed a worldwide ban on the export of British beef after advice warning of a "probable link" between BSE in cattle and a deadly disease in humans. A month later the Conservatives lost a by-election in a solidly middle class constituency to Labour on a 22 per cent swing. The *Daily Telegraph* went on the attack, with Charles Moore writing a leader headlined "Get off your knees": "Overall, the government is a disaster… The fact that Mr Major does not stand for anything is an invitation for everyone else to fight." (Moore, 1996) According to one of Major's aides: "When the flagship of the Tory press dumped that on him, there was nowhere to hide." (Seldon, 1997, p. 644)

By 1997 the Conservative Party was "boiling with hatreds". (Young, 1998, p. 464). Monetary union was now the most divisive issue, with Kenneth Clarke, the chancellor and fellow Europhiles including Michael Heseltine opposing a referendum. But Major bowed to pressure from within the party and promised that if re-elected, the next Conservative Government would put the issue to a popular vote. He would never get the chance. In May 1997, the Conservatives lost the election to New Labour. The party was reduced to just 165 MPs – the lowest number since 1906. (Cowley and Stuart, 2003) Arguments over Europe and the fallout from ERM had overshadowed the achievements of the Major government, and destroyed any hope of re-election. (Bale, 2016)

2.5 "Banging on about Europe"

In the wake of the 1997 general election, the Conservative Party was "more uniformly Thatcherite" than at any time since Margaret Thatcher's departure. (Bale, 2016) A 2003 study of the party's MPs found that "Euro-scepticism has become the defining feature of their political identity and the defence of British sovereignty the over-riding mission of their party." (Lynch, 2003, p. 154). A 1998 survey revealed that 26 per cent of MPs favoured leaving the EU completely. (Baker, Gamble and Seawright, 2002).

Following the leadership election, William Hague was chosen as the "least worst" option. (Williams, 1998, p. 189). Hague was regarded as "less zealously right-wing" than leadership contenders John Redwood, Michael Howard and Peter Lilley, and during his time as leader, Europe was not as divisive an issue as it had been under Major. (Cowley and Stuart, 2003) Hague decided that his policy towards Europe would be to build on a

more moderate Eurosceptic position which he defined as "In Europe, not run by Europe." In his first speech as leader, Hague ruled out monetary union for the lifetime of the following parliament. Eurosceptics were promoted to Hague's shadow cabinet, while three pro-Europe ministers resigned over his EU policy. (Lynch, 2003)

Yet Hague clearly wanted Britain to remain in the EU. There were two aspects to his approach: flexibility, and renegotiation. (Hague, 1999) This would mean that while all member states would abide by the "rights and responsibilities of the single market" and free-trading rules, anything outside of the core areas could be opted out of and dealt with at a national level. (Lynch, 2003, p. 152) Renegotiation was the second part of the policy. Both the Amsterdam (agreed in 1997) and Nice (agreed in 2000) treaties were opposed by the Tories on the basis that "they pursued an integrationist agenda". (Lynch, 2003, p. 153) After the Conservatives made gains at the 1999 European parliament elections, Labour strategists identified Europe as a "life preserver" that could make the Conservatives "relevant and electable". (Lynch, 2003, p. 158).

Hague's Europe policy was of a piece with his advisers' attempts to position him as "the voice of middle England". Campaigning against the single currency in 2000, Hague travelled the country addressing open air meetings on the back of a flat-bed truck decked out with union flags. (Bale, 2016, p. 95) In keeping with the right-wards drift, the 'Keep the Pound' campaign (launched in 2000) was at the heart of the party's 2001 election manifesto. (Bale, 2016) But the result was a disaster for the Tories, with one Labour source likening the battle against them to "machine-gunning a corpse". They won just 31.7% of the vote and gained one seat. (Seldon, 2004, p. 461) The poor result led to William Hague's resignation. (Lynch, 2003, p. 161)

The choice of Iain Duncan-Smith as the next Conservative Party leader revealed just how Eurosceptic the party had become. Polls had shown that Kenneth Clarke, alone among the leadership contenders, had a chance of getting the party re-elected. According to Lynch (2003): "From being the 'party of Europe' in the 1980s, the Conservatives were now the most Eurosceptic mainstream party in Britain and perhaps the EU." (p. 161). Duncan Smith had beaten off other leadership contenders by establishing his credentials as an arch-Eurosceptic years earlier, when he voted against the Maastricht Treaty. As one MP

put it, "Iain is a good man… part of the old boy regime of 20 years ago. If common sense is being too right-wing, I'm all for it." (*Politico,* 2001).

Duncan Smith's appointments to the shadow cabinet were consistent with his Eurosceptic outlook. Michael Howard was appointed shadow chancellor and Bill Cash – one of the leaders of the Maastricht revolt – became shadow Attorney General. (*Politico*, 2001) But so shambolic was Duncan Smith's leadership, that commentators were soon predicting the collapse of the Conservative Party. (*The Guardian,* 2003) In October, 2003, he was forced out after losing a no confidence vote. One assessment of declining Tory fortunes at the time attributes the blame in part to the party's obsession with Europe, which "remained a poison in the Conservative bloodstream". (Gamble, 2003, p. 229)

Yet far from shrinking from Europe as an issue, the Conservatives decided to 'double-down' with their next choice of leader. A favourite of the right-wing press, Michael Howard was regarded as a staunch Eurosceptic. In his policy on Europe however, Howard had to walk a fine line. Whipping up too much anti-EU sentiment, particularly over unlimited immigration, risked benefiting the UK Independence Party (UKIP)[1]. (Bale, 2016; Helm, 2004) Ahead of the June 2004 Europe elections, Howard chose instead to reiterate Britain's commitment to staying in the EU. Candidates were told to stress the poor attendance and voting records of UKIP MEPs, and to dismiss them as "cranks and gadflies". However, the party polled a dismal 26.7% of the vote – 9 per cent less than in 1999. More worryingly, polling revealed that 45 per cent of UKIP supporters said that they had voted Conservative in 2001. Bill Cash told the media the result was a "historical turning point", calling for a "fundamental renegotiation of the Treaties…[to] save the United Kingdom." (Helm, 2004).

[1] The UK Independence Party was formed in 1991 as an anti-EU pressure group. In the 1999 European Parliament Elections UKIP won 6.5 per cent of the vote and three MEPs. By 2013 15 per cent of the electorate said they intended to vote for the party at the next general election. Various theories are posited for its rise, including its appeal to the 'left-behind' losers of globalisation. (Ford and Goodwin, 2014, quoted in Fieldhouse, 2019) Fieldhouse et al. (2019) argue that the key reason for its rise was the 2004 decision for open immigration with EU accession countries. As immigration rose in the 2000s the salience of immigration increased substantially. The threat of UKIP in part prompted David Cameron to promise that a Conservative government would hold a referendum on EU membership. Source: Fieldhouse, E. et al. (2019) 'EU Accession Immigration and the Rise of UKIP', in *Electoral Shocks: The Volatile Voter in a Turbulent World.* Oxford Academic. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198800583.003.0005

In the aftermath of the election, the Conservatives shifted further to the right partly to win back UKIP supporters. (Bale, 2016). Howard focused relentlessly on asylum seekers and immigration throughout 2004 and in the general election of the following year, the Conservatives did make gains of 33 seats, but not enough to overturn Labour which returned to power with a 60-seat majority. For political pundits, Howard's failure as leader lay in his unwillingness to move the party "out of the ideological and institutional rut" it had languished in since the 1990s. (Bale, 2016)

2.6 The road to the referendum

After three successive general election defeats, David Cameron was elected Conservative Party leader. Cameron described himself variously as a Eurosceptic or "Euro realist", but was determined that under his leadership the party would not be distinguished by infighting over Europe. (Cameron 2018) At his first party conference as leader, Cameron reminded the party of what Europe had cost them:

> Instead of talking about the things that most people care about, we talked about what we cared about most. While parents worried about childcare, getting the kids to school, balancing work and family life – we were banging on about Europe. (Cameron, 2018)

Cameron wanted to renegotiate Britain's place in the EU, dismissing UKIP as "a bunch of fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists." Under his leadership the party switched its policy focus from Europe and "curtain-twitching moralising" to quality of life issues including the environment, schools and the NHS. (Bale, 2016, p. 265)

However, Cameron's election as leader in part rested on a commitment he had made to Eurosceptics. He had told them that if elected, he would take the party's MEPs out of the centrist European People's Party in the European Parliament. When he failed to fulfil that pledge in 2006, he infuriated Eurosceptics and attracted the ire of the right-wing press. Eventually in 2009, Conservative MEPs were moved from the group, and formed a new alliance which included far-right parties. (Bale, 2016, p. 287) Commentary at the time questioned Cameron's wisdom in going so far to accommodate the party's Eurosceptics. He had traded power and influence on the committees of Brussels "for a motley crew of Brussels-bashing populists and reactionaries on the right-wing fringes of Europe."

(Traynor, 2009) Crucially it also put him at odds with the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, and other European leaders. (Shrimsley, 2018).

Cameron opposed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007, arguing that political integration had gone too far. He offered his party a "cast-iron guarantee" that any future treaty would be subject to a referendum. (Swinford, 2014). In 2010 Cameron became Prime Minister, heading a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. The "referendum lock" – legislation to ensure that any further transfer of power from Westminster to Brussels would have to be put to the British people – formed part of the programme for government. (Parker and Barker, 2016) Cameron hoped that this commitment would put an end to internal party squabbling over Europe.

It was not to be. "It was just like old times," wrote Kevin O'Rourke in his brilliant account of how and why Brexit happened. "Within seventeen months there had already been 22 backbench rebellions on Europe." (O'Rourke, 2018, p 164) Many of the 2010 intake of MPs were self-proclaimed Eurosceptics, outnumbering the old-guard of euro-enthusiasts like Kenneth Clarke and Nicolas Soames. The party was fractured as never before. Cameron despaired of a party "beset by groups and cliques," including the 92 Group, the Free Enterprise Group, the No Turning Back Group, the European Research Group, and the Bruges group. There were so many rival groupings that Cameron likened it to "Beirut in the 1980s." (Cameron, 2018) The first of the rebellions occurred in October 2010 when 37 Tory MPs voted against the UK's financial contribution to the EU. A year later 81 Conservative MPs defied the whip to vote in favour of a motion calling for an In/Out referendum on Europe. Cameron's aides later described this as "the pivotal moment" in the Brexit debate. According to one adviser: "It was clear after that that the parliamentary party would not stand for anything but a referendum by the next election. I think the PM knew instinctively that was where he was going to end up." (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 165).

Cameron's own feelings on Europe had changed since 2010. In his autobiography he writes that by January 2012, he began to think that the only way forward was a full referendum on membership. The eurozone crisis, and Britain's decision not to join the single currency "had produced a new constitutional relationship that was simply not stable

or tenable," he later argued. On the issue of Europe he found his own party "increasingly ungovernable." (Cameron, 2018) Within his cabinet opinion was divided on the referendum issue. George Osborne, the Chancellor, implored him not to commit to one. (Parker and Barker, 2016) Michael Gove also advised strongly against putting the issue to a public vote. (Parker, 2016). But Cameron was won over by the arguments put forward by amongst others, William Hague, who warned that without a referendum promise, the party faced a split in the 2015 election with UKIP becoming the main beneficiaries. (Bale, 2016). On a personal level, Cameron says he had come to believe that the "democratic deficit was increasingly intolerable," and that changes from Maastricht on were leading to a "moment of reckoning" for Britain in Europe. (Cameron, 2018) At this time, Boris Johnson – who was them mayor of London – was also calling for a referendum. "He seemed to have done almost no thinking about what sort of referendum, when it should be held, or what the government's view should be," wrote Cameron. (2018) It did however cause concern in Cameron's circles, as Johnson was a popular and powerful figure who was using his *Telegraph* column "to remind that Party what they were missing and to drop hints that, unlike Cameron and Osborne, he would give them everything they wanted." (Bale, 2016, p. 383)

On January 23, 2013, Cameron gave a speech at Bloomberg headquarters in London, that sealed his fate, and that of his party and country. "It is time for the British people to have their say," he told the audience. "It is time for us to settle this question about Britain and Europe." Cameron promised that if re-elected, he would renegotiate Britain's relationship with the EU, and then put the result to an In/Out referendum by the end of 2017. Cameron's strategy rested on two key planks. Firstly, he believed that he would win a vote on Europe. (Fletcher, 2019) Secondly, he believed that his pledge to hold a vote would never be put to the test. The most likely post-2015 election outcome was another coalition arrangement, and the pro-Europe Liberal Democrats would never agree to a referendum on Europe. (Bale, 2016)

David Cameron's strategy failed spectacularly. In the first place, the Conservatives defied expectations to win an overall majority in the 2015 general election. Without the brake of the Liberal Democrats in government there was nothing to stop Cameron delivering on his 2013 commitment to hold an In/Out referendum. (Bale et al, 2015) In

February 2016 Cameron announced June 23rd as the date of the referendum. Several factors contributed to Vote Leave's eventual success. O'Rourke (2018) puts the failure of the referendum down to a mixture of deep historical forces and chance events from 2010, including austerity-induced welfare reforms, the eurozone crisis and the European immigration crisis. Between 2013 and 2014 net annual migration increased by 52 per cent to 318,000, the second highest figure on record[2]. (Warrell, 2015) Cameron had promised to put controls on EU immigration at the heart of any deal with the EU. However, his EU partners refused to restrict free movement, instead agreeing to restrictions on in-work benefits paid to migrants for up to 7 years, and allowing the UK to opt out of the commitment to "an ever closer union" in any future treaties. (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 194). Crucially, Cameron had failed to deliver the "emergency break" he had sought to suspend migration from the EU.

Several other factors were also important in the Leave campaign's success, including the decisions of Boris Johnson and Michael Gove to campaign against staying in the EU. As Cameron had feared, their support for Leave legitimised the cause and helped "detoxify the Brexit brand." (Cameron, 2018) Press coverage in the right-wing newspapers was also strongly anti-EU. Cameron noted how "British politics has had a strongly Eurosceptic undertone ever since the late 1980s. And there can be no doubt that parts of the press helped to feed this." The referendum, he said, "sent the Eurosceptic press into overdrive." (Cameron, 2018) Over one six-week period, the *Daily Mail* ran 18 immigration-related front page stories. The day before the vote, the *Mail* told its readers: "If you believe in Britain, vote leave," denouncing the "greedy elites" of a "broken, dying Europe." (*Daily Mail*, 2016)

On June 23, 2016, Britain voted by 52 per cent to 48 per cent to leave the European Union. Cameron resigned as Prime Minister the following day, to be replaced by the Home Secretary Theresa May. In his biography, Cameron accepted his role in the defeat: "The strategy failed. I failed. And that failure has had some serious consequences for the UK and Europe." (Cameron, 2018, p. 29) After almost four years of further political turmoil,

[2] In 2015 the number of migrants to Britain from EU member states topped 2 million. (Warrell, 2015)

Britain formally left the European Union on January 31, 2020. For the Conservative Party at least, their 30-year battle over Europe appeared to be over.

2.7 Conclusion

While structural, cultural and socio-economic factors inclined Britain to be an "awkward partner" in Europe, economic necessity drove Britain to seek membership of the EEC in the early 1980s. As Conservative Party leader, Margaret Thatcher embraced the idea of the single market, which remains an important part of her legacy. However, the drive towards both political and monetary union in the mid to late 1980s soured her relationship with European leaders and was one of the factors in her removal from office. In the Maastricht negotiations her successor, John Major, successfully negotiated opt-outs for Britain on monetary union and the Social Chapter. Black Wednesday and the defeat of Maastricht in the Danish referendum opened up a deep rift between anti and pro-EU members of the Conservative Party. This schism in party and in press deepened over the course of the next twenty years, culminating in the 2016 In/Out referendum on EU membership. The next chapter will examine the role and influence of the media in British public life, and examine journalist-source relationships in the context of how they operate at elite sites of power.

Chapter 3 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The media in Britain plays an important role in public life, devouring an estimated thirty hours per week of the average Briton's life. (Curran, 2010, p. 370) This picture is no different at Westminster. Within the Houses of Parliament the news media plays an outsize role in the life of the average MP. (Ericson et al, 1989) By virtue of their daily existence within the Westminster "bubble", politicians find themselves removed from the daily concerns of their constituents. They thus become heavily reliant on the media's "constructions of reality", delivered in short snappy news reports, or heavily polemicised opinion pieces and editorials. (Herbst, 1998, p. 68)

For decades researchers have sought to understand the effects of media on politicians and the public. Traditionally, the media's role has been interpreted through studies that examined the impact of communication from power elites to the public, using the theories of agenda setting and framing. This chapter will examine a new set of ideas that can be used to interpret and understand how Boris Johnson's journalism influenced elite ideas on Europe within the parliamentary and wider Conservative party. Distilled as critical elite theory by its key advocate, Aeron Davis (2002, 2003, 2007, 2007b, 2009), this approach examines how the media is used as a communications channel by elites at elite sites of power in order to further policy agendas. This chapter will examine the roots of the theory and how it operates at Westminster.

This chapter will also examine the role of the media in British public life, exploring the growing power of the press in the 19th and 20th century. It will also look at the rise of political commentary and the consequences of its close association with political power and influence.

The layout of the chapter is as follows: 1. The role of the media in British public life; 2. Critical elite theory – background and application; and 3. The operation of critical elite theory at Westminster. The chapter concludes that columnists have an indirect

influence on policy agendas. By creating a "climate of opinion" opinion writers can become part of the policy conversation amongst political elites.

3.2 The role of the media in British public life

The British press is heavily right leaning, with 11 of its 19 dailies and Sunday titles tilting rightwards. In the 1990s these right-leaning titles accounted for 21 million in sales, out of a total newspaper circulation of 26 million. (Peak and Fisher, 1997, p. 45) The sector is highly successful and "distinctly commercial", which affects the "content and style of newspaper journalism." (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999, p. 60) British broadsheets also have "distinct political identities" and this is reflected in their readers' political affiliations. A 1997 survey showed that 57 per cent of *Daily Telegraph* readers and 42 per cent of *Times* readers supported the Conservative Party. (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) An analysis of British broadsheets also found that they use "a more interpretive style of writing" than is typical in North American papers. (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 211) This is supported by a 1998 survey of British journalists that found 83 per cent deemed it "very or extremely important" for journalists to "provide analysis and interpretation of complex problems." (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 212)

3.3 Background

To understand the role of the journalist in political life, it is necessary to understand the evolution of the media in British public life. One of the most influential studies in this field is Habermas' conception of the bourgeois public sphere, a space that emerged between the public authority of the state and the private realm of civil society in early modern Europe. (Habermas, 1989) In providing a forum for rational debate, the coffee houses of 18th century Europe played a critical role in the creation of a public sphere which in turn transformed public life. In the 19th and 20th centuries Habermas argued that the public sphere underwent a structural transformation. Rather than being organised by private individuals, it was taken over by organised private interests and an expanded state. This led to a corruption of the public sphere or what Habermas called a "refeudalization." (Habermas 1989) In recent years, Habermas's theory has been variously criticised for idealizing the public sphere of the 18th century whilst also presenting too bleak a contemporary picture. (Curran, 2002, p. 45) However, Habermas' notion of the media "as

managers of opinion at the behest of the powerful" remains influential. (Curran, 2002; Jacobs and Townsley, 2011)

Jean Chalaby (1998) does not engage with Habermas definition of the public sphere. Instead she examines how the British press of the 19th century transitioned from "a discourse that was political at heart and public in character, to a new discursive genre – journalism." (Chalaby, 1998, p. 2) A key moment in this transition was the repeal of newspaper taxes in the 1850s. Prior to this newspapers were "notoriously corrupt" and received large stipends from government. From 1695 the press had been fully integrated into the structure of the British landed elite, controlled by means of restrictive laws, patronage and taxes. (Curran, 2002, p. 44) With the abolition of the advertising duty in 1853, the stamp duty in 1855, and the paper duty in 1861, newspapers, now free of financial constraints, became less overt in their political partisanship. (Curran and Seaton, 2010). In tandem with this a growing middle class, excluded from the formal political system, developed separate "spheres of opinion" in the form of new papers and periodicals. (Curran, 2002, p. 48) "Truthfulness" became a sought-after goal with *The Times* of February 7th, 1852 declaring that the task of the newspaper was "the same as that of the historian" – to "seek out truth". (Chalaby, 1998, p. 132) The repeal of taxes, and the rise of a new middle class, thus laid the foundations for an independent and objective press. (Curran and Seaton, 2010)

By far the biggest factor in the rise of an independent press was the intense competition for readers that emerged in the late 19th century. Once the readership of newspapers was no longer confined to the members of one particular political party the market expanded. This was a boon for not only newspaper reporting, but also opinion writing:

> Journalists boosted the legitimacy of political reporting and enhanced the credibility of the opinions they expressed in leaders by claiming to be neutral political observers and the impartial arbiters of political conflicts. (Chalaby 1998, p. 137)

3.4 The growing power of the media

In Britain, a growing trend to reduce the amount of coverage given to politics was to have far reaching consequences for the tenor of all news content. Beginning in the mid 19th

century, and driven by commercial considerations, newspapers pursued a policy of "depoliticisation" of content, meaning coverage of politics would be reduced to allow more space for sports, human interest stories, and society news. At the same time coverage of politics became more personality-driven. This meant that matters of policy were frequently overlooked. (Chalaby 1998, p. 76) This "personalisation" of public life resulted in a sharp decrease in the amount of space devoted to politics. (Chalaby, 1998) In 1927, news covering politics, the economy and social affairs accounted for 14 per cent of space on *The Times*, 10 per cent on the Daily Mail, and 10 per cent on the *Daily Mirror*. By 1937 these figures had dropped to 12 per cent, 6 per cent and 5 per cent respectively. (Chalaby, 1998)

In tandem with this were developments that would ultimately place more power in the hands of journalists to determine newspaper content. In the 1860s the *Telegraph* made the commercial decision to shorten the length of its parliamentary reports. Other newspapers quickly followed suit. From its inception in 1896 the *Daily Mail* chose to keep coverage of politics to a bare minimum. Writing to the editor of the *Daily Mail*, Lord Northcliffe, the newspaper's publisher, wrote: "We must not let politics dominate the paper…treat politics as you treat all other news – on its merits. It has no 'divine right' on newspaper space." (Clarke 1931, p. 137) The consequences of this trend were far-reaching, limiting the amount of "unmediated political discourse" in newspapers. This meant that politicians became more reliant on journalists to access the public, giving journalists a new role in public life as gatekeeper between politician and the audience. (Chalaby, 1998, p. 88) The era of the professional journalist had arrived, with the power to "report politics according to their own needs and interests." (Chalaby, 1998, p. 107) Recognising this shift in power dynamics, the political elite devoted more effort to cultivating the press, eventually becoming the dominant source and definers of news. (Curran and Seaton, 2010) Technical changes to newspapers further accelerated the changing tone and content of newspapers.

Other changes to journalistic discursive practices further accelerated these de-politicisation trends. Driven by economic competition, discursive strategies such as crusadism, jingoism and sensationalism became common features of British newspapers in the 20th century. (Chalaby, 1998) Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* became notorious for its

jingoism, with its self-stated position as the "Voice of Empire". Editorial policy at the newspaper followed the motto "One flag, one empire, one home." (Jones, 1919, p. 149)

Ultimately these changes to content, journalistic practices and discourse lead to an overall decline in political knowledge amongst the readership, making it vulnerable to political propaganda. (Chalaby 1998, p. 124) This carried risks for the democratic process which are being felt to this day.

3.5 The modern day punditocracy

There is little scholarship on the role of opinion writing in Britain. Several studies by Aeron Davis have addressed the influence of opinion writers, but no scholarly work has been devoted to the subject in Britain. However, Jacobs and Townsley's 2011 work, although an exploration of the US opinion sphere, does contain important insights that are of relevance for the British market.

Opinion writing first emerged in the US as a way of providing a guide for readers to determine "which facts were important, which facts could be trusted, and which public policies the facts supported". (Jacobs and Townsley, 2011, p. 22) Having established that opinion could sit side by side with objective, fact-based news reporting, the editorial page soon became a fixture of US and British newspapers. In the US, the *New York Times* was the first broadsheet to make the opinion-editorial page a regular fixture in the 1970s. The template, set during this decade, has remained unchanged since: regular columnists and specialists including political insiders provide commentary and analysis on a range of contemporary issues. This expansion has paid dividends for American newspapers with 1993 figures revealing that op-ed pages are the most frequently read sections of newspapers. (Jacobs and Townsley, 2011)

In the UK, the tradition of the opinion/political columnist took longer to take root. Up until the 1960s opinion columnists were rare in British newspapers. Until then leaders, lobby journalism and political commentary appeared anonymously across the press, with the rare exceptions of A.J. Cummings in the *News Chronicle*, and "Cassandra", a.k.a. William O'Connor, in the *Daily Mirror*. Political commentary that did appear was often mixed with entertainment news, in the belief that readers found politics boring. (Tunstall,

1996, p. 288) In the 1960s, two factors changed the face of opinion writing in Britain. Firstly, Peter Jenkins at *The Guardian* and David Watt at the *Spectator* began to write political columns that focused on policy. Secondly, William Rees Mogg, editor *The Times*, dropped the paper's policy of anonymity in 1966, opening the way for columnists to become household names. (Tunstall, 1996)

Some of the power that political columnists and leader writers hold rests with their access to powerful politicians. At one time even senior correspondents and editors were kept at arm's length by politicians. Alastair Burnet, when editor of the *Economist* in 1967, said that senior politicians, particularly those from aristocratic backgrounds, felt that "editors were not really the kind of people you could invite down for the weekend." (Tunstall, 1996, p. 234) The end of Empire saw a power shift from British institutions to Fleet Street. Recognising this new reality, prime ministers and members of cabinet began to court the press, in particular editors and high profile political columnists. (Tunstall 1996, p. 246)

Until 1986, however, the number of political columnists remained small. Intense competition in the newspaper market transformed British newspapers. Pagination increased dramatically, with page numbers doubling from 1969 to 1990. (Tunstall, 1996) According to Tunstall, this "ignited …an explosive growth in star journalism" (Tunstall, 1996, p. 173) and by the mid 1990s political commentary was regarded as a "peculiarly British institution". (Diller, 1993, p. 8) Political columnists were regarded as the "aristocracy" of the media. (Shrimsley, 2003, p. 29) Williams (1998) describes the arrival of a new, confident, and vigorous media class, trading in "opinions, beliefs and vivid language":

> It was a true class in the sense that its members came from a broadly similar socio-economic background, lived similar lives, and shared a similar relationship to the means of production. They were the most important part of the intelligentsia in Britain… Many shared the heady assumptions of the Tory 1980s and saw themselves creating, rather than reporting, the next Conservative leap forward. (Williams, 1998, pp. 14-15)

Most were university graduates, mainly from Oxford, Cambridge or a London university – and this elite background set them apart from many ordinary working journalists. They were mostly male, and small in number, with a total of 12 to fifteen

writing two columns a week in upmarket newspapers. (Tunstall, 1996). According to Tunstall:

> Self-confident and extrovert demeanours are not in short supply. These people have strong views and express themselves forcefully… These are the people of the written and spoken word; many of them are virtuoso deliverers of the humorous anecdote. But these same people have a marked tendency to regard most politicians, business people, and members of the royal family as poorly informed and ill-educated. (1996, p. 152)

This increasingly critical attitude was most apparent in the right-wing press, which adopted a ferocious line of attack against John Major in the 1990s. Simon Heffer, a former deputy editor of the *Spectator* and the *Daily Telegraph*, is one of Britain's most high-profile opinion writers. Following the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, he became one of Major's harshest critics. "I think that Major had such a deleterious effect on the Conservative press, because he was such a useless prime minister," says Heffer. "The press nearly wanted to react against everything he stood for. And one of the things he stood for was the Maastricht Treaty, closer union." (Interview with author, 21.07.21) Under Paul Dacre's editorship, the *Daily Mail* moved in a vehemently anti-EU direction, which was reflected in the work of leading columnists Paul Johnson and Richard Littlejohn. (Williams, 1998) *The Times* was also heavily critical of Major in the wake of Black Wednesday, when Britain was forced out of the ERM. According to Williams (1998), Martin Ivens, editor of the comment pages, "displayed an increasingly mischievous ability to use the paper's commentary to subvert, annoy and destabilize the elected Government."

Since 2000 the profile of opinion columnists has changed. There are more women, including Sarah Vine at the *Daily Mail*, Polly Toynbee at the *Guardian,* and Janice Turner and Rachel Sylvester at *The Times*. Marina Hyde of the *Guardian* has won Political Commentator of the Year at both the British Journalism Awards and at the Press Awards in 2019 and 2020, where the judges described her as "the stand-out commentator for our times". Yet the world of political commentary and reporting is still largely male-dominated.

The worlds of political commentary and politics are close. Lunches, dinners and private parties now see a seamless intermingling of senior journalists and politicians. The recent phone tapping scandal involving the *News of the World* opened a window on to this world, when it was revealed that Rebecca Wade of News International frequently dined

with former prime ministers Gordon Brown and David Cameron. (Lewis, 2009) It is perhaps not surprising that there is a good deal of cross-over between the two worlds. So close is the link that Anthony Forster in his study of British Euroscepticism found that "The Tory press comprised the third pillar on which Conservative Eurosceptic influence was built." (Forster, 2002, p. 111)

Today the less well-worn route to political commentary is direct political experience. (Duff, 2008) In the UK, a number of columnists either started in politics or used their high-profile columns as springboards for political careers. Lord William Rees Mogg was a member of Anthony Eden's speech writing team during the Suez Crisis. After decades editing *The Times* he developed a lucrative career as a political commentator. Nigel Lawson edited the *Spectator* before entering politics and becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. Bill Deedes served in cabinet and later edited the *Daily Telegraph*. Woodrow Wyatt, a former Labour MP became a columnist with the *News of the World* and *The Times* in the 1990s. Matthew Parris was a conservative MP who was still serving in parliament when he began writing his column for *The Times*. Three important Vote Leave politicians also started out working on the op-ed pages of newspapers. Michael Gove is a former leader writer for *The Times*. Before Daniel Hannan was elected as an MEP he wrote leaders and editorials for the *Daily Telegraph*. Boris Johnson's high profile as a columnist with *The Telegraph* and *Spectator* helped launch him into politics. (Tunstall, 1996; Duff, 2008).

One of the most striking findings of Jacob and Townsley's study is that half of all opinion commentary is addressed to political insiders rather than to general citizens, with *USA Today's* columns addressing 70 per cent of op-ed content to a political insider audience, and the *New York Times* 54 per cent. (Jacobs and Townsley, 2011) Today's elite space of public opinion is the intersection of the journalism, academic and political fields and is a space "through which virtually all matters of common concern pass." (Jacobs and Townsley, 2011, p. 13) Perhaps inevitably, given their role at the epicentre of policy discussion in the space of opinion, opinion columnists have become powerhouses in their own right. In the cultural model of mediated deliberation proposed by Alexander (2006) the role of the opinion writer is to "render compelling narratives of the central characters in political and cultural life and also to construct themselves as compelling characters in their own right." (Alexander quoted in Jacobs and Townsley 2011, p. 70) In Britain, Boris

Johnson first found fame as an opinion writer of colourful political polemics. In 2008 he told one researcher that the secret of his success as a columnist was his ability to deliver ‘‘scoops of exposition’’ by ‘‘taking the available facts and arranging them so that people see something in a certain way’’, or as he put it, to ‘‘stealthily brainwash them.’’ (Duff 2008, p. 237).

3.6 Critical elite theory: background and application

3.6.1 The dominance of elite sources in the news media

An important factor linking conservative party politics and the press is the extent to which elites at Westminster have favoured access to the media.

Within the confines of the Houses of Parliament, politicians rub shoulders with a specialist pool of political reporters. With such a close working relationship, it is perhaps unsurprising that journalists favour news that originates from these elite sources. In the wider world, the dominance of elite sources is well documented. (Tiffen, 1989; Sigal, 1973) News production is made possible by institutions that generate information, and government institutions dominate this flow of information. Hall et al. (1978) note how the “routine structures of news production” as well as journalistic notions of objectivity, balance and impartiality lead to an over-reliance on information from major social institutions. This “structured preference” leads to elites becoming “primary definers of topics”. (Hall et al., 2013, p. 61 [1978]) Journalists’ reliance on elite sources is also driven by public expectations. For a news outlet to maintain its position within the ranks of the “respectable media” the public expects its news to rely on a bank of authoritative sources. (Ericson et al, 1989). A similar picture of a preference for elite sources emerges in the US. (Hess, 2000; Bennett, 1990) The access sources have to journalists “reflect the hierarchies of nation and society”, with the President of the United States enjoying the most favoured access of all. (Gans, 1979, p. 119). *The New York Times* applies an “indexing” formula to stories, indexing the range of viewpoints in stories from government circles down. Even when journalists personally support liberal agendas, these views only emerge in their work when the same stance is evident in government circles. (Bennett, 1990)

The reasons why the media in Western democracies favour elite views has been ascribed to various factors, including the organisation of the news media, which leaves it open to manipulation from internal and external sources. (Tiffen, 1989) The size, ownership and wealth of the big mass media firms can act as "news filters" to journalists' work. (Herman and Chomsky, 2002, pp. 1-2) Professional codes - including objectivity and ethics - also play a role. In certain situations, such as big news events, these news values can help journalists overcome bias. (Dayan and Katz, 1992) However, bias can still creep into reporting. This can be overt, particularly at times of national crisis, when powerful institutions can exert various "control mechanisms" over news production in the "propaganda model" described by Herman and Chomsky. (2002)

A more subtle form of "invisible" bias is expressed in what is omitted from daily news coverage. (Davis, 2009) Newspapers across Britain have, for instance, experienced a decline in coverage of complex issues including foreign affairs and parliament. (Seymore-Ure, 1996; Tunstall, 1996; McLachlan and Golding, 2000) Journalists are frequently told not to cover anything regarded as too "technical", "complex", or "boring". This can be seen in the dearth of substantive coverage of the EU and the IMF, despite the shift in power towards supranational bodies. (Davis, 2009, pp. 42-53) According to the *Guardian* columnist Polly Toynbee: "When you look at foreign pages in all the broadsheets now they are 'gee whiz' stories… much more than they are serious policy stories, and particularly not Europe, unless it's a euro row." (Davis, 2009, p. 53)

Time and money constraints have led to journalists moving in ever-restricted circles. This in turn confers powerful institutions with an additional advantage. With journalists becoming more captive to deadlines, and restricted to their desks, elite sources get to decide more and more what's news. (Protess et al, 1991; Herbst, 1998) To take advantage of this, the number of public relations firms has increased dramatically in the UK, with 2,400 PR consultancies operating in 1998. The increasing use of public relations firms and news management techniques are regarded by some scholars as evidence of a "public relations state". (Deacon and Golding, 1994) Within Whitehall hundreds of special advisers and press officers operate daily communications schedules for journalists, with "rapid rebuttal" protocols in place to deal with contentious stories. The packaging of politics is now seen as so central to governance that on his resignation, Alastair Campbell,

Labour's former director of communications, was referred to as "Deputy Prime Minister". (Franklin 2004, p. 4) Changes in media structures have accelerated this trend, with the concentration of press ownership leading to suspicions that newspaper editors trade their publication's political support for a knighthood. (Franklin 1994, p. 41)

In Western democracies news management is now a fact of life. Schlesinger and Tumber (1994) describe a permanent "promotional culture", where political actors use a permanent staff of PR people or "spin doctors" to promote themselves and their policies. In the US news management is regarded as central to presidential efforts to enact policy agendas, and has resulted in a power shift from government offices to news desks. (Iyengar et al., 1997, pp. 319-20) In Washington this media-savvy governing style has been called "going public", reflecting the shift from an older bipartisan method of policymaking once favoured by Congress to a more individualistic approach. (Kernell, 1997) The rise of personality-driven politics favours public image over seniority and experience. (Iyengar et al., 1997, p. 320) This new style of governing was particularly pronounced in the Nixon, Carter and Reagan presidencies where all three presidents frequently resorted to public addresses in order to rally support for various causes. (Kernell, 1997)

This heavily mediatised environment is the one in which US and British journalists and politicians have traditionally operated. It has facilitated stronger ties between politicians and journalists and has also resulted in the blurring of lines between the two professions. The consequences of these close connections will be dealt with in the next section.

3.6.2 Agenda setting

In the last few decades the vast majority of studies seeking to understand the relationship between politics and the media have focused on what effects media output has on public opinion. The central agenda-setting hypothesis is perhaps best captured by William Cohen in his 1963 work, *The Press and Foreign Policy*:

> The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. (Cohen, 1963, p. 13)

McCombs and Shaw's landmark Chapel Hill study of 1968 set out to test Cohen's theory, by comparing what undecided voters identified as key issues in the 1968 US presidential election campaign, with the content of the media consumed by them during that campaign. What they discovered was a very strong co-relation between the emphasis placed on issues by the media, and "the judgements of voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics." (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, p. 181) McCombs and Shaw's agenda setting research coincided with similar breakthroughs in political communications, with Noelle-Neumann (1973) and George Gerbner (1974) both concluding that the mass media made lasting impacts on audiences. (Scheufele and Tewsksbury, 2007) The publication of the Chapel Hill Study marked the beginning of a new consensus within mass communications scholarship, regarded by some as the "agenda-setting juggernaut". (Bennett and Iyengar, 2008, p. 708) Just as a minimal effects paradigm had once dominated communications discourse, now a maximum effects paradigm would prevail into the foreseeable future. By 1993 an estimated 200 studies had appeared using empirical evidence to suggest that the media does, indeed, tell people what to think about. (McCombs and Shaw, 1993) Work on framing and priming – most notably Iyengar and Kinder's 1987 work *News that Matters* – further cemented agenda setting as a major focus of media research.

In the 1990s scholars began to challenge the agenda-setting consensus. Some scholars began to ask if it had simply outlived its time. The fragmentation of audiences and the proliferation of media audiences have made effects much more difficult to track and quantify. (Bennett and Iyengar, 2008) McQuail (2010) questioned the very existence of media effects:

> …signals simply do not reach receivers, or not those intended; messages are not understood as they are sent; and there is always much 'noise' in the channels that distorts the message. Moreover, little communication is actually unmediated; what evades the mass media is typically filtered through other channels or by way of personal contacts. (p. 66)

3.6.3 Policy agenda setting

Of greater relevance for this study are investigations into the mass media's policy agenda-setting role. Policy agenda setting studies focus on the effect of the media on public and political agendas. Cobb and Elder (1971), regarded as the "founding fathers" of the field, concluded that "the media can…play a very important role in elevating issues to the

systematic agenda and increasing their chances of receiving consideration on institutional agendas." (p. 909)

Yet Soroka (2002) notes the dearth of empirical work in the field of policy agenda setting. Soroka and other scholars began to address this lacuna in the early 1990s. In his study of issue attributes and agenda setting by the media, the public, and policy-makers in Canada, Soroka developed a model that empirically linked all three. Two findings are of relevance. The first finding, which dovetails with Zucker's obtrusiveness hypothesis (1978), was that "the potential for media influence appears restricted for issues that the public experience directly." (Soroka, 2002, p. 266) His second major finding was that policy makers can increase issue salience. Soroka's conclusions were supported by his later study into media, public opinion and foreign policy that concluded that the mass media plays an important role in directing public attention to foreign affairs. (Soroka, 2003, p. 44) Similarly Edwards and Woods' study of the US president and the public agenda found that the media "influences the president's agenda on both foreign and domestic policies." (1999) Lang and Lang's study of Watergate, which drew heavily on the mobilization model of change, concluded that:

> The media was there and the people approved; had the media not opened privileged political negotiations to public scrutiny, or had the polls failed to record public opinion as supportive, Congress might never have moved against Nixon. (1983, p. xiii)

Page and Shapiro's study of public opinion and policy data over four decades also found "considerable congruence between changes in citizen preferences and in policies." (1983, p. 175)

However, the evidence for policy agenda setting is not conclusive. Pritchard and Berkowitz (1993) determined that policymakers have two kinds of policy agendas – symbolic agendas, i.e., issues that required attention but do not necessarily need substantive action, and resource agendas, i.e., issues that need substantive action including resources. They then examined resource agendas with respect to criminal policy in seven US cities between 1950 and 1980. They found that resource agendas "seem to be more resistant to media influence than are symbolic agendas," concluding that: "There is a limit to the policy agenda-setting effect of the news media." (Pritchard and Berkowitz, 1993, p. 89) A number of other studies support this finding of limited effects. Branderberg's 2002 study of the

impact of parties on media agenda formation in the 1997 British General Election concluded that "while the press seemed to respond predominantly to stimuli by the Conservatives, none of the parties were influenced in their agenda choices by any of the media outlets." Protess (1992) used the mobilization model of change to assess the impact of investigative reporting in the US. This model is based on the notion that "media exposes lead to public policy reforms by first changing public opinion," (p. 15) and is closely aligned with the coalition model of agenda building in which journalists and policy makers work in tandem, whilst keeping a close eye on public opinion. Protess found that policy-making agendas are more influenced by transactions between journalists and officials, rather than by the direct influence of the public or interest groups. However, he concluded that the public link connecting the media and policy changes, as suggested by the mobilization model, is "weak and unreliable".

Other studies have found that politicians are less likely to be influenced by the media than the general public. (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987) With so many stories competing for their attention, it is simply harder for stories to achieve salience. (Davis 2007, p. 98) In one of the most comprehensive studies of media effects on policy, Walgrave and Van Aelst (2006) looked at 19 prominent empirical studies into policy agenda setting. These findings, they concluded, were "often contradictory," with half of the studies reporting a strong media impact on the policy agenda, four a considerable impact, three a weak impact and four hardly any impact at all. One of the distinctions they made is between obtrusive and unobtrusive issues, concluding that the media has more agenda setting power over issues that without their coverage "would simply not be observable." (p. 97)

This raises questions about the methodologies and approaches used to examine media influence on policy agendas. In recent years new perspectives have emerged about the way in which journalists and politicians seek to influence each other. Walgrave and Van Aelst put the case for an entirely new theoretical approach, arguing that policy agenda setting should be anchored in behavioural theory:

> Public agenda-setting is a cognitive process while political agenda setting is essentially a behavioural process. It is not what politicians think or believe but what they do that matters…. Precisely for that reason we need a specific behavioural theory of political actors and we cannot simply rely on the simple public agenda-setting model. (2004)

Using this approach, the question becomes why political actors embrace issues put forward by the media? New research offers some insights. A survey of members of parliament in Belgium found that politicians believe the media's agenda-setting impact is very high, but only because they believe that the news media "determine the public's issue priorities." (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006, p. 100) Indeed, there is a substantial body of research to show that political insiders regard the media as an important source of public opinion. In one US study, political insiders acknowledged that the media is not only a conduit for public opinion, but "the very essence of public opinion and can support or destroy legislative initiatives." (Herbst, 1998, p. 65) This is of great importance because political staffers, whilst recognising bias in media coverage, rely heavily on the media's "constructions of reality." (Herbst, 1998, p. 65) Of particular significance are editorials. According to one staffer: "Reading newspapers in the morning is most important because that's how the editorials in the newspapers will give us some insights on how people out there are thinking about government." (Herbst, 1998, p. 67) It is what Herbst calls "the third person effect": regardless of whether a political staffer finds a newspaper article persuasive, "he or she may believe that thousands are in fact persuaded by that article. This belief ('I'm not persuaded, but I know everyone else will be') does affect the behaviour of individuals." (Herbst, 1998. p. 87)

3.6.4 Critical elite theory

A growing body of research has in recent years adopted a new approach to understanding how journalists and elites operate and interact, and the consequences of this interaction. But rather than focusing on the mass media and its influence on the public, this approach focuses on processes of elite policy-making and the role played by the media in helping elites to reach decisions.

The key advocate of this new approach, Aeron Davis, first sketched out his theory in his 2003 essay 'Whither mass media and power? Evidence for a critical elite theory alternative.' Davis questioned whether agenda setting studies adequately explained the role of mass communications in sustaining political and economic forms of power in society. Of far greater importance in understanding power relations, he argued, was the way communication between elites, and elite culture, impacts on society. The form of power they exercise is hidden, and takes place "outside the sphere of the mass media and without

reference to the mass of consumer citizens". The media's own involvement is as a communications channel that is used by elites to frame debate and influence other elites. In essence, elites "are simultaneously the main sources, main targets and some of the most influenced recipients of news." (Davis 2003, p. 673) Communication between elites, facilitated by the media, in order to influence elite decision making, is just as important as communicating with a mass audience. The framework Davis uses to develop his critical elite theory perspective rests on studies in the fields of sociology, politics and communications, and in particular on the study of media-source relations studies and elite cultures. It is supported by extensive empirical evidence from studies he has conducted of elite journalists and politicians over a 15-year period.

Davis has synthesised a number of different traditions in order to explore how elites operate at elite sites of power. The first is classical elite theory. Developed in the 1960s, it advocated a new approach to understanding power structures in Western democracies. Power, argued Mills (1956), Domhoff (1967), and Scott (1961), resided in elites and institutions rather than social classes. Mills described a power elite "composed of men whose positions enable them to transcend the ordinary environments of ordinary men and women; they are in positions to make decisions having major consequences… They occupy the strategic command posts of the social structure, in which are now centred the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity which they enjoy." (Mills, 1956, pp. 1-2) This notion of power in the hands of a few challenged the prevailing orthodoxy of power as a pluralist conception - the idea that "the concentration of power in America ought not to be considered excessive because one group always balanced the power of others." (Wolfe, 2000 quoted in Lukes, 2005)

Davis has also drawn on a body of work in the field of sociology that examines the mediation of politics, or the way in which political actors "inadvertently alter their behaviours and relations" in their use of the media. In respect of the political sphere, this involves politicians changing their behaviour and agendas "with future news headlines in mind" and using the media to gauge what other politicians are thinking. (Davis, 2007 p. 188) Studies in this field also examine how politicians and journalists operate in mediated spheres. While Davis argues that Habermas' conception of a single public sphere does not fit 21st century models of democracy and communication, it has influenced his ideas about

the different arenas inhabited by political actors. Davis makes the case for the existence of three arenas - the public arena as envisaged by Habermas (1962); a policy arena that operates outside of the public view, and one which is accessible to only the most elite members of the journalistic profession; and a political arena that operates between the public and policy arenas, where elite policy and people are advanced. (Davis, 2017) Examinations of the latter two policy and political arenas will feature in this study.

3.6.5 Aspects of critical elite theory: media-source relations

Davis's starting point for exploring critical elite theory begins with an examination of how elites reach policy decisions and the way in which the media influences this process. This involves the study of media-source relations. A number of different dynamics can be observed in studies of this field. The first is the dominance of elite sources in the production of news, as discussed earlier in this chapter. (Gans, 1979; Herman and Chomsky, 2002; Tiffen, 1989; Hall et al., 1978; Schlesinger and Tumber, 1994; Hallin, 1994).

A second factor involves the role of the media as a major communications channel for the "conflicts, negotiations and decision making" that take place between different elite groups. (Davis, 2007b, p. 60) This is achieved by a number of means, including the development of small elite communication networks, and the so-called "capture" of reporters by the "policy communities" they report on. (Davis 2007b, p. 61) Literature on media-source relations characterises this relationship in a number of ways. Sigal (1973) described news as "an outcome of the bargaining interplay of newsmen and their sources." (p. 5) For Tunstall (1970) it was "an exchange of information for publicity." (pp. 43-4) Gans (1979) characterized it as a "tug of war" in which "sources attempt to "manage" the news, putting the best light on themselves…journalists concurrently "manage" the source in order to extract the information they want." (p. 117)

The most recent literature, which takes an "actor centric" perspective to understand media-source relations, supports Davis's view that a major function of the media is as an intermediary between elites. "Instead of pitching the mass media *against* political elites, the emerging actor perspective suggests that the media may have an impact on the struggle for power *among* different elites." (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2017, p. 4) In this scenario

politicians “enter the media arena” and compete with other politicians to “gain the upper hand”. (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2017, pp. 8-9)

The media’s power to influence debate is also recognised by politicians. While MPs at Westminster are critical of news they are also concerned about media output, or what Davis calls the “anticipatory media effect”. (Davis 2007, p. 187) As Martin Linton explained: “If the media can affect public opinion, and politicians have to be sensitive to public opinion, then indirectly they are affected by the media.” Davis found that for many of his interviewees “the news media was regarded as a vital tool for influencing news agendas and policy debates.” (Davis, 2007, p. 189) In one study a quarter of the MPs he interviewed said that the news contributed to setting the political agenda, or the “framework of interpretation” for an issue. According to the former Labour minister David Blunkett: “I think editors can [change political decisions] by the way in which they decide to launch a campaign and sustain it.” (Davis, 2007, p.189)

A third factor involves the media’s role in the identification and selection of issues. Several studies have documented how media campaigns can change policy. (Tiffen, 1989; Manheim,1994; Nelson, 1989) Other studies have found that while political insiders recognise bias in media coverage they are heavily dependent on “constructions of reality” provided by the press. (Herbst, 1998, p. 68) In this way journalists become “participants” in the policy process, “variously promoting and marginalizing key values, interests, ideas and policy.” (Ericson et al, 1989) In one study of 53 MPs, 20 respondents said that journalists and the media had an impact on policy and debates, by accelerating responses and sometimes even prompting a policy change. (Davis, 2009, p. 214) Just under half of MPs said the media also had a key role to play in the rise and fall of ministers and in leadership contests.

3.6.6 Culture, beliefs and practices

Another major aspect of critical elite theory revolves around the “culture, beliefs and practices” that bind elites together within powerful institutions. Although decisions taken at elite sites of power have major consequences for society, these rarefied spheres are closed from public view.

Drawing on cultural and social frameworks to examine elite spheres, Davis examined how these cultures operate in "a world within a world." (Gordon, 1997 [1947] quoted in Davis, 2007b, p. 12) Within subcultures, "certain beliefs, practices and ideologies evolve from a mixture of 'lived social relations', processes and symbolic exchanges." (Davis, 2007b, p.12) Works by Foucault and Bourdieu have directed work in the subculture field. Individuals act within different sets of circumstances conceptualised as "fields of interaction" by Bourdieu. (Bourdieu quoted in Thompson, 1995) Social background and circumstances can play an important role in how media messages are interpreted. This "active" interpretation of messages is described by Thompson as a "hermeneutic" process and involves the interpreter bringing "a set of assumptions and expectations to bear on the message which he or she seeks to understand." Many of these assumptions are "of a broader social and historical character" including a shared background and social origins, and provide interpreters "with a framework of interpretation." (Thompson, 1995, pp. 40-41)

With the context of Westminster, shared backgrounds and social origins are the glue that binds together MPs. As a consequence, it has the character of an "exclusionary and exclusive place." (Davis, 2007b, p. 87) At Westminster, every aspect of the culture reinforces this sense of exclusivity. It is overwhelmingly white and male-dominated, with low representations of women and ethnic minorities. (Davis, 2007b) Many MPs share similar backgrounds. Forty nine percent of the 2017 intake of Conservative MPs went to private school, well above the seven per cent national average. Over one in ten MPs attended Eton. A quarter of all MPs had attended either Oxford or Cambridge. That compares to less than one per cent of the UK population who attended either university. (Montacute and Carr, 2017) It is a world reminiscent of the one described by Mills in 1956, where the elite mingled in "the proper secondary school and the metropolitan club." (Mills, 1956, p. 15) These institutions provide "psychological and social bases for their unity, resting upon the fact that they are of similar social type and leading to the fact of their easy intermingling." (Mills, 1956, p. 19)

Understanding the arcane rules and procedures governing life at Westminster further separates the 'knows' from the 'don't knows'. The language used is technical and full of coded terms. According to the former Liberal Democrat Leader, Nick Clegg: "It's

the most brutal, medieval and, frankly, managerially dysfunctional place you could possible imagine." (Davis, 2007b, p. 87) Davis found that many of his interviewees referred to the "'Westminster village' with all that that implies socially and culturally." (Davis, 2007b, p. 90) Interactions occur at a number of different levels, with "official and unofficial" meetings and exchanges. On an official level, journalists garner information from house debates, select committees, civil servants, and interest groups. The Lobby of approximately 220 journalists acts as a formal conduit for government media briefings. (Franklin, 2004) The physical presence of journalists at Westminster has the effect of embedding them deeper in the political culture. Lobby journalists share facilities on site, making them "physically part of the source organization," which can lead to them becoming part of its culture. Research elsewhere indicates that this can lead to "their understanding and values" closely corresponding with that of their sources. (Ericson et al., 1989, p. 7) The lobby is in effect "a self-perpetuating elite with written rules, whose members accord government ministers and spokespersons anonymity in return for privileged access to political information." (Horgan, 2001, p. 259)

But most journalist/source interactions take place outside of the public gaze. The former government press secretary Bernard Ingham claimed to have given 5,000 lobby briefings during his time at Number 10, and 30,000 individual briefings. "It was a quiet working day if I did not brief ten journalists more informally over the phone," he claimed. (Ingham, 1991, p. 191). The Palace of Westminster's myriad tearooms, bars and restaurants allow journalists and politicians to exchange information at an unofficial level. "It is through these multiple, formal and informal, exchanges that much Parliamentary business evolves," according to Davis. (Davis, 2007b, p. 89) According to Clare Ettinghausen, director of the Hansard Society: "What the Putnam commission[3] found…was that people in Parliament spoke to each other, and spoke to the media in a language that each other understood, that the Westminster village understood, but it wasn't accessible for people in the outside world. And it's not to do with language in Parliament. It's to do with the general culture." (Davis, 2007, p. 90) Even as the communications media has

[3] The Puttnam (Hansard Society) Commission: *Members Only? Parliament in the Public Eye* published its report on May 2005. The Commission was set up to investigate how Parliament communicates with the wider world and how the public perceives Parliament.
https://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/publications/reports/members-only-parliament-in-the-public-eye-report-of-the-hansard-society

expanded, the way power is exercised remains "shrouded in secrecy and hidden from public gaze." (Thompson, 1995, p. 125). The invisibility of this policy making process is also evident in other Western democracies. (Whiteman, 1995) Ultimately the insular culture of Westminster and elsewhere fosters the development of "consensual beliefs, policy ideas and legislative lines." (Davis, 2007b, p. 92)

3.7 The operation of critical elite theory

3.7.1 Evidence of critical elite theory in operation

Evidence of how critical elite theory operates in practice can be found within powerful institutions in the City of London, and among politicians and journalists at Westminster.

In the two sectors examined, Davis found ample proof of how elites seek to influence each other through their use of the media. This is achieved through a number of means. Firstly, a "significant proportion" of communication resources within the corporate world are spent on avoiding mainstream coverage and indeed on preventing critical coverage. (Davis, 2007b, p. 61) Secondly, in some sectors more resources are spent on targeting elite decision makers than the public. Thirdly, journalists are "captured" within closed 'elite discourse networks', specifically in the City of London. These networks are "overly focused on the interests and concerns of those they report on." (Davis, 2007b, p. 64) In this way financial journalists "become a fundamental part of the closed communication networks in which elite decision-makers attempt to influence each other and others are excluded." (Davis, 2007b, p. 66) Other studies confirm this pattern with journalists from the *Financial Times* confirming the existence of an elite European sphere that extends beyond Brussels. "It is an elite interest," according to one *Financial Times* journalist. "That's who we serve. It's not like there is mass interest. We are interested in a small but powerful and influential elite of business people and politicians… We shape their opinion and challenge their opinion." (Corcoran and Fahy, 2007, p. 109)

Davis' 2007 study revealed a similar pattern at Westminster. (2007b) According to one political operative: "I had ten years in Whitehall, and 70 per cent of press relations there was keeping stuff out of the papers." (Davis, 2007b, p. 67) Davis also found ample evidence that **"**media and journalists are used by politicians and PR advisors to influence

political decision-making." Political memoirs, biographies, and historical studies of the Conservatives and New Labour support this finding. One former Conservative party communications operative traced the genesis of this trend to a tumultuous period in the late 1980s: "With the decline of Mrs Thatcher…it has become clear to people that if an incumbent PM can be toppled it is therefore much more possible for other leaders to topple. Therefore…a number of people are pursuing their agendas and certainly within the parliamentary party they will use the media to influence that." (Davis, 2007b, p. 68)

In fact, half of all the MPs interviewed by Davis told him they use the media "for the explicit purpose of influencing Parliamentary agendas and government decision-making." Over half of MPs questions said they talked to journalists to negotiate conflict with rivals. Others admitted to using lobby contacts "to undermine other politicians and factions within their own party." (Davis, 2009, p. 213) Discussions between journalists and politicians are regarded as "part of the political process." All the ministers and shadow ministers and majority of MPs Davis spoke to for the 2007 study talked to national reporters every day, rising to 10 and 20 times a day during busy periods. (Davis, 2007b) Many of the government's own backbench MPs had tried to raise issues and promote policy ideas through their contacts with journalists. Davis refers to this use of the media by elites as "mediated conflict." (Davis, 2007b, p.69)

At Westminster and Whitehall, "closed networks of communication" develop, comprising lobby journalists, politicians, civil servants, experts from think tanks and representatives from pressure groups. Journalists are drawn into this network by a "threats and rewards" system. (Davis, 2007b, p. 71) According to the *Guardian* columnist Polly Toynbee: "You don't want to be out of the loop. To be in the loop you have to be quite friendly with people… But once you have that relationship of trust, you are bound to them, to some degree, personally." (Davis, 2007b p. 72) The former senior Tory advisor Tim Bell agreed with this sentiment: "Politics is a very tiny place… Bits of gossip get everywhere… Nowadays that grapevine is almost entirely the Lobby. Political journalists, lobby journalists, sketch writers, opinion/editorial writers, academics. There's a clear network." (Davis, 2007b, p. 72)

Other studies also affirm how journalist/ politician relations are in the main "complementary if not collusive". For Franklin (2004) it is best viewed as "an exchange relationship in which insider political information and opinion is traded for coverage in news media." (Franklin, 2004, p. 15) Studies in the US also reveal how journalists and politicians forge "symbiotic relationships" or "mutual dependencies." (Herbst, 1998). Political staffers and communications directors perform a key role in this network, providing information and ideological "spin". (Herbst, 1998, p. 909) For others, it is a relationship of "trust and suspicion", with newspaper articles or television stories resulting from "a long process of negotiation between journalists and politicians." (Mancini, 1993, p. 34). Regardless of the many ways in which this core relationship is characterised, media and source are in effect "inextricably linked". (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1981, p. 473)

In effect, a process of "feedback and amplification" develops at sites of power. (Hilgartner and Bosk, 1988) Feedback between different arenas (in this case journalism and politics) "is a central characteristic of the process through which social problems develop…. Through a complex set of linkages, activities in each arena propagate throughout the others." (Hilgartner and Bosk, 1988, p. 67) This theory is supported by first-hand testimony from politicians and journalists. According to *The Daily Telegraph* political journalist George Jones: "Politics is a very complex thing. You get feedback from other journalists and politicians. If you get a scoop, it's followed up by other political journalists and the *Today* programme. So this is the sort of political cycle zone… really you want to be in a position of setting the political agenda – there is an important element of setting the agenda – and, in order to do that, you want to appeal to your fellow journalists and political classes." (Davis, 2003, p. 682) In this way, journalists and politicians working together or in conflict "contribute to issue agendas and policy debates." (Davis 2007, p. 184)

3.7.2 Critical elite theory and opinion writing

Thompson (1995) and Davis (2007) have described the way in which journalists can set the "framework of interpretation" around an issue, and opinion writers have a more powerful platform than most members of the media to set the terms for debate.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the political editors of the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Telegraph* and the *Times* were regarded by political insiders as the "big feet", or the most important opinion formers. (Davis, 2003). According to Tim Bale, a respected chronicler of the Conservative Party, "there is every reason to suppose that leader writers, columnists and even reporters exert more influence on the Conservative Party's leadership…than any fabled 'core vote' or fanatical bunch of grassroots activists." (Bale, 2016, pp. 19-20) This influence is acknowledged by leading columnists such as Simon Heffer, who told Davis that members of one Conservative administration consulted him "all the time". (Davis, 2007b p. 192)

Tunstall's 1996 study concluded that political columnists have an overly inflated conception of their political influence, most commonly claiming to have started a trend in political opinion. The correspondents Tunstall interviewed claimed that ministers and senior civil servants have said to them: 'What you said was what we did' or 'What you said could not change the policy, but it did reinforce the case which some of us are making against the policy.' (Tunstall, 1996, p. 294) For Tunstall, the power of the columnist resides in their commitment to particular issues. By returning to favourite subjects they provide "a unique service to politicians and to the relevant policy community." (Tunstall, 1996, p. 296) This finding was supported by testimony from Boris Johnson, who told one interviewer that sustained attacks from opinion writers can also have a profound effect on political thinking. "While my own pop-gun might not be very important, when all pop-guns are lined up against the government this can have a very real effect," he said. (Duff, 2008, p. 238). This characteristic of the opinion space supports the idea of the media as "a political player in its own right" (Cook 1998) and provides evidence of the increasing overlap between the political and journalistic spheres. (Jacobs and Townsley, 2011)

Journalists interviewed for this project were of the opinion that politicians are preoccupied with the power of the media, believing it to hold a determining influence on the court of both parliamentary party and public opinion. According to Matthew Parris, a former Conservative MP and now one of Britain's most highly regarded opinion writers:

> All politicians or all serious ambitious politicians that I know of, are obsessed with the press, sometimes exaggeratedly so, more than they needed to be. It's all very well people saying that Margaret Thatcher didn't read the newspapers but that was only because she knew that it would upset her too much to read the newspapers. And she knew what the newspapers were saying.… It's a

> mirror on the wall isn't it? A mirror, mirror on the wall, Who is the fairest of us? The press is, for I think almost every leading politician in Britain, a mirror on the wall.

Politicians consequently devote a good deal of time and energy to the courting of the press, and in particular, political columnists. According to Rick Nye, a staffer for William Hague, there was an understanding amongst Hague's team that: "If he was to remain as leader he had to shore up his base, or create a base where he hadn't had one… And that meant giving inordinate weight to the opinion of Conservative commentators, columnists, editors." (Bale, 2016, p. 87) John Major was also, according to those closest to him, obsessed with the media. (See Chapter 7) Simon Heffer told this study that Major even tried to get him sacked over critical comment pieces he had written. "Conrad Black[4] told me several times, 'I've had the Prime Minister on the telephone telling me to sack you!' He used to ring up Conrad every time I wrote something in the *Spectator* about what a disaster this policy was, and how it was going to destroy our independence as a country."

Reports suggest that once in high public office, Boris Johnson also cared deeply about press coverage. According to his former aide Dominic Cummings, Johnson called the *Telegraph* "my real boss". (Stewart and Mason, 2021) "He feels that they speak for a constituency and lead opinion in a constituency that he has to command," says Heffer. "Because he is so arrogant, that he believes that having worked as a journalist himself, and in order to avoid imposter syndrome, he has to believe that what he was doing was highly significant and important."

Such is their belief in the potential reach of commentary that politicians try to open up lines of communication with columnists, according to Matthew Parris. "My own experience writing columns is that every time I write anything that touches on politics and political opinion, I get direct feedback from people in the world of politics, very often from MPs whom I know already, but quite often too from MPs whom I don't know already. And you do find MPs quite anxious, if not to be friends, at least to open up lines of communication," he says. John Rentoul, the chief political commentator for the *Independent,* believes that politicians' efforts to get him "to write positive things about them rather than negative things" is more about trying to influence public opinion, rather

[4] Conrad Black is the former proprietor of Telegraph Group Newspapers which includes the *Spectator* magazine

than members of their own party. "I think politicians are usually operating on a fairly narrow focus, just desperately trying to get some good publicity for what they're trying to do. It's usually as simple as that."

One reason why columns are so avidly read within the political sphere is as a source of information for what rivals and fellow party members are thinking about a particular issue. "A columnist is like a clearing house for information," says the economist and *Daily Telegraph* opinion writer Liam Halligan. "You don't just talk to one politician – you talk to their rival. If you've lots of good relations with factions in a party or across the spectrum, then it's very useful for them to get to read what someone else is thinking."

3.7.3 Driving or following agendas?

Some of the interviewees for this study reflected on the impact that opinion writing in general can have on policy agendas.

As Simon Heffer notes, opinion writing does not have the 'big bang' impact of stories such as the *Daily Telegraph* expenses scandal of 2009, or *The Sunday Times'* exposé of Thalidomide in the 1970s. Instead its influence takes a much subtler form. Rather than drive parliamentary party and public opinion, it can help reinforce views, according to many of the journalists, politicians and diplomats interviewed for this study. John Rentoul, the *Independent's* chief political commentator, believes that the media "almost always" tries to give the public what it wants, "rather than the media actually stirring people up to change their minds." Matthew Parris agrees with this analysis. He believes that too often, newspapers are blamed for creating a current of opinion, when in his view "all they were doing was noticing cannily…which way the current was running and going with it. In that way, pleasing their readers; stroking their readers' existing prejudices." Liam Halligan concurs with this. Over the course of his 25-year career as a lobby correspondent and commentator, he believes that columnists have rarely, if ever set the agenda. On the subject of Brexit, for example, Halligan concludes that: "The political media class were years behind events on the ground. And the politicians were even further behind the columnists."

What columnists can do is create "a climate of opinion" within which certain ideas – such as Brexit – can flourish. "It matters enormously that sort of climate of opinion,

because MPs read the papers," says the *Telegraph* columnist and Johnson biographer Andrew Gimson. The broader assumption is that while the press cannot necessarily swing elections, they can create the "mood music" which can help or harm politicians and their standing with parliamentary colleagues. (Bale, 2016) Tory MPs are, in turn, deeply affected by what they read, particularly if it appears in the *Mail, The Telegraph* and to a lesser extent *The Times*. (Bale, 2016, p. 87)

Finding concrete evidence of an opinion writer's impact on policy agendas can, therefore, prove elusive. As the *Financial Times'* chief economics commentator, Martin Wolf is one of the most highly regarded financial journalists of his generation. He believes that opinion formers "do have an influence" – but accurately assessing the extent of that influence presents problems.

> I actually think opinion formers do have an influence. Of course they do. But it is very difficult to be precise about it, to say, well, this government did this, because that person wrote and told them to do it.… I think what I do is influence somewhat the tone of and the scope and to some degree the content of the global discussion, because I can legitimise certain positions because of the platform I hold. And I think that's been true on quite a number of topics, without being decisive in any one case. I can list lots of things I wanted to happen, which never happened. But it's a very indirect influence.

However, Wolf cites two occasions on which his commentary may have had a direct impact on policy. During the 1997-2001 New Labour administration, the decision about whether or not to join the euro was hotly debated between the Treasury and Downing Street. In his column Wolf argued that the British economy would not prosper within the euro, and that Britain shouldn't join.

> I think my voice probably, possibly strengthened the hand of the Treasury against the Prime Minister, who wanted to go in. I can't say this with any real certainty, because nobody would ever point to it, but I think that may have been a point at which I had a bit of an influence indirectly…. But I actually think that whatever we said, we wouldn't have gone into the euro, because the Treasury was really against it. Very difficult to overrule the Treasury on a matter of such fundamental economic importance.

On the second occasion, Wolf spent time speaking with two key government sources about the possibility of introducing university fees with a contingent income loan system. He then wrote about the topic. When the new fees system was subsequently introduced, Wolf concluded that his connections and commentary had made a difference. "I think the university fees [issue] was different, because not everybody was writing about this, my views were very specific. I had very close contact with the people directly

responsible for the policy…so there I feel reasonably comfortable that I must probably have played a role."

David Gardner is the *Financial Times'* international affairs editor. He was previously the *Financial Times's* chief leader writer and writes columns, commentary and analysis, mainly on the Middle East. "I regard my job as putting out the best fact-enriched analysis I can come up with and then it's up to people to do what they want with it," he says. Like Martin Wolf, he finds it difficult to measure any particular impact his work might have. Very occasionally his work has become part of the policy discussion. As prime minister, David Cameron ordered everybody in the Foreign Office and Number 10 to read Gardner's book on the Middle East, ahead of a seminar at Chequers. A comment piece he wrote on federalism in the context of Syria and Iraq also became the subject of a meeting at the FCO.

Liam Halligan has also seen ideas he has floated in columns turning up in party conference speeches. More recently, material he had written as part of a job application for a spokesperson's role at Number 10, appeared three weeks later in a Boris Johnson speech. "You can see the relationship that politicians have with top columnists is evident in the way they hire them outright," says Halligan. "Joe Haines[5] was Wilson's press secretary. Bernard Ingham was a columnist. Alastair Campbell was a *Mirror* columnist. This is not a coincidence."

This intertwining of the worlds of politics and political journalism can, however, distort the lens through which politicians view an issue. According to Sir Richard Stagg, who served as press spokesman for the British government in Brussels: "There probably is a risk that people read articles and think that they may reflect some wider opinion or wider truth, when they are just the views of one person, however well-connected and thoughtful." Sir Richard believes that columns can also act as an echo chamber, amplifying rather than challenging conventional wisdoms at Westminster.

[5] Joe Haines was employed by the *Scottish Daily Mail* and the *Sun* before becoming Harold Wilson's press secretary in 1969.

More often, opinion writing has an incremental impact on public opinion. Simon Heffer believes that the ideas of Eurosceptic commentators "certainly did penetrate" into a wider discourse on Europe. Sir Richard Stagg agrees that it was a constant "drip, drip, drip" of stories that Europe was an ambitious but misguided project that did lasting damage to public perceptions of the EU.

3.8 Conclusion

The relationship between journalists and politicians has long held a fascination for communications researchers. However, studies in the field of political communications and journalism studies have tended to examine how this relationship has impacted upon public opinion, and to a lesser extent, on policy agendas. But establishing media effects in both these arenas is difficult and results have proved inconclusive. The inconsistency of findings has led some communications researchers to adopt new theoretical and methodological approaches to understand how the media and policy makers interact and seek to influence each other.

A new area of research seeks to examine journalist-source relationships in the context of how they operate at elite sites of power. Aeron Davis has described a new critical elite theory alternative to understand how elites seek to influence each other's agendas, by using the media as a communications channel. He has examined how elite cultures develop at sites of power, namely Westminster and the City of London. His research sheds light on how agendas are reached behind closed doors at Westminster and on the "capture" of journalists by politicians, in the furtherance of particular causes.

In Britain, the rise of objective journalism as a journalistic norm fostered the development of a commentary culture within journalism, which is now considered the most high profile and lucrative sinecure within the media world. Political commentators are more likely than news reporters and correspondents to play a role in the policy deliberation process. Unlike other journalists they operate with a remarkable degree of autonomy, developing close connections with cabinet ministers and prime ministers.

The extent to which opinion writers can help forge public policy has not, however, been greatly explored by scholarship, despite evidence that they are more likely than their

newsroom colleagues to set the "frameworks of interpretation" around issues. This chapter sheds new light on how columnists can create a "climate of opinion" and become part of the policy conversation. This intertwining of the worlds of politics and journalism is of particular relevance for this study of Boris Johnson's impact as a member of the right-wing media during the early years of John Major's government, when anti-European sentiment began to take hold within the party. The next chapter sets out this study's methodological framework and explores the rationale for examining Boris Johnson as a single case study.

Chapter 4 Research design and methodological framework

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out this study's research design and methodological approach. This study takes a single case study approach to examine Boris Johnson's work, in order to illuminate how his journalism both informed and set the framework of interpretation for the issue of Europe within elite Conservative Party circles. The first section looks at case study literature, analysis methodologies and research. The second section examines the criteria that point to Johnson as a critical case study. The third part of the chapter considers the use of semi-structured interviews as a core component of this study's exploration of Johnson's work and also the wider role of the media in the shaping of Conservative party sentiment on Europe.

The fourth part of the chapter considers framing analysis. The way Johnson helped set the framework of interpretation for Conservative elites can be understood conceptually through ideas of framing. Framing analysis is widely used in communication and political studies, and in this instance can help determine how the EU was framed in Johnson's reporting and opinion columns. This chapter therefore sets out a theoretical discussion and explication of the theories of framing, particularly the social constructionist tradition within framing research. The chapter also includes a discussion of how this latter tradition of framing has been applied both conceptually and methodologically to this study.

4.2 Case studies

4.2.1 Literature review and overview

The case study has a long history across a range of different disciplines with its origins in sociology and anthropology. (Creswell, 1998; Hamel, 1992) Case studies are variously considered a form of methodology, as a teaching tool, and as the object of study itself. (Merriam, 1988; Creswell, 1998; Yin 2014) For Stake (2006) and Thomas (2015) the case study is *not* a methodology but a choice of what is to be studied: "Your case study is defined not so much by the methods that you are using to do the study, but the edges you put around the case." (Thomas, 2015, p. 21) This later definition informs this project. Here the single case study centring on Boris Johnson acts as a framework within which to study how media

and political elites interact to form policy. Research has shown how the single case study can make a significant contribution to a theory's knowledge base, either further informing it, questioning it or supporting it. (Yin, 2014, p. 51) The case study approach here becomes, in Yin's 1984 definition, "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used." (p.23)

The phenomenon to be examined in this case is the influence of Boris Johnson's journalism on Conservative elite opinion on Europe, in order to illuminate how prominent journalists and columnists can influence elite political thinking. An in-depth examination of his work – using framing analysis and semi-structured interviews – will provide an understanding of the role he played as an influential voice within Conservative elite circles. As my interest lies specifically with Johnson and his influence, this study meets Stake's definition of the instrumental case study. "The use of case study is to understand something else. Case study here is instrumental to accomplishing something other than understanding this particular [case]." (Stake, p. 3, 1995) Studying Johnson and his journalism has an instrumental function in that it helps shed light not only on his work and influence, but also on how the media and political elites interact to form policy, and in particular policy on Europe. Taking Johnson as an instrumental case study, can therefore, illustrate the larger process of how the media is used by elites at elite sites of power in order to further policy agendas.

Why use the case study approach? Firstly, it is regarded as a good approach when the issue being studied has clear boundaries. (Creswell, 2018) In this instance, the case study is bounded by a particular timeframe and key political events involving the EU. Secondly, as already stated, the case study is considered a good framework for providing an in-depth analysis of an issue. Thirdly, case studies are of particular value for studying the life and impact of particular individuals. (Creswell, 1998) It thus provides an appropriate framework for examining Boris Johnson's work and his putative role in shaping Conservative party sentiment on Europe.

4.2.2 The use of multiple sources of evidence

Good case study research requires multiple sources of evidence in order to provide an in-depth understanding of each case. (Yin, 2014; Creswell, 2018) Yin (2014) identifies six major sources of evidence: archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artefacts. For this study the main forms of evidence will be primary source material in the form of Johnson's news reports and opinion articles, semi-structured interviews, scholarship on the Conservative party and Europe, and the work of 'challenger' groupings within the Conservative party, including the European Research Group and the Bruges Group. Existing scholarship on the Conservatives and Europe, including political and journalistic memoirs, as well as contemporary media reporting will provide important context and background. Having multiple sources of evidence is important because it reduces the risk of subjective judgements being used to collect data. (Yin, 2014) The use of multiple sources also leads to converging lines of inquiry – or triangulation. (Yin, 2014, p. 112)

4.3 Case study selection: Criteria

I purposefully chose Boris Johnson as the subject of this case study research. I considered Creswell's purposeful sampling strategy, which means the chosen case study should "purposefully inform our understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study." (Creswell, 2018, p. 158) This strategy is based on the case study fulfilling a number of criteria, which ensures quality control of the study. (Creswell, 2018, p. 159) This study could have analysed a collective of Conservative writers, such as Simon Heffer, Daniel Hannan, and Charles Moore. However, I decided to focus on Johnson alone, as a single case study, because an in-depth exploration of his work can help us understand the phenomenon of how the media can act as a communications channel for the formation of views on Europe at elite sites of power.

In deciding on criteria I considered the factors which make Boris Johnson an important figure in Conservative party thinking on Europe. The first argument is that Johnson is a critical case study for examination of this issue. The second argument concerns Johnson's fulfilment of a further set of criteria that placed him in a position from which to influence elite views on Europe.

4.3.1 Johnson as a critical case study

The major argument for this study's focus on Boris Johnson is that he fits the description of a "critical case". (Creswell, 2018, p. 159) Johnson fulfils the criteria for being a critical case study, for the following reasons: a) his membership of elite networks; b) credible reports of the impact of his journalism on Conservative party MPs and media coverage of Europe; c) his dual role as a journalist/politician; d) evidence that he was a key factor in the 2016 Brexit vote; and e) the media outlets he worked for and their stances on Europe.

a) Johnson's membership of the elite

Historically British conservative elites are part of a closed, class-based network, based on attendance at an upper-tier public school (such as Eton) and having an Oxbridge degree. (Kuper, 2019) Shared backgrounds and social origins form bonds between members of the conservative elite, providing what Mills (1956) called the "psychological and social bases for their unity".

Boris Johnson is a member of the British elite through family connections and education. His mother Charlotte, an Oxford graduate, came from a family of liberal intellectuals which had played a prominent role in the women's suffrage movement. Charlotte's father Sir James Fawcett was a highly regarded barrister and member of the European Commission on Human Rights. Johnson's father Stanley had also attended Oxford and his friends included Sir Crispin Tickell, former chef de cabinet for the European Commissioner Roy Jenkins. (Purnell, 2011, p. 95) In 1973, Stanley Johnson was appointed to a job in the European Commission's environment sub-directorate. His young family spent six years in Brussels where Johnson learned to speak excellent French. (Purnell, 2011) At the age of 11, Johnson was sent back to prep school in England and later attended Eton public school on a scholarship. Marcus Warren, an Eton contemporary, recalled that "Unlike most other scholars, he appealed to the rest of the school… He was a star." (Purnell, 2011).

Johnson went on to read classical literature, history and philosophy at Balliol College Oxford. Simon Kuper, the *Financial Times* journalist who was a contemporary of Johnson's at Oxford, recalled that Johnson "came equipped with the peculiarly intimate network that an upper-class boarding school confers… Johnson arrived in Oxford knowing

dozens of people, whereas some state-school kids knew precisely nobody." (Kuper, 2019, p. 15)

Contemporaries remember Johnson as a man of few if any ideological convictions, prompting his biographer to charge him with "ideological emptiness beneath the staunch Tory exterior." (Purnell, 2011, p. 91) In 1986, Johnson became president of the Oxford Union by successfully concealing his conservative affiliations and persuading everyone that he was in fact a Social Democrat. It was a taste of what was to come throughout Johnson's career in journalism and politics, with the former master of Balliol College Anthony Kenny later remarking: "So far as I know, he told no actual lies, but his strategy recalled Thomas Macaulay's words about the difference between lying and deceiving: "Metternich told lies all the time, and never deceived any one; Talleyrand never told a lie and deceived the whole world." (Kenny, 2018)

As President of the Union, Johnson expanded his social network and impressed visiting grandees, including the *Daily Telegraph* editor Max Hastings. After graduation Johnson was taken on by the *Times* as a trainee graduate, but was sacked a short while later for falsifying a quote from a leading Oxford don. Max Hastings offered him a job almost immediately on the *Telegraph*'s leader-writing desk, known as 'Club Class' by *Telegraph* staff owing to the high number of public school boys within its ranks. Quentin Letts, a fellow *Telegraph* columnist noted: "He was already part of the establishment, friends with Lord Spencer and so on and consequently he saw journalists as birds of carrion rather than fine, upstanding, investigative types." (Purnell, 2011, p. 104)

b) The impact of Johnson's journalism

In recent years journalistic accounts, memoirs, and historiography have pointed towards the way in which Johnson's journalism may have helped form conservative opinion on Europe. In order to understand how Johnson may have wielded influence, it is necessary to explore how Johnson built his career and reputation in journalism before embarking on political life.

In the spring of 1989, Boris Johnson was appointed EC correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*. According to Nigel Wade, the *Telegraph*'s foreign editor from 1986-1996, Brussels was then regarded as "a really low-grade" posting and the source of "important

but dull stories… Nobody cared about Brussels." (Rankin and Waterson, 2019) However Johnson's appointment coincided with the fall of the Berlin Wall and Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech, igniting interest in EEC stories. According to Sonia Purnell, who served as Johnson's deputy correspondent in Europe at the time, "Boris's genius lay in recognising that Brussels reporting had become a cosy cartel, in which the various correspondents produced broadly sympathetic accounts of the EU's activities. He spotted a commercial opportunity – the chance to make his name by doing what he does best: being different." (Purnell 2001, p. 114)

Johnson reportedly upended long-held journalistic conventions on press coverage of Europe by taking stories with a "tiny element of truth" which were then "magnified so far beyond reality that by the time it reached the reader it was false," according to Jean Quatremer, the Brussels correspondent of *Liberation*. Johnson once informed Quatremer: "You mustn't let facts get in the way of a good story." (Quatremer, 2016b) Michael Binyon, a fellow journalist recalled: "He was very inventive and creative. What he would say would never be simply untrue, but would be on the edge of what might happen. It was hard to deny these stories outright so we were all forced to follow them up. It was good to be a leading Eurosceptic in a consensus of Europhile correspondents. Everyone was then mocking Maggie and cheering Delors. Boris played a brilliant spoiler card by following the reverse stance." (Purnell, 2011, p. 116)

Johnson's EU stories sometimes made front-page news, and other newspapers began to take note. Peter Guilford, a former *Times* correspondent recalled: "We are under pressure to follow it up. So there was this sort of Eurosceptic-generating machine that we were all part of, and Boris was driving harder than anyone else," he said. Although Johnson was not the first British journalist to turn a sceptical eye on Europe, he "took it to new heights. It delivered him the profile and publicity that he craved." (Rankin and Waterson, 2019) What differentiated Johnson from his tabloid colleagues was his ability to exaggerate "more smartly than the others," according to Bruno Dethomas, who was spokesman for the then European Commission President, Jacques Delors. (Rankin and Waterson, 2019) According to media analysts, Johnson's form of journalism resulted in a permanent shift in the British media, eager now to publish anti-EU stories in order to sell newspapers. (Rankin and Waterson, 2019)

Scholarship reveals that opinion is divided on the extent of Johnson's influence within the Conservative Party. In 1992 Prime Minister John Major was going through what he would later describe as "a year of gruesome trench warfare" to get the Maastricht Treaty through parliament. (Major, 1999, p. 342) According to a senior Whitehall official: "He [Johnson] caused a great deal of teeth-grinding amongst Major and his ministers and created enemies in the Tory party. He was both denouncing government policy in a persuasive way and also indirectly picking holes in its majority, making it more difficult to govern." Johnson's work "had a long-term strategic effect on Tory fortunes – even if no-one can exactly quantify the damage he caused." (Purnell, 2011, p. 163) Douglas Hurd, then the Foreign Secretary disagreed with this viewpoint, arguing that Johnson was merely the most effective of the Eurosceptic journalists. (Purnell, 2011, p. 163)

Johnson would later boast of the effect his anti-EU stories were having within the Conservative Party. "[I was] sort of chucking these rocks over the garden wall and I listened to this amazing crash from the greenhouse next door over in England as everything I wrote in Brussels was having this amazing, explosive effect on the Tory party. And it really gave me this, I suppose, rather weird sense of power." (*Desert Island Discs,* 2005) Indeed, members of UKIP would later say that Johnson's writings "helped to pave" the way for the rise of their party. The former UKIP leader Nigel Farage has said that before Johnson's arrival in Brussels, Euroscepticism was "something that would only be shared amongst close personal friends. They were a minority pursuit." (Purnell, 2011, p. 115)

Media accounts from important insiders also indicate that Johnson helped foster anti-EU sentiment within the Conservative party. According to Lionel Barber, the former editor of the *Financial Times* who served as that paper's Brussels editor in the 1990s, Johnson "deserves a special place in history" as one of the journalists who "exaggerated the federalist gremlin, ensuring it has loomed ever larger in the British psyche, defying political reality". (Barber, 2019) In 2019, the former *Telegraph* proprietor Conrad Black praised Johnson, "who was such an effective correspondent for us in Brussels that he greatly influenced British opinion on this country's relations with Europe." (Mount, 2021). This is supported by Max Hastings, Johnson's former editor at the *Daily Telegraph*, who wrote that "The contributions of our Brussels correspondent, rooted in a sharp if hyperbolic eye for the EC bureaucracy's regulatory absurdities, undoubtedly fuelled Euroscepticism." (Hastings, 2019)

By 1994 Johnson was recalled to London by his editor Max Hastings, who reportedly wanted to "tone down" the Eurosceptic nature of the *Telegraph*'s EU reporting. In his memoirs, Hastings said he feared that Brussels made Johnson "the rabid Eurosceptic he later became". (Hastings, 2002, p. 73) Johnson had by now set his sights on a career in politics, telling fellow journalist Nick Robinson: "Look, you don't change anything as a journalist. The guys in [Parliament] actually change things." (Purnell, 2011, p. 184) He tried unsuccessfully to get selected as a Conservative candidate for the 1994 European elections, followed by an unsuccessful bid for parliament in 1997. Finally, his popular appeal and anti-EU journalism helped ensure his selection for the safe seat of Henley in the 2001 General Election. Maggie Pullen, the President of South Oxfordshire Tories recalls: "He was a star and many Conservatives in Henley follow the *Telegraph*, so he had his fans before he even started. And the fact that he was so anti-European helped – or he allowed people to think he was." (Purnell, 2011, p. 211)

Johnson had successfully positioned himself as one of the party's Eurosceptics. The Henley selection occurred at the height of a national campaign by supporters of the former Defence Secretary Michael Portillo to drive pro-European Tories out of the party. James Lansdale, who reported on the Henley campaign for *The Times*, later recalled: "There was great in-fighting between the [Eurosceptic] Conservative Way Forward and the [broadly Europhile] Tory Reform Group at the time." According to Sonia Purnell (2011), "Boris's staunch Eurosceptic reputation from his Brussels days as a reporter made him a standard bearer among the Portillistas." (p. 215) Yet Johnson still betrayed a sometimes inconsistent attitude to Europe, backing Europhile Ken Clarke in the 2003 Tory leadership campaign against the arch Eurosceptic Ian Duncan Smith. (Purnell, 2011, p. 224)

Johnson ran for the Mayor of London in 2008, and in a surprise upset beat the Labour candidate and incumbent Ken Livingstone. The win marked Johnson out as a candidate with cross-party appeal, and also as a threat to the Conservative party's new leader David Cameron. In 2009, at that year's party conference, Johnson openly attacked the party's position on the Lisbon Treaty on a new EU constitution, which Johnson wanted ratified by referendum. This intervention opened up divisions on Europe and caused problems for Cameron. In 2011, an email seen by the BBC revealed that Johnson had

agreed not to write about Europe during conference week, if the Chancellor George Osborne approved an additional £93 million for policing in London.[6] (Cook, 2015)

c) Johnson's position in the worlds of politics and journalism

Boris Johnson is that rare hybrid in British politics – the journalist/ politician. For decades Boris Johnson held a rarefied position within the Conservative elite, at one point holding the editorship of *The Spectator* (1999-2005), writing a column for the *Daily Telegraph* and sitting as Conservative MP for Henley-on-Thames. (2001-2008). He was also one of Britain's highest paid columnists, earning a reported £275,000 by 2018. (Waterson, 2016) On his election to parliament in 2001, he managed to maintain both his lucrative sinecure as editor of *The Spectator* and his *Telegraph* column.

This placed him in the extraordinary position of having a platform in two of the most influential conservative media outlets in the country, at a time when he was frequenting the tearooms and bars of Westminster Palace as a Member of Parliament. On the very cusp of Downing Street in July 2019, Johnson continued to write his column for the *Telegraph*. His presence in both media and political camps has attracted criticism over the years, with the conservative commentator Anthony Howard calling it nothing short of an "absolute scandal" that Johnson was allowed keep his *Telegraph* column while Mayor of London. (Purnell, 2011, p. 363) As noted above, this latter role ensured a higher profile for his journalism, with his opinion writing on Europe sometimes making the front-page of the *Daily Telegraph*, thus amplifying Johnson's anti-EU message. Johnson's position as a holder of high public office, whilst also maintaining prominent platforms within leading conservative media outlets, thus placed him in a unique position to influence and shape discourse on Europe.

d) Johnson's impact on the 2016 referendum

While the political impact of Boris Johnson's opinion writing up until 2016 has not been studied in detail, his impact on the Vote Leave campaign is not disputed. Several important studies point to the central role he played in the success of the Vote Leave campaign.

[6] The email sent on 29 September 2011 read: "Did deal with George. He gives us £93m for cops. I don't write about euro in Monday Tel and muck up his speech. It's the best-paid col ever."

(Clarke, 2017; Goodwin, 2016) According to Clarke (2017), Johnson used his Vote Leave platform, and a strong "likeability" factor, to successfully "cue" the public about how to vote. (Clarke et al, 2017, p. 149) The Johnson effect was picked up by the Remain side whose chief pollster, Andrew Cooper noted: "During the referendum campaign it was clear from all our tracking research that Boris was having a big impact. This came through clearly in the focus groups…. Boris came top of the question of which politician has made the most persuasive impact." (Clarke et al., 2017, p. 171) As Clarke (2017) notes, "While it is not possible to conclude that 'it was Boris wot won it' …his boisterous and widely covered presence on the campaign trail was clearly very advantageous to the Leave side, whose only other salient leader was the much less popular Nigel Farage." (p. 207)

Central figures in the Vote Leave campaign also credit Johnson with playing a pivotal role in securing the win. According to the campaign's mastermind, Dominic Cummings: "Without Boris, Farage would have been a much more prominent face on TV during the crucial final weeks, probably the most prominent face… It is extremely plausible that this would have lost us over 600,000 vital middle class votes." (O'Rourke, 2018)

e) Media outlets and their focus on Europe

Boris Johnson has written for the most influential Conservative media outlets in Britain – the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Spectator*. Writing for these titles arguably gives journalists and opinion writers a closer connection to Conservative politicians. Broadsheet newspapers are considered to have a more influential role in Conservative political discourse, and the *Daily Telegraph* is the biggest selling broadsheet in the British market. (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, Tunstall, 1996) A 1997 survey showed that 57 per cent of *Daily Telegraph* readers supported the Conservative Party. (Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 212) As Tunstall (1996) notes, "Political 'crises' are primarily defined by the upmarket papers; if the normally conservative *Daily Telegraph* says that there is a crisis in the Conservative Party, that statement alone gives considerable legitimacy and currency to the notion."

Broadsheet newspapers also give serious political issues more coverage. Curran and Seaton (2003) distinguish between "a politicized élite press" and a relatively "depoliticized mass press." (p. 93) However Bale (2016) argues that issues are deemed to

be important in Tory circles if they appear – in order of importance – in the *Mail,* followed by the *Telegraph* and some way behind that, *The Times*. (Bale, 2016, p. 16)

Outside of the mainstream national newspapers, one political magazine distinguishes itself as the voice of conservatism. *The Spectator* is one of the UK's top performing political magazines, with a circulation of over 100,000 per week. (Walker, 2019) Its audience is small but is regarded as a "tight little milieu" within the rarefied world of Westminster. According to the political writer Henry Porter, "it informs a great slew of British political thinking." (Porter, 1995) Under Johnson's editorship, *The Spectator*'s sales hit a record 70,000 sales. (Plunkett, 2005) On his return to the Conservative frontbench in 2005, Johnson stepped down as editor but continued to write a column for the magazine.[7]

Specific findings from the 2016 referendum, as well as further credible claims of the impact of his writing, thus make Johnson a critical case study for examination.

4.4 Semi-structured interviews: rationale and sampling

In order to gauge the impact of Johnson's journalism on Conservative elites, interviews become a core part of this exploration. According to Taylor (2005) interviews are the most commonly used data collection method and in qualitative research, semi-structured interviews are the most popular form. There are a number of factors that make the use of semi-structured interviews an appropriate method of data collection for this project.

Firstly, previous studies show that interviews are an effective means of exploring news consumption patterns amongst MPs, media-source relations, as well as illuminating the way in which elites use the media for elite to elite communication and conflict. (Davis, 2003, 2007, 2009) Secondly, semi-structured interviews have been found to be particularly useful where the goals are "exploration, discovery, and interpretation of complex social events and processes". (Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 93) As the object of this study is to

[7] David Cameron appointed him shadow higher education minister in December 2005. It was Johnson's second time on the shadow front bench. He had previously held the role of shadow arts minister and vice-chair of the party until leader Michael Howard sacked him in November 2004 for lying about an affair. Source: *Daily Telegraph* (2004) 'Howard sacks 'devastated' Boris Johnson over affair. 14 November https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1476560/Howard-sacks-devastated-Boris-Johnson-over-affair.html

analyse the interaction of complex historical and cultural issues, the media and politics, semi-structured interviews are the most appropriate means of eliciting important testimony from key participants in the policy process. As much of this process is often hidden from view (Davis, 2003), only participants can shed light on how this process works.

Another advantage of using semi-structured interviews is the extent to which the interviewer maintains control of the interview by means of a standardised format of questions or interview guide. (Deacon et al., 2007) Deacon et al (2007) note that this format offers the interviewer flexibility by allowing for questions to be re-worded or re-ordered, allowing the interviewer the freedom to elaborate and explore different issues as they emerge, thus "promoting active, open-ended dialogue with interviewees". (p. 67) While the interviewer maintains control through the interview guide, this form of face-to-face interaction does in some respects conform to the idea of a conversation, or more accurately as "conversations with a purpose". (Lindlof, 1995, p. 164) Interviewees comments are recorded and then transcribed providing a rich source of data. (Deacon et al., 2007)

Conducting semi-structured interviews does present certain risks and challenges. Brink (1989) has identified threats to the validity and reliability of a project if data collection is in part contingent on material gathered from this type of interview. Firstly, a lack of equivalence in the interview risks researcher bias creeping in. This can also create difficulties during the data analysis period when processing, analysing, and comparing huge amounts of interview data. (Deacon et al., 2007) Sellitz et al. (1964) note: "The flexibility frequently results in a lack of comparability of one interview with another. Moreover, their analysis is more difficult and time-consuming than that of standardized interviews." (p. 264) On the other hand, while a standardized interview protocol increases the reliability of data, (Brenner, 1981; Silverman, 2001), "closed questions…are fatally flawed as instruments for understanding basic beliefs and values." (Graber 1988, p. 17) Graber (1988) further notes that closed questions "force respondents to fit their ideas into thinking patterns suggested by the investigator rather than using their own approaches." (p. 17)

4.4.1 Selection of interviewees

I purposely selected interviewees from the worlds of diplomacy, politics and journalism as each group represents an essential component of the elite network being investigated for this study. Journalists were drawn from two major groups. The first group were correspondents who had worked in Brussels at the same time as Johnson, and could speak to his *modus operandi* and the impact of his work. The second group were opinion writers who write in the field of political commentary and are immersed in elite networks at Westminster, or opinion writers who could speak to the wider impact commentary can have on policy agendas. Diplomats were selected on the basis of their deep knowledge of policy agenda formation at Whitehall on the subject of Europe, and in particular the Maastricht Treaty. Politicians were chosen on the basis of their seniority within the Conservative party, their affiliation with either the pro-European or Eurosceptic camps, and their direct knowledge of and/or involvement in politics in the Maastricht era.

My background as a senior producer on Channel Four News and at the BBC helped me secure interviews with journalists and politicians. One of my contacts, a former EU ambassador, also helped secure interviews with leading diplomats who would not normally grant interviews to journalists or academic researchers. A number of interviewees were also happy to refer me to other potential interviewees at the end of the interview process. Harvey (2011) identifies particular challenges associated with interviewing members of the elite, including the issue of gaining trust, using open and closed-ended questions and asking difficult questions. My professional experience helped me maximise the potential of the interview process. This included preparing research briefs on each interviewee, having follow up questions on key subject areas, correctly gauging the right tone during the interview and being clear from the outset about the form that the interview will take. (Harvey, 2011)

Adhering to the guidance given by Harvey (2011) I was transparent and open with interviewees about my background as a journalist, the scholarly nature of the project, how the data would be used, the reason for my approach to them, the question areas and the time commitment required. Potential interviewees received an email setting out this information as well as a time-frame for conducting the interview. Some interviewees sought additional information – for example, where the data might be disseminated – before agreeing to be

interviewed. The initial list of interviewees was extensive, thus allowing for the unavailability and/or unwillingness of some to take part in the project.

4.4.2 The interviews

A total of 29 interviews were conducted between May and September 2021[8]. Interviewees signed a consent form which set out the risks and conditions associated with the research.[9] As part of the informed consent agreement, a number of interviewees requested that on completion of the project, their quotes would be sent to them by email for verification. This step was conducted once the thesis had been finalised.

Due to Covid-related travel and contact restrictions, in-person interviews were not possible. However, zoom and/or phone interviews provided a more than adequate forum for discussion of the subject. Each interview was recorded with the interviewee's consent, and later transcribed to ensure perfect accuracy of quotes. Interviews lasted on average 45 minutes, with a small number stretching to two hours and one lasting no longer than 15 minutes. An interview protocol sheet, containing essential information about the interviewee, the key questions and interview notes, served as both an aide memoire and form for taking notes during the interview, and as a means of processing and analysing data during the data analysis period.[10] (Creswell, 1998; Yin, 2014) All interviewees were asked a set of substantive questions. Questions were also tailored according to the interviewee's public role. For instance, politicians were asked about how they use the media to seek publicity for personal or policy purposes, and their view on Johnson's effect on Conservative party thinking on Europe. Journalists were asked about their relationships with political sources. The extent to which they see themselves as being part of the policy process was also explored. (see Flynn, 2006; Davis, 2009)

4.5 Framing analysis

Before examining the influence of Johnson's work, it is necessary to analyse his journalism. Framing analysis provides an appropriate and widely used method of examining how

[8] A full list of interviewees and their professional roles is set out in Chapter 7.
[9] The research was granted ethical approval by Dublin City University's Research Ethics Committee.
[10] See Appendix B

journalists frame events in such a way as to suggest to the audience how to interpret the issue or event. (Van Gorp, 2010). For the purposes of this study, a constructionist approach to framing is considered the most appropriate means of interpreting Johnson's work. This approach, based in culture, defines framing as the interplay between the text, the audience's schemata, the discourse of frame sponsors and the stock of frames available within the culture. (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 64)

Constructionism "deals with the process in which individuals and groups actively create social reality from different information sources." (Van Gorp, 2010, p. 84) This definition places journalists at the centre of the process of "meaning construction" as they 1) contribute their own layers of meaning to events, and 2) create their own frames through a process of selection. (Van Gorp, 2010). Journalists draw on their own "preconceived notions" about an issue in order to tell a story and impose their own meaning on the issue or events. (Van Gorp, 2007)

Using a framing analysis pioneered by Gamson and Modigliani (1989), the first part of the process of identifying frames in Johnson's work involved establishing the cultural issues or "culturally shared notions" that Johnson drew on in order to frame the issue of Europe. (Van Gorp, 2010 p. 85) Every culture has a small number of commonly used frames that journalists draw on. (Van Gorp, 2010) Once this cultural stock of frames was identified, a framing analysis of Johnson's writing using a constructionist method determined whether these frames are present in his work.

4.5.1 Framing overview

The origins of framing lie across a range of different disciplines, including cognitive psychology, economics, sociology, communications and linguistics. Today framing is one of the most utilized theories in the area of mass communications. (Bryant and Miron, 2004) Yet to describe it as a theory narrows the multiple definitions of framing within this field. D'Angelo (2002) notes how researchers variously call it an approach (Pan and Kosicki, 1993), an analytic technique (Endres, 2004), and a multi-paradigmatic research programme (D'Angelo, 2002), with Reese (2001) calling framing both an approach and a paradigm. This pluralistic approach to framing – both methodologically and theoretically - has led to a "fragmented understanding" of what framing is about and how it works. (D'Angelo, 2002,

p. 3) Entman (1993) refers to framing's "scattered conceptualisation", with no clear understanding of what constitutes the theory of framing. Other research does not differentiate framing from agenda setting and priming[11]. (Popkin, 1994) McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (1997) argue that framing is merely an extension of agenda setting or what they term "second-level agenda setting" in the way in which it impacts on the salience of media coverage on the audience's interpretation of an issue.

The roots of framing as a mass communications theory and approach lie specifically in the field of sociology. Goffman (1974) is regarded as the founding theorist of the framing approach. Taking a sociological perspective, Goffman found that in order to process new information people rely on broader interpretive schemas called "primary frameworks". (Goffman, 1974, p 24) Events are framed by news discourse, and the audience in turn frames events and experiences. (Gamson et al, 1992) To influence audiences, media discourse is often "tailored" towards specific primary frameworks. (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007) These frameworks not only abet information processing, they are used by the media to influence the audience's interpretation of an issue. Gitlin (1980) expanded this earlier definition of framing to encompass the idea that frames are "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation." (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6). In this way, the social world "is a kaleidoscope of potential realities, any of which can be readily evoked by altering the way in which observations are framed and categorized." (Edelman, 1993, p. 232)

The expansion of framing in the field of sociology saw the framing concept applied to different concepts, such as "schemas", or schematic thinking, which people use to organise and process information. Reese (2001) identified two major ways of thinking about how framing organizes meaning: cognitively and culturally. The cognitive approach emphasises how differing ways of presenting the same information can produce different framing effects. (Kahneman and Tversky, 1984) Similarly studies by Iyengar (1991, 2000),

[11] Priming refers to "changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations" (Iyengar and Kinder 1987, p. 63), which happens when a news story advances an idea to an audience that they use "specific issues as benchmarks" for assessing how well a politician or member of government is performing in their role. (Scheufele and Tewskbury, 2006

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) and Iyengar and Simon (1997) revealed in practical terms how framing the same news either "episodically" or "thematically" can produce different effects. News framed episodically – when an issue is distilled down to real life stories or issues – is more impactful than news that is framed in a more big-picture or thematic fashion. (Iyengar, 1991) These latter studies are regarded as the most persuasive evidence that media frames do have an effect on how the audience perceives issues. (Gamson et al., 1992).

4.5.2 The constructionist approach

This study uses a constructionist approach to framing to analyse Boris Johnson's journalism. The origins of constructionism date back to the 1980s, when new research began to address how issues are constructed through media discourse in order to produce meaning. (Gamson, 1992b). This approach addresses how the mass media impact on the construction of social reality by framing issues in a familiar or "patterned" manner. (McQuail 1994, p. 331) Journalists form a central part of the process of meaning construction as they 1) contribute their own layers of meaning to events, and 2) create their own frames through a process of selection. (Van Thorp, 2010). In the discipline of political communication, constructionism is now central to both the definition and methodologies of framing. (Scheufele, 1999)

According to Reese (2001) the constructionist approach goes beyond organizing one story for an audience. It also leads the audience to draw on "cultural understandings" of the issue. One example is the Cold War frame (Entman, 1993), which calls to mind "a vast array of deeply rooted assumptions, and ways of understanding and depicting global relations." (Reese, 2001) Issues with deep roots in the public consciousness can enable social movements to "exploit" certain frames in order to mobilize support, by assigning meaning to particular events. (Reese, 2001; Snow and Benford, 1988)

This cultural approach to framing presents journalists with the power to define the terms of debate. (Tankard, 2001) Tankard (2001) likens it to "the magician's sleight of hand", directing the audience's attention to one point so the manipulation at another point goes unnoticed. (p. 97) By framing issues in one way the media can champion a viewpoint without their bias being visible to the audience. (Neuman, Just and Crigler, 1992)

Crucially "defining the terms of a debate takes one a long way toward winning it." (Tankard, 2001, p. 98) A shift in the way the media presents an issue can have profound political consequences. Lang and Lang's (1983) study of Watergate reveals how a media shift in the portrayal of Watergate – from a "caper" barely worthy of public attention to a national political scandal - resulted in a loss of public support for President Nixon.

Several factors combine together to make a constructionist approach an effective means for examining how opinion writing on Europe impacted upon Conservative elites. Firstly, this study examines an issue that is embedded in the historical culture of Conservative antipathy and ambiguity towards Europe. Secondly, this approach places elite sources or "frame sponsors" at the centre of the framing process, by creating the discourse on an issue and suggesting frames to journalists. (Van Gorp, 2010; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) Frame sponsors are external sources of influence, such as politicians, advocate groups, public relations firms, and advertisers – who compete to influence the frame selection of journalists. Finally, the constructionist approach places journalists at the centre of the framing process. It does this by recognising the importance of the news production process itself and the multiple structural factors involved in producing news discourse. (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) It also recognises the journalists' role in "meaning construction", which they do by drawing on a range of attitudes and beliefs which inform the way they interpret and shape their news content, thus adding their own frames in the process. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Kuypers, 2006) These factors all suggest a constructionist approach to framing, which takes account of the "shared repertoire of frames in culture" that links news production and consumption. (Van Gorp, 2007)

The work of Gamson and Lasch (1983), Gamson and Modigliani (1987, 1989), and Gamson (1992b) use a particular constructionist model that is the most appropriate for fulfilling this project's research objectives. They have designed an analytic framework that allows for a multi-layered contextual reading of media content. This framing approach works for issues that have a deep, cultural resonance with the audience, including social welfare (Gamson and Lasch, 1983), nuclear power (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989), affirmative action (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987), and the Arab-Israeli conflict (Gamson, 1992) Much like the issue of Europe, these issues are deeply rooted in culture. News discourse is analysed by breaking down text into various framing devices - such as

metaphors, catchphrases and exemplars - and reasoning devises, such as appeals to principle. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989)

4.5.3 How framing works: culture and embedded frames

The first step in identifying frames in news discourse is to understand the culture, beliefs, stereotypes, values and norms that are shared in society. (Zald, 1996; Van Gorp, 2007) The way an individual interprets frames is guided by particular mental frameworks or what Fiske and Taylor (1991) refer to as "schemata". Schemata are defined as "collections of organized knowledge" (Van Gorp, 2007) and are related to a person's experiences and emotional response to an issue. Schemata allow people to integrate new information into their existing knowledge bank, thus allowing them "to embed the news in a meaningful context." (Graber, 1984, p. 28) Frames – fixed in culture – and schemata interact to determine an individual's reading of a particular issue. (Van Gorp, 2007). These frames are in effect "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world." (Reese et al., 2001)

Frames, as part of culture, become embedded in media discourse and texts. (Van Gorp, 2007) Frames are embedded across a number of different traditions, including journalism, policy and the public domains. This "cultural stock of frames" exist independently of the individual and therefore cannot be changed by the individual. (Van Gorp, 2007) However, the social constructionist approach emphasises the role of the audience in interpreting media content. (Van Gorp, 2007) Using this approach, frames are defined as "conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret, and evaluate information." (Nueman, Just and Crigler, 1992, p. 60) The media provides the audience with a schema or frame for interpreting events. (Scheufele,, 1999) The audience then applies this frame to the news story because the news story as told by the journalist suggests a "cultural phenomena" that they are already familiar with. Yet this process of social construction of these frames is invisible. (Gamson et al, 1992) In other words, the frames are so much an implicit part of culture that "their impact is by stealth." (Van Gorp 2007, p. 63)

The reception of an issue in line with the frame embedded in the text reveals how the audience can follow the "preferred meaning" of the author. (Hall, 1980). However

frames can also produce unforeseen effects in an audience or "counter frames". (Scheufele, 2000, Van Gorp, 2007) The audience, as active interpreters, do not necessarily decode the frame in the manner intended by the journalist. People are not "cultural dopes" blindly adopting a frame's preferred meaning. (Hall, 1982) Yet the chances of a frame following the author's preferred meaning are considerably heightened if the frame is congruent to a person's mental schema. (Fiske and Taylor, 1991)

Media and individual frames (Scheufele, 1999) can only be triggered by social interaction. This refers to how journalists and sources interact and how the audience interacts with media content. Audiences build "a version of reality built from personal experience, interaction with peers, and interpreted selections from the mass media." (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 120) The degree to which the frame impacts on the receiver is determined by a host of factors, including interests and level of engagement with the issue. (Van Gorp, 2007, p. 63) When the central frame is a cultural theme, the way it resonates with the audience is greater. For example, a study on the interpretation of a rally by the Ku Klux Klan found that tolerance for the event varied depending on which frame was used, either a right to free speech frame, or a preservation of public order frame. Participants who viewed the free speech story expressed more tolerance for the Klan than participants who viewed the public order story. (Nelson et al, 1997)

Furthermore, frames can exert huge influence when a journalist interprets it using a term that is widely accepted in culture, such as "affirmative action". (Gamson, 1992) Using a different term can lead to the journalist losing credibility, and in this way, "the power of the frame can be as powerful as that of language itself." (Entman, 1993, p. 55) News frames can not only reflect cultural changes but also advance change in language use, as well as raise awareness. (Gamson, 1998, p. 60). The impact of a frame, therefore, relies on the extent to which it resonates with larger cultural themes. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Snow and Bedford, 1988) On Europe, a range of assumptions or cultural understandings underpins a "Eurosceptic discourse" in the British press. One study found that the use of particular phrases such as "Franco-German plot" trade on a "whole web of assumptions about foreigners, and in particular about German and French politicians, which appear in the British press at regular intervals." (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999) Johnson's work, embedded within the culture of the Conservative Party and its

ideologically aligned newspapers and magazines, speaks to an audience steeped in the language and culture of Euroscepticism and British exceptionalism. By drawing on these frames Johnson's journalism may well have influenced the receivers' interpretation.

4.5.4 News production and journalistic routines

A constructionist approach recognises the importance of news production and journalistic routines on the framing of issues, and the role of journalists in determining media content which in turn helps construct social reality. (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) This occurs in two ways. Firstly, journalists, as consumers of the wider culture, "contribute their own frames and invent their own clever catchphrases, drawing on popular culture that they share with their audience." (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) The second aspect of this revolves around the news production process. Factors including lobbying by advocate groups, organizational pressures and constraints, and journalistic routines may influence how journalists frame issues. (Scheufele, 1999) The net effect of this is the elevation of the role of the journalist as "a site…on which various social groups, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the definition and construction of social reality." (Gurevitch and Levy, 1985, p. 19)

The media is in effect an "arena" in which "social actors compete sponsoring their preferred frames." (Gamson et al 1992, p. 385) Journalists may adhere to the rules of objectivity and yet allow a dominant framing, determined by elite sources, to pervade news content. (Entman, 1989; Entman and Rojecki, 1993) In this way the frame in a news text can become "the imprint of power". (Entman, 1993, p. 55)

Frame sponsors can in this way "construct opinions and reality, and their societal influence to establish certain frames of reference." (Scheufele, 1999) Success or failure is measured by the extent to which their interpretation of an issue is adapted by the media. (Gamson et al, 1992 p. 385) When framing the story, the journalists' own schema and journalistic routines, along with their reliance on elite sources, ultimately lead them to make "frame confirming data more salient in the news text." (Entman, 1991, p. 8) But what affect does this have on public policy? Entman's 1991 study of US news narratives on two air incidents discovered that a dominant framing of issues is more likely to impact on policy.

Journalists also perform an important "gatekeeper" role, by selecting, writing and "massaging information" to become news. This selection process provides the lens through which the audience views the world. (Shoemaker, Vos and Reese, 2008) This selection and ordering of an issue in the news production process is an essential part of framing, as one of the key ways a frame becomes manifest in a text is through salience. (Entman, 1993) While the repetition of an issue does not guarantee its influence, just one mention of an issue in a text can be "highly salient". (Entman, 1993, p. 53)

4.5.5 Defining frames in culture: the interpretive packages approach

Van Gorp (2010) recognises the difficulties involved in reconstructing frames found in news content. However, it is possible to do so by examining the elements used by a journalist within the news story to refer to a frame. As we have seen, policy issues all have a particular set of ideas and symbols that interact together to construct meaning. (Gamson, 1992b) By combining together this set of ideas and symbols we can detect a frame, which is "the central organizing principle that gives coherence" to the various symbols. (Gamson et al, 1992, p. 384) Each frame found in news content are variously called 'frame packages' (Van Gorp) or 'interpretive packages'. (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Gamson and Modigliani, 1987, 1989; Gamson et al., 1992) Within each interpretive package, the structure and features of the news text reveal "organised symbolic devices" or "signifying devices" with cultural significance that interact with memory to create meaning. (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Gamson 1992b) The frame provides the structuring function of the text, directing the reader's attention to a particular narrative while restricting other perspectives. (Hall, 1980, Tuchman, 1978) The symbolic devices act as "tools" used by the journalist to make news discourse intelligible to a reader, and also to direct readers' attention to a particular frame. (Pan and Kosicki, 1993)

This project takes the approach adopted by Gamson and Lasch (1983) in their study of the social welfare issue, and Gamson and Modigliani's 1989 study on nuclear power. Based on this approach, each interpretive package has:

1. A central frame or organising idea at its core. Typically this frame reflects a range of positions – not a 'for' or 'against';
2. A list of core positions that suggest the central frame of the interpretive package; and

3. A group of eight signature elements that suggest the central frame. These signature elements are split into *framing* devices, and *reasoning* devices. Each of the five framing devices "suggest how to think about the issue". (Gamson and Lasch, 1983). The *framing* devices are: 1. metaphors; 2. exemplars (i.e., historical examples from which lessons are drawn); 3. catchphrases; 4. depictions; and 5. visual images (e.g., cartoons). Framing devices function as "demonstrable indicators" of the frame, and as such are clearly displayed in the text. (Van Gorp, 2010)

Reasoning devices "justify what should be done" about an issue. (Gamson and Modigliani 1989) Reasoning devices "emphasise, analyse and differentiate into parts… These devices are pieces of potential argument that one might make in justifying or arguing for a particular position on an issue." (Gamson and Lasch, 1983, pp. 398-9) The three reasoning devices are: 1. roots (i.e., causal analysis); 2. consequences (the type of effect); and 3. appeals to principle (moral claims). These reasoning devices do not have to be explicitly stated in the text, and can instead be arrived at by the reader's interpretation of the text based on their own schema. (Van Gorp, 2010) The presence of even one framing device can be enough to evoke complex cultural narratives. (Lippman 1922, 1997)

The core positions (see point 2, above) represent specific idea elements within each interpretive package. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) In their 1989 study of the nuclear issue, Gamson and Modigliani used a three-digit code that breaks packages down into core positions. This enables the coder to look for a specific idea "rather than making a global judgement on which package it represents." For instance, the *progress* package of the nuclear issue provides the core positions "Underdeveloped nations can especially benefit from peaceful uses of nuclear energy"; "Nuclear power is necessary for maintaining economic growth and our way of life", and "Nuclear power opponents are afraid of change". Having defined core positions or idea elements allows for a greater degree of reliability in the study and I have therefore used an identical strategy in this study.

In determining the interpretive package and core positions for each frame, a fundamental rule is that the issue statement – or definition of the package – would be accepted as fair by an advocate. Therefore, it is important to use the exact language of advocates and sponsors. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987)

Interpretive packages, in order to remain viable, must be able to construct meaning over time. This means that they must be able to incorporate new events and provide them with a meaning. "In effect, they contain a story line or…a scenario." (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) As we have seen, Gamson and Modigliani's nuclear "progress" package had to incorporate nuclear accidents like Three Mile Island and give it a meaning that is compatible with the central frame. (1989) Using this conception the frame is akin to a storyline or "unfolding narrative" about a particular issue. (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 385). In this way narratives "bring order to events by making them something that can be told about; they have power because they make the world make sense." (Mannoff, 1987).

Three factors combine together to produce interpretive package careers: cultural resonances, sponsor activities, and media practices. 1. Cultural resonances: The strength of a package depends on the extent to which it resonates with larger cultural themes. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) It can also be thought of as a "shared knowledge" or "ideological subtext" between journalist and reader. (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999; Fairclough, 1995) 2. Sponsor activities: packages often have frame sponsors, usually organisations that suggest "condensing symbols" (e.g., a catchphrase or metaphor) to a journalist, that "suggest the frame they want". A good example of this is the "falling domino" metaphor used to describe US President Lyndon Johnson's policy on Vietnam. (Gamson and Lasch, 1983). 3. Media practices: packages succeed if they fit within media norms and practices, including the prioritisation of official sources. Media discourse also helps its audience make sense of an issue as it "provides many of the essential tools" for doing so. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989, p. 10)

Finally the frames are reconstructed by representing each interpretive package in a signature matrix (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Van Gorp, 2005) In reconstructing the packages I have used a similar matrix structure to Gamson and Lasch (1983), with the interpretive package name, core position, framing devices and reasoning devices displayed across the columns, and the news item displayed in the rows. (See Appendix 3: Signature Matrix with findings). The full data findings also include key contextual detail in the columns, including the headline and a 'notes' column with a brief interpretation of Johnson's position, where warranted. (Creswell and Poth, 2018)

4.5.6 Constructing a frame matrix and the cultural stock of frames on Europe

A key issue in this project was determining the cultural stock of frames on Europe within the Conservative party and the right-wing press. (Gamson, 1992b) The EU has long been the subject of sustained media and political commentary. This discourse is carried out across a range of different platforms, from the Tory press, to Eurosceptic groups and in historiography on the Conservative party and Europe. Of particular importance is news discourse as the media is "a central part of the reality in which people negotiate meaning about political issues" and it is therefore vital to understand the central features of news discourse on Europe. (Gamson 1992b, p. 27) From this discourse we can determine the central organising frames and their core positions on Europe, and also the symbolic devices that cluster together to form these frames. (Gamson, 1992b)

Tankard has noted that "coming up with the names for frames itself involves a kind of framing". (Tankard 2001, p. 89.) There are two possible approaches to determining frames in news - an inductive approach, and a deductive approach. Working inductively news discourse is analysed with an open view to revealing frames. (Smetko and Valkenburg, 2000) A deductive approach involves pre-defining the frames, based on frames that are commonly used in news discourse on the subject. (Smetko and Valkenburg, 2000) In framing analysis, deductive strategies are commonly used. (Van Gorp, 2010) Using pre-defined frames presents distinct advantages for research. Firstly this approach offers a high degree of reliability between coders with Gamson and Modigliani (1989) recording an 80% coder agreement score. (Tankard, 2001) Secondly, Tankard (2001) found that a high level of reliability takes some of the subjectivity out of identifying frames. (p. 103) Thirdly, a deductive approach is regarded as the best means of analysing large samples. (Smetko and Valkenburg, 2000) Finally, using deductive strategies for identifying frames also allows for comparisons across studies and can lead to greater insights into how frames interact with journalists and policy makers. (Nisbet, 2009)

I have therefore followed a deductive approach in the first stage of research, basing the frames on themes found in historiography, academic literature on news discourse, and the content produced by Conservative advocacy groups, such as the Bruges Group. Having categorised three major areas of discourse on Europe, I then followed an inductive approach by analysing a subset of Boris Johnson's journalism to uncover other potential frames in his work.

4.5.7 Deductive phase: source material

Van Gorp (2005, 2007) and Tankard (2001) offer methodological guidelines for taking some of the subjectivity out of finding frames, along with techniques for validating the reliability of the results. (Van Gorp, 2010). One of the major procedural steps to ensure greater reliability is to use a wide range of source material to define the frames. In the first deductive phase a broad range of Conservative party material, Eurosceptic discourse from Tory "challenger" groups, academic books and journal articles were studied in order to determine the most commonly used frames on Europe. This analysis uncovered the key dimensions of Eurosceptic discourse.

Conservative party and Eurosceptic discourse: In seeking to define packages and their specific idea elements, I took into account the detailed rationale published in Gamson and Modigliani's 1987 study on affirmative action which says that packages or frames should be "culturally available". For their study they defined a package as culturally available if an organisation or advocacy group sponsored the issue. I have therefore examined work which is culturally available to Conservative party elites, including speeches, memoirs and historiography on the Conservative Party and Europe. I have also examined the work of two of the most important "challenger" Eurosceptic groupings within the Conservative Party, the Bruges Group and the European Research Group in the form of the work of Daniel Hannan, one of the ERG's founders and leading thinkers.

An analysis of this "challenger" Eurosceptic discourse reveals the re-occurrence of several key themes or frames. These themes emerge strongly in the work of Daniel Hannan (1993, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2010, 2011, 2012) and also Bill Jamieson (1994), who is considered one of the pioneers of the Eurosceptic movement. Key arguments focus on the dangers of greater European integration. These include: a) the high economic cost of Britain's membership of the EU, including the "burden" of the Common Agricultural Policy (Hannan, 2014, p. 21); b) the economic downsides of the EU's social policy (Jamieson, 1999, Hannan, 2014); c) the trammelling of UK laws and parliament by European institutions (Hannan 1996); d) how membership of the EU has distracted policy makers from undertaking crucial domestic reforms and pursuing "a low tax and social wage-cost regime" (Jamieson, 1993, p. 164); and e) failed EU immigration policies that allow new EU immigrants to claim benefits on arrival in Britain. (Hannan, 2014)

Academic texts: In defining frames I also noted works by academics who have written about Britain's relations with Europe and in particular the Conservative party and Europe (O'Rourke, 2018; Forster, 2002; Gifford, 2008; Young, 1998; Blake, 1998; Ramsden 1998) A number of themes on Europe emerge from these works. The first can be defined as an economic theme, and is based on the notion that Britain's free market ideals are at odds with the European Union's economic approach. (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 24) When Britain joined the EEC in 1973 it signed up to a protectionist Common Agricultural Policy. At the time, this policy accounted for 90% of the EEC's budget which Britain became a net contributor to in 1979. (Seidel, 2020) Both the budget contributions and the Common Agricultural Policy came to symbolise the deep fissures in Britain's relationship with the EC/EU. Efforts to recoup part of its budget contribution came to dominate EC summits in the 1980s, with Margaret Thatcher's constant demands for the return of "our money". (Moore, 2015) This demand reached its apogee in 2016 with Vote Leave's calls for the 'return' of British money to fund the NHS. Accelerated efforts to introduce a "social dimension" to the EC in the late 1980s further vexed Thatcher who regarded the move as a direct assault on Britain's free market principles. A second theme is negative perceptions of the EU Commission, which is regarded as unduly bureaucratic and burdensome on taxpayers, in terms of the costs involved and the "red tape" it creates for UK business. The single market, as Margaret Thatcher's enduring legacy, is regarded in a more positive light. (Young, 1998, p. 326)

The third is an "identity" theme. In *The Making of Eurosceptic Britain* Chris Gifford (2014) argues that issues with Britain's integration into Europe are a symptom Britain's residual imperialistic identity. (p. 171) Britain's history, according to historian Brendan Simms, "is primarily a continental story…her destiny was mainly determined by relations with the rest of Europe rather than the wider world." Yet Britain has traditionally set itself apart from its continental neighbours. Its global empire and victory in two world wars has "left its mark on British attitudes and interests". (O'Rourke, 2018) The debate within British elite circles prior to joining the EEC related to a perceived undermining of Britain's links to the Commonwealth, as well as what the British regarded as their 'special relationship' with the US. This notion of a British 'anglosphere' was reignited when the UK Independence Party called for closer ties with the Commonwealth. Membership of the EU is therefore perceived as undermining Britain's historic ties with the "Anglosphere" of

the Commonwealth and United States (O'Rourke, 2018) Deepening integration and the corresponding loss of sovereign power also emerge as strong themes. (O'Rourke, 2018, p. 175)

The fourth theme that emerges relates to power relations in Europe, particularly with regard to relations between Britain, France and Germany. This is often linked in European historiography and contemporary media accounts to Britain's decision not to seek membership of the EEC until 1960. By the time Britain joined, in 1972, it had to accept the entire corpus of EEC law which it had not contributed to, as well as supranational institutions, a common agricultural policy, and the principle of free movement of workers within the EEC. (Young, 1998)

News discourse studies: Although the national media is just one forum in which discourse on Europe takes place, it "dominates the terms on which the issue is discussed." (Gamson, 1992b, p.24) Scholarly studies examining how the news media frames Europe have therefore been analysed with a view to uncovering the major frames on Europe. (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999; Smetko and Valkenburg, 2000[12]; De Vreese, 2004, 2007; De Vreese et al., 2003, 2005, 2009, 2011) Using their findings as the basis of the frames for this study also provides greater reliability, as frames developed from scholarly work "gain validity and coherence from the previous theoretical work". (Tankard, 2001, p. 104)

The findings of Anderson and Weymouth's (1999) study of domestic media portrayals of the European Union in the year preceding the British general election of 1997 are of most relevance to this project, as their study focused on Euroscepticism in the press. Although their study focused on news that appeared over a short eight-week timeframe, it is significant in that it uncovers the "characteristic features" of Euroscepticism which pre-dated and post-date the time of analysis. (p. 61) This is because the very features of this discourse are underpinned by certain assumptions, many of them derived from traditional perceptions of British identity and ideology. One is a "Whig-Imperialist" view that regards Britain as "imperial, oceanic, discoverers of the secrets of free government and gradual

[12] Smetko and Valkenburg (2000) investigated the presence of five commonly used news frames in European journalism, namely attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality. They found that broadsheet or "serious" newspapers most often used the responsibility and conflict frames in the presentation of news.

progress." (Marquand, 1995, p. 186) This imperial attitude has dominated thinking in Britain since 1945, despite the loss of empire and Britain's consequent diminished global standing. The "unravelling" of this Whig imperialist underpinning has left a "vacuum of language" (Marquand, 1995, p. 189) and, argue Anderson and Weymouth, "a vacuum of feeling with regard to Europe." (p. 7) In the absence of a discourse on Europe, a Eurosceptic identity has taken shape around "a negative response and closure to Europe in certain key domains". (p. 5)

These domains, as Anderson and Weymouth (1999) define them, include: 1. Economic - this relates to the threat posed by the single currency which would see Britain's economy subsumed under the authority of a central bank directed by and located in Germany. It also regards Europe as a drain on British resources. 2. Political – Britain's unique parliamentary democracy is threatened by the non-elected bureaucracy of the European Commission. 3. Ideological – Britain's traditional "non-doctrinaire pragmatism", a key feature of its political stability, is threatened by European strands of radical republicanism which inform European political thinking. The Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty is the most obvious manifestation of these tendencies. 4. Military – Military integration threatens Britain's national security and the role of NATO in guaranteeing that security. 5. Religion – Britain is "a founder member of a community of Protestant nation states. Europe is the source of popery and the anti-Christ." (p. 8).

Using a critical discourse analysis perspective, their study revealed the characteristic themes of Eurosceptic discourse in the Tory press. Eurosceptic discourse was mainly in evidence in the *Mail,* the *Sun*, the *Express, The Times*, and the *Telegraph*. A strongly ideological content in some of the discourse was evident. The *Telegraph* displayed a "profound mistrust" of moves towards further European integration. Measures such as European Monetary Union and the Social Chapter were strongly opposed. Phrases such as "flimsiness" "sclerotic" and "diktats" were used to describe aspects of EU sponsored legislation (pp. 72-73). Disarray among member states over aspects of a common foreign policy was emphasised. The analysis also revealed a suspicion of France's intentions and an anti-Germanic theme as "an integral element" of its Euroscepticism. (1999, p.75) EU officials were routinely called "bureaucrats", stressing their unelected status, and articles frequently drew attention to interventions "which allegedly threaten

British freedoms", including various bans on certain food stuffs. In sum, they discovered that the major themes of this Eurosceptic discourse were: economic; political; and historico-cultural. (p. 63)

4.5.8 Findings: Deductive phase

Based on Anderson and Weymouth's 1999 findings, and supported by literature on Europe, three major frames on Europe were identified – economic, political and historico-cultural. All three themes are capable of encompassing both 'for' and 'against' positions, a crucial aspect of frame definition. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989)

The economic arguments were:

- the negative consequences of the single currency;
- the downsides for British industry of signing up for the Social Chapter and other EU social legislation;
- the economic downsides for EU members as they sought to meet the Maastricht criteria for European Monetary Union;
- It also emphasised the increased unrest in member states arising from efforts to meet EMU criteria.

The political arguments were:

- Effect on British sovereignty of joining EMU;
- Effects on British sovereignty of EU interventions;
- Effectiveness of EU institutions on intergovernmental cooperation, particularly in areas of foreign policy and defence;
- The overall effectiveness of the EU as a political system.

The 'historico-cultural' arguments were:

- Consequences of activities of other EU member states, in particular Germany, with its historically expansionist ambitions;
- Effects of the EU on Britain's freedom to act independently on a range of issues.

4.5.9 Inductive phase: The Johnson data set

As Johnson's work has not been analysed previously in scholarship, an inductive phase was needed to fully capture his ideas. The first step in this process was to determine the extent to which the frames found in the deductive phase matched his work. This involved an analysis of a subset of the Johnson archive. Arising from this analysis, a new frame was added. The major framing and reasoning devices that define each of the frames were also identified.

The first task was to determine which aspects of Johnson's work should be included in this study. During his time as Brussels Correspondent from 1989 until 1994, Johnson filed four types of pieces for the *Telegraph* – news reports, European summit sketches or colour pieces, news analysis reports, and opinion columns. In the second period, from 1994 until 2016, he wrote a weekly column for the *Daily Telegraph*. A search of Johnson's news reports and opinion columns on Europe in the *Daily Telegraph* up until 2000 resulted in 1,726 articles. A further search from 2000 up until the Brexit referendum date of June 23, 2016 resulted in a further 65 opinion columns with the EU and Britain as a topic.

In determining which stories to analyse, I considered Van Gorp's definition that framing is not about the core facts of a news event, but about what selections the journalist has made. (Van Gorp, 2010) Van Gorp suggests that "manifest elements" in a text – the framing devices such as metaphors, catchphrases and depictions – can help identify a frame. (p.91) Reasoning devices, such as an appeal to principle or in Entman's definition "a route of causal reasoning which may be evoked" can also help identify a particular frame. (Van Gorp, 2010) In sum, identifying the framing and reasoning devices in a text can indicate the presence of a frame. These devices function as "demonstrable indicators" of the frame, and as such are clearly displayed in the text. (Van Gorp, 2010).

On this basis, the full range of news stories, feature articles and opinion columns authored exclusively by Boris Johnson were read with a view to finding demonstrable indicators of a frame. News reports that simply conveyed core facts – which are in Van Gorp's view considered "frameless", as the journalist can only convey the basic facts of a story – were excluded from analysis, as they lacked the essential "demonstrable indicators" necessary to indicate the presence of a frame. These typically-brief news reports represented a substantial cohort of the Johnson archive. Co-authored news stories were

also excluded, as it was not possible to ascribe frames within these stories exclusively to Johnson. The remaining news articles and opinion columns were then assessed with a view to determining the presence of the demonstrable indicators of the frames identified in both the deductive and inductive phases. Not every article had all the reasoning and causal devices suggested by Gamson and Modigliani. But just one reasoning device can be enough to determine a frame. Articles without any demonstrable indicators were excluded. The remaining 386 articles, which revealed the presence of the frames identified in these phases, were then analysed in full.

Once this task was completed, a subset of Johnson's work from 1990-1991 was chosen for analysis in order to complete the frame reconstruction process. This analysis of Johnson's work revealed several re-occurring themes.

4.5.10 Findings: Inductive phase

1. **Deepening integration:** Johnson's suspicion of deepening European integration is evidenced by his repeated use of condensing symbols that portray political union in a negative light. For example, catchphrases such as "the dreaded F-word" (i.e., federalism), and "the United States of Europe".
2. **The European Union operates largely for the benefit of France and Germany.** Once again condensing symbols are used to conjure negative images of both countries, as well as playing to stereotypes of German plans for dominance in Europe. For example, catchphrases such as the "Franco-German axis", and "the Fatherland" (to describe Germany). Politicians, most notably Jacques Delors ("the Beelzebub of Brussels") are depicted as untrustworthy and zealously committed to political union.
3. **Threats to British sovereignty:** A frequent theme in Johnson's work is the threat posed by European institutions to British sovereignty. The single currency is framed as a threat to Westminster's powers.
4. **The EC's budget:** The main critique of the budget revolves around the EU's large spend on the Common Agricultural Policy. A secondary critique revolves around notions that "rich" Northern European countries, in particular Britain and Germany, are paying too much in supports (through regional funds) for the poorer economies of Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Greece.

5. **The EU's bureaucracy:** Johnson portrays the European Commission and its regulations as excessively interfering and burdensome on British taxpayers and industry.
6. **The EU's social policies:** Johnson writes about the creeping socialisation of EU laws, in particular the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty and the 48-hour working time directive.
7. **Threats to the Anglosphere**: Attempts to set up an armed EU defence force are portrayed as a threat to the Atlantic relationship and in particular to NATO.
8. **Immigration**: On the subject of immigration, two narratives appear in Johnson's work. The first views immigration as a sovereignty issue, with membership meaning Britain is unable to control EU migration. The second narrative revolves around the benefit to Britain of allowing more immigration.

This phase of research also involved making "an inventory of empirical indicators" that contribute to how the text is interpreted. (Van Gorp, 2010) This involved listing the framing and reasoning devices used in discourse on Europe across both the deductive and inductive phases, which are presented below in Figure 1: Interpretive Packages on Europe. These framing and reasoning devices were then linked to different core positions on Europe.

4.6 Conclusions: deductive and inductive phases

In summary, three major frames on Europe were defined in the deductive phase. These three frames were economic, political and historico-cultural. Each frame encompassed a range of different positions or arguments. An analysis of Johnson's articles in the inductive phase lead to a modification of these frames. In particular, the issue of the single currency was frequently framed in his articles as a threat to sovereignty, and therefore moved from an economic to a political framing. The third historico-cultural frame, identified in the deductive phase, was reframed to more accurately reflect the themes found in Johnson's work. This became a new 'power relations' or what I have termed a 'plot' frame. This frame encompasses issues relating to perceptions that the European Union is run for the benefit of France and Germany, at Britain's expense, and ties in with 'plot' themes evident in UK news discourse. (Anderson and Weymouth, 1999) A new frame was also added. In Johnson's articles, EU policies that undermined Atlantic or Commonwealth relations

were framed as threats to identity and are therefore classed as core positions within a new 'identity' frame.

The final interpretive packages took shape around four major frames:

1) 'The Loss of British Sovereignty': discourse on the loss of British sovereignty and the undermining of British political institutions;
2) 'The Threat to Liberal Free Markets': discourse on the economic effects of EU membership;
3) 'The Plot Against Britain': discourse on power relations which is often viewed through the lens of a "plot" against Britain, driven by France and Germany;
4) 'The Threat to British Identity': discourse on identity issues and the threats posed by membership of the EU to British self-perceptions and international alliances including NATO.

Details of each interpretive package, including the full range of core positions, and the framing and reasoning devices, are presented below.

A Signature Matrix, the structure of which is based on Gamson and Lasch's (1983) study of welfare, was then constructed. (See Appendix C) The news item is displayed in the rows. Across the columns the following information appears: the interpretive package name and its core frame or definition, the core position, the framing devices (metaphor, exemplar, catchphrase, depiction) and the reasoning devices (roots, consequences, and appeals to principle). Two additions were made to the matrix. In the first place, a 'context' column was added for key information such as the headline and a brief synopsis. Secondly, a 'notes' column was added for analysis. According to Yin (2009), note-taking is an important principle of case study research as it allows another reader to follow evidence from the initial research question through to conclusions.

Each of Johnson's 386 articles was then read in detail to identify the framing and reasoning devices. Detail of each element was noted in the matrix. The article was then categorised within the corresponding interpretive package and the core position within each

package was assigned. The full findings are available in Appendix C: Signature Matrix with findings.

Once the interpretive packages and signature matrix were in place, a second coder was trained and applied the coding procedures to a subset of Johnson's work. This process was undertaken to validate and ensure greater reliability across the findings. Once this phase was completed, the second coder's reliability sample was incorporated into the coding of the full sample. The findings from this intercoder reliability process are presented in Appendix A.

Table 1. The Plot Against Britain Interpretive Package

Package	THE PLOT AGAINST BRITAIN
Core frame	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.
Core positions	The 'Franco-German axis' is driving the EC and trying to isolate Britain
	The German drive towards integration is driven by its "historic thirst for expansion"
	Certain politicians are zealously committed to political union and cannot be trusted
Metaphors	The Gallic cockerel "ruling the roost in Frankfurt for the next 12 years.' The Maastricht Treaty as "a monster, devouring its own tail." 'The name of the beast is Jacques Delors and his number – in case anyone needs reminding – is 1992."
Exemplars	"all the most outrageous directives" are foisted on EC by France "from VAT to sausages to hot water boilers" 'A Brussels FBI'
Catchphrases	"Franco-German plot" "Franco-German axis" "the Franco-German stitch up" "The Beelzebub of Brussels" (Jacques Delors)
Depictions	Delors as "emperor of Europe"

	"The currency will not be run by prudent bankers, but by irascible French politicians, craven Germans and the Orwellian double-speak of the Brussels fudge." "German influence is again strong enough to give one pause….It is clear where power lies."
Roots	EU's roots lie in Hitler's idea for a European Economic Community for subject territories, formulated in 1942.
Consequences	"The future of Europe is again so manifestly in German hands…" If Delors were to remain in office the EC will continue down the road to federalism, the extension of workers' rights and "other embarrassments."
Appeals to principle	"Someone needs to stand up to Franco-German bullying." "Britain will work with the new Germany, to the advantage of both countries."

Table 2. The Loss of British Sovereignty Interpretive Package

Package	THE LOSS OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY
Core frame	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to supranational institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that are not in the interests of the British people.
Core Positions	The Commission, the European Court of Justice and European institutions are taking too much power from Westminster
	The single currency is a threat to sovereignty
	Immigration: Britain must take back control of its borders
	Britain will be relegated to a second tier EU nation if it does not embrace greater integration
Metaphors	"The Germany monetary Gulliver must be lashed down." Immigration issue as a "time bomb." European parliament as a "Frankenstein's monster of democracy." Britain left on the outside "with its nose pressed against the windowpane." "Majority voting is the dry rot in the timbers of sovereignty. It spreads."
Exemplars	EC laws on everything from the minimum permissible width of condoms to the maximum permissible odour of farmyard compounds.
Catchphrases	"United States of Europe"

	"Euro-superstate" The "f-word" [federalism] "We will fight them in the bistros"
Depictions	Britain being "overwhelmed" by immigrants The European central bank as "the tower of power in Frankfurt."
Roots	The Maastricht Treaty/ European Constitution
Consequences	British MPs "have been made to look impotent by Brussels; mere ornaments of a nation with nothing left but heritage."
Appeals to principle	"We either begin the 20-year delayed task of explaining to the British people that they have been enmeshed into a superstate in which their leaders are of no account. Or else, with great regret, we begin the whole process of getting out." 'Given that, for Britain, the treaty's most noxious elements have been purged, Britain will find it has little choice but to proceed – with caution."

Table 3. The Threat to Liberal Free Markets Interpretive Package

Package	THE THREAT TO LIBERAL FREE MARKETS
Core frame	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.
Core Positions	The Social Chapter will hamper UK manufacturing and represents a "socialist way of thinking"
	British taxpayers are footing the bill for Europe's bloated bureaucracy
	Britain, as a rich nation, is paying too much in handouts to support poorer nations and the wasteful CAP
	The EU's protectionist policies are a threat to Thatcherite free-market principles
	Britain will benefit from the single market as it will reduce prices for consumers, increase employment, and raise living standards.
	Britain would be better off out of the EU
Metaphors	"Britain has slain the dragon of the social chapter."
Exemplars	"anti-pong laws" "smell-factor laws" Lawn-mower noise restrictions The banning of prawn cocktail flavour crisps

	Child car-seat laws
Catchphrases	"budgetary shenanigans" Brussels as "the gravy train"
Depictions	European Commission as a "bureaucratic fortress of madness." The EU as "systemically corrupt, and if anything, getting worse."
Roots	Prime Minister Edward Heath signed the Act of Accession on Jan 22, 1972, confirming Britain's membership of EEC. Thatcher signing the Single European Act in 1986, which paved the way for the single market.
Consequences	Johnson warns Europe "will now try full-bore to create an economic government of Europe' using the single-market institutions, in a way that will inevitably drag us in – and for which the UK taxpayer will end up paying. This 'political union' will be both horrifically anti-democratic and expensive; for us, too."
Appeals to principle	Britain must "begin the work that France has so far refused, and undo the evil of the CAP." "…the only way to take back control is to vote Leave on June 23."

Table 4. The Threat to British Identity Interpretive Package

Package	THE THREAT TO BRITISH IDENTITY
Core frame	The issue is that as an island nation with historic links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.
Core Positions	The European project represents a threat to a perceived "British way of life"
	Membership of the EU undermines Britain's historic ties with the "Anglosphere" of the Commonwealth and United States
	A Catholic ethos underpins some EC Commission policy which is at odds with Britain's Anglican tradition
	Immigration: Britain will benefit from immigration.
Metaphors	"NATO is about to collapse like a soufflé in the rain"
Exemplars	A "new Brussels law on sexual equality could mean some Oxford colleges abandoning the teaching of scripture."

	Italy's 'have a baby' directive
Catchphrases	"Euro-spirituality"
Depictions	Delors as "a religious man, praying so often before commission meetings that officials say 'Delors is my shepherd'" "The Brits: we're the biggest load of bloody foreigners on earth. It's been good for us, and on the whole it's been good for the world."
Roots	EU trade jeopardising Commonwealth links Moves towards foreign/defence pact in Europe risk jeopardising the Atlantic alliance
Consequences	The Commission is increasingly moving into areas well beyond its remit including in some cases people's behaviour.
Appeals to principle	"I believe that we in western Europe have a historic choice in the next few years, and that we can be visionary, or we can funk it. We can either turn our backs on the Turks, and declare openly or in code that a Muslim country, no matter how secular, may not be admitted to Europe. Or else we can show courage and leadership and begin the great task of the modern age, effecting a reconciliation between moderate Islam and the West, by bringing one of the largest and most powerful Muslim nations into the EU."

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter sets out the rationale for examining Boris Johnson's journalism as a critical case study. These are: a) his membership of elite networks; c) credible reports of the influence of his journalism on Conservative Party MPs and media coverage of Europe; d) his dual role as a journalist/politician; d) evidence that he was a key factor in the 2016 Brexit vote; and e) the media outlets he worked for.

This chapter also sets out the methodologies for the examination of Johnson's work, by means of semi-structured interviews and framing analysis. The project takes a constructionist approach to framing to explore how the political world is framed by elites who seek to influence journalists to frame issues in a particular way, in order to influence other members of the elite. Using this approach I identified the cultural stock of frames on Europe from a close reading of the relevant literature to reconstruct frame or interpretive packages. This included material from advocacy groups aligned to the Conservative

parliamentary party, academic texts on Britain's relationship with Europe, and news discourse studies. Anderson and Weymouth's 1999 study proved of particular importance in determining the stock of frames that regularly appear in the pages of the right-wing press. Three major frames emerged – economic, political and historico-cultural.

A further inductive analysis of Boris Johnson's work lead to a modification of these frames to include a new 'power relations' or 'plot' frame, and an 'identity' frame. Each of these four positions – political, economic, power relations and identity – became the four major interpretive packages, each of which has a range of core position, framing devices and reasoning devices. Based on these findings, a Signature Matrix was then constructed and Johnson's 386 articles were analysed (See Appendix C). The findings from this analysis are presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5 How Boris Johnson framed Europe, 1989-94

5.1 Introduction

This chapter tracks how Boris Johnson, over the course of his five years as Brussels correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, constructed Europe through his journalistic discourse, detailing the way in which he interpreted unfolding events through four major frames or interpretive packages.

Johnson took up his post in Brussels at a tumultuous time. Major events, including the fall of the Berlin Wall, pushed Europe centre stage. Closer to home the issue of Europe was behind a growing schism within the Conservative Party. Margaret Thatcher was under intense pressure from within her cabinet to join the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. Her refusal to do so would lead to Chancellor Nigel Lawson's resignation from cabinet in October, 1989. The early years of Johnson's time in Brussels were therefore marked by growing domestic conflict over Europe.

During Johnson's time in Brussels the most commonly recurring interpretive package or frame he used in discourse on Europe was 'The Threat to British Sovereignty.' Out of a total of 237 articles analysed covering his Brussels years, the 'Sovereignty' interpretive package occurred a total of 114 times. This was followed by 'The Threat to Liberal Free Markets' package which appeared 70 times. 'The Plot against Britain' appeared 48 times, and 'The Threat to British Identity' just five times. The detailed findings of each interpretive package are set out below.

5.2 The Loss of British Sovereignty

The 'Sovereignty' interpretive package embodies the idea that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that are not in the interests of the British people. Of the four core positions, the 'Westminster' theme – that the Commission, the European Court of Justice and European Institutions are taking too much power from Westminster – dominated Johnson's discourse, appearing on 78 separate occasions. This peaked in 1991, with 32 separate articles adopting a 'Westminster' core position, reflecting a steady focus in Johnson's work on the outcome of the Maastricht

Treaty negotiations. Twelve articles adopted a 'single currency' core position, representing the notion that monetary union represents a threat to sovereignty. In a signal of Johnson's more positive view of the European project, the 'Embrace Integration' core position, arguing that Britain risked being relegated to a second tier EU nation if it does not embrace integration, occurred 10 times. This core position all but disappeared after 1994. The 'Control Immigration' core position appeared in 14 articles.

Several key developments in Europe triggered the sovereignty theme in Johnson's writing. These are: the drive to monetary union; the Maastricht negotiations and deepening European integration; the growing powers of the European Parliament, and moves towards developing a joint European foreign policy.

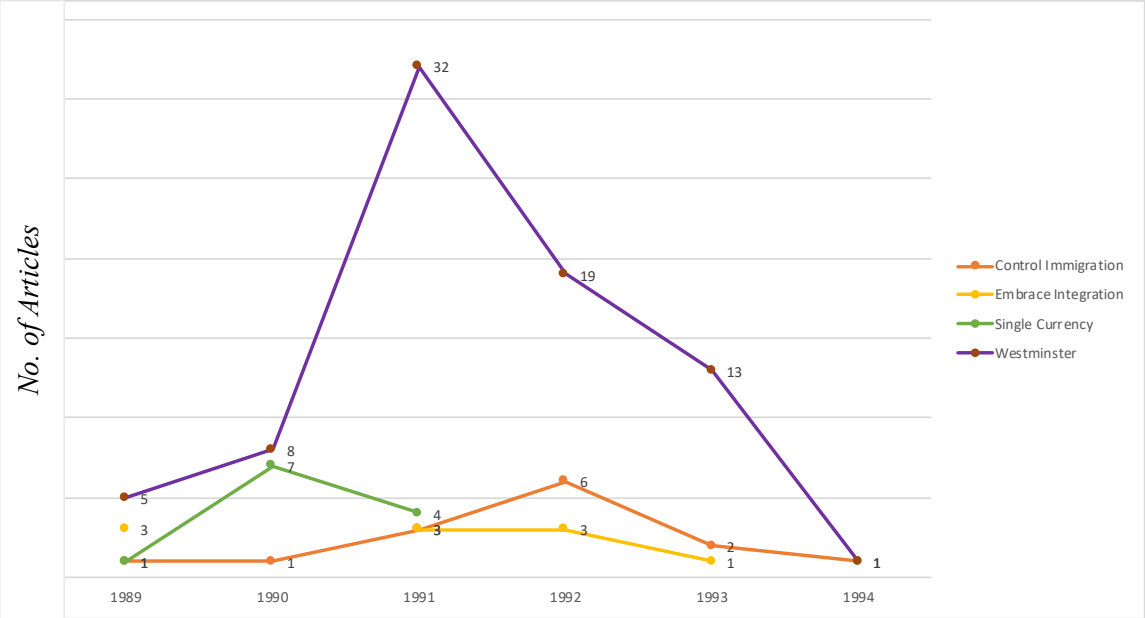

Figure 1. The Loss of British Sovereignty, 1989-94

5.2.1 The Westminster core position

The growing power of European institutions

Throughout his time in Brussels, Johnson used attacks on European institutions to press home the threat they pose to Westminster's power. Some of Johnson's most withering critiques were directed at the European Parliament and the European Commission.

Johnson, who was not then a convert to the climate cause, depicted Europe's MEPs as anti-business environmentalists, wasting taxpayers' money wining and dining across the capitals of Europe. Samples of Johnson's critiques include a September 1989 article warning that the European Parliament is "set to lurch left and go green" in that month's elections. (Johnson, 1989b) The Parliament's environment committee was populated by eccentric zealots, according to Johnson, one of whom "showed his green credentials…by sailing a raft across the Atlantic while surviving on nothing but the juice of flying fish." Johnson surmised that the European Parliament should deal with its own "wastefulness" first and tackle "the expense account merry-go-round" once and for all. Johnson wrote of "Strasbourg waiters vying to dispense the greatest number of champagne bottles to the Euro-MPs' tables". Ultimately what Johnson characterised as the "Euro-socialism" and greening of the European Parliament would hurt British business, as the European parliament used its powers "to put a Green twist on everything that comes its way". In February 1992 he branded the parliament "the California of environmental and moral legislation", following news that it planned to call for animals to be legally re-classified as "sentient beings". (Johnson, 1992j) Johnson included a quote from an "EC legal expert" who claimed: "It means you've got to consult a chicken before you kill it. You've got to hold a sort of cow plebiscite about abattoirs."

The major line of attack was the threat posed by both institutions to sovereign power. In March 1990 Johnson accused the Strasbourg parliament of planning to "multiply its powers at the expense of national governments" in order to gain "control of a more united Europe". (Johnson, 1990c) Johnson raised the spectre of Britain being "forced" to accept majority voting which he noted would mean losing veto powers over tax and social policy.

Johnson often framed changes in the Commission pipeline – even those not yet at legislative stage – as direct assaults on Westminster's powers. There is a constancy and force to these attacks, which use emotive language and memorable metaphors to conjure notions of encroaching Brussels' power. In September 1989, a major feature article painted a negative picture of Britain "engaged in a substantial transfer – whether you choose to call it 'pooling' or 'surrender' – of national sovereignty." Johnson lamented that: "…we are

now rushing to sell our constitutional birth right for an interminable lunch in Brussels." He added, however, that this transfer of powers was in many ways "the right course." (Johnson, 1989d).

Like every journalist Johnson used 'pegs' for his work – real events that allowed him to shape this narrative about the Commission's ambitions. A speech by the Commission President Jacques Delors at the College of Europe in Bruges in 1989 was little more than "a veiled attack on the Thatcherite enterprise culture," wrote Johnson. (Johnson, 1989g) In early 1990 he accused the Commission president of plotting to create an "embryonic government of Europe" with a "federal authority in Brussels". The plan would, he claimed, "increase the powers of the Brussels Commission", take power from Westminster, and see an increase in the EEC budget. The relationship between "Brussels and Bonn" is depicted emotively as "collusion" in the creation of a "United Europe". (Johnson, 1990a)

In January 1990, Johnson returned to the Westminster core position with a story about Delors' plans for an increase in the EC budget to accommodate expansion to the east. (Johnson, 1990b) Weaving commentary into this news piece, Johnson claimed that the plan "dovetails perfectly with [Delors'] ambition…to turn the 17 commissioners into a proto-type European government, based in Brussels, accountable to the European parliament rather than Westminster." One unattributed source is quoted as saying of Delors: "He must be out of his mind." The language Johnson used in this news piece is worthy of note as it crosses the fine line between reporting fact and commentary. This article reflects how Johnson was pushing the boundaries of his reporting on EC affairs.

A Westminster core position is again very much in evidence in an article in April 1990 claiming that European community leaders "are to commission a blueprint…of full-scale political union in Europe", with a "European cabinet" headed up by Jacques Delors. (Johnson, 1990d) This highly speculative piece is based on "a paper tabled by Belgium" which Johnson said would form part of the basis for discussions on political union. If this paper were implemented Johnson warned that new laws on taxation and "workers' rights" could be passed by majority votes. These were red letter issues for Conservative Party Eurosceptics.

In July 1990 the Single European Act was the peg for another Commission-bashing story. (Johnson, 1990g) According to the article the European Parliament and the Commission were pursuing their "vision of a federal Europe" through the free market, using the powers vested in the SEA. In a statement bound to send shivers down the spines of Eurosceptics, Johnson claimed that the SEA had even been compared to Magna Carta. Later in the year Johnson wrote that Britain's veto was under attack from the Commission. (Johnson, 1990o) The end result could be a "Federation of Europe" or a "superstate" with "the Brussels Commission" as the executive government.

1991: Deepening integration and the road to Maastricht

The 'Westminster' core position is by far the most commonly found core position in Johnson's 1991 work on the negotiations leading up to Maastricht. Phrases that regularly appeared in his news reports and opinion pieces include "United States of Europe", "Euro-superstate", "pan-European government", "the dreaded f-word" (for federalism), "the imperium of Brussels", and in one case, "the rape of national sovereignty". In May 1991 Johnson wrote that several provisions giving the EC "powers over ordinary life" had been provisionally written into the Treaty of Rome. (Johnson, 1991j) These new provisions, claimed Johnson, covered everything from the environment, education, energy policy, and the promotion of European cultural heritage. He concluded: "…the picture has been completed of what could be a future 'superstate', substantially run [from] Brussels."

A month later Johnson warned that EC leaders had asked Britain to commit to a "United States of Europe". Johnson interpreted this as a "system in which the national unit ceases to be the supreme political force." Under this "federal" system he warned that the Commission and European parliament would become "the prototype of a pan-European government." (Johnson, 1991r)

Johnson continued to emphasise a sovereignty frame in his coverage of the European Council meeting in Luxembourg in June. The meeting, he warned, would be nothing less than "an ambush" of Major, with European leaders meeting for "a secret supper 'conclave'" to discuss the creation of a "Euro-superstate". (Johnson, 1991t) Johnson warned of a new threat, or as he put it, "the latest hissing monster to proceed from the pen of M Jacques Delors" – unicity, a "centralising concept" meaning EC governments

should not decide on foreign or security policy and judicial cooperation "without first consulting the Brussels commission and the Euro-parliament".

On the ground, Johnson conveyed the idea that British negotiators were being ambushed by their European counterparts. The Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was, he reported, "heckled and booed by a thousand striking Eurocrats…a foretaste, doubtless, of life when power is concentrated in Brussels." Meanwhile the foreign office minister Tristan Garel-Jones was struggling to "slay the "F-word" and save Mr Major from being mugged at the EC summit." Johnson laid down a marker for Major: he must not agree "to anything that erodes the ancient prerogatives of the House of Commons." (Johnson, 1991t)

British hopes of putting a brake on integration receded further when the Dutch assumed the EC presidency in July. In September Johnson wrote a number of articles under the Westminster core position that voiced concerns about their "radical blueprints for a federal Europe." (Johnson, 1991b2) The Dutch draft treaty for political union would "strengthen the power of the Brussels commission and the European parliament at the expense of Westminster." (Johnson, 1991z) In effect it would create "a new EC centred for eternity on the Brussels institutions [and] would pave the way for a federal government of Europe." (Johnson, 1991g2)

Maastricht: Nov-Dec. 1991

As the Maastricht European Council meeting loomed, Johnson conveyed strong levels of distrust in Britain's negotiators and the intentions of the Dutch. On the 17th of November he wrote that although he and other journalists were "overpowered by sleep when attempting to absorb the latest 135-page Dutch draft treaty on 'political union'", he had finally managed to "piece together the full story of a sell-out." (Johnson, 1991s2) The Dutch, he claimed, now wanted to give the European Parliament the right in some limited areas "to veto decisions of governments". But rather than standing up to them, Johnson accused Britain's chief negotiators Douglas Hurd and Tristan Garel Jones of "bartering away 700 years of the British parliamentary system like so many buttons." He also dismissed the opt-out protocol on EMU negotiated by the British government as "practically worthless but an important piece of theatre for Mr Major's backbenchers." (Johnson, 1991x2)

With just days to go until the summit, Johnson continued to focus on the threat posed by the European Parliament to Westminster. Johnson claimed that the Germans, in return for monetary union, were pushing for more powers for "the mother-in-law of parliaments – ridiculed, resented, and with an increasing tendency to butt in." (Johnson, 1991w.3) Johnson painted a damning portrait of Europe's MEPs wasting and possibly misappropriating taxpayers' money, noting that:

> …the antics of Europe's representatives have provided a rich spectacle: champagne waiters vying to replenish glasses in the chandeliered restaurants of the Alsatian city; Euro-MPs sunning themselves during mysterious 'group meetings' in exotic destinations from Crete to the Dutch Antilles: the whole tribe somehow 'losing' £12 million of taxpayers' money on their personal expense forms.

EC directives

Johnson's news reports on EC directives were, for the most part, framed under a 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' interpretive package. But occasionally he switched to the 'Sovereignty' package to remind readers of the threat to Westminster's powers that lay behind directives that "now seem to govern every aspect of our European life."

One example followed a 1992 speech by Prince Charles in Paris, that included a remark about the EC's "bacteriological police". Johnson used Prince Charles' remarks as the springboard for an attack on "infernal cheese-banning EC busybodies", "Euro-lunacy" and "EC pettifoggery". (Johnson, 1992l). Johnson railed against regulations "that now seem to govern every aspect of our European life", decrying the "idiocy" of directives produced by the Commission's "awesome legislative arsenal":

> Is it really possible, on those grounds [harmonisation], to justify the Euro-condom? Or the ruling that carrots are fruit, or that good British ice-cream, chocolate and sausages could not be properly so-called? Or that village halls should pay VAT, or that newspaper boys should not be under 16, or that every licence plate in the EC should carry the 12 stars?

In May 1993 Johnson wrote that "Brussels bureaucrats" had almost doubled the 280 "Euro-laws" needed to make the single market work. (Johnson, 1993g) "The five-volume blockbuster takes the reader on a tour of human existence," he wrote. "British government officials defended the riot of law-making yesterday." Johnson listed examples of the new laws – including the "dozens of directives on car windscreens, tyre pressure and

exhaust fumes," rules on the "marketing of rodents", and the strict controls on wine cork quality. There was also "the three historic directives on lawnmower noise…. Among their amazing stipulations is that 'lawn-mowers with a cutting width exceeding 47.2 inches shall indicate the sound-pressure level in decibels per pound at the operator's position'." Johnson warned that the EU was planning 460 separate pieces of new legislation, each of which must be implemented in full in Britain.

European foreign policy and Yugoslavia

The prospect of Europe assuming greater powers over foreign affairs was a major contributor to Johnson's negative coverage of the EC. Occasionally Johnson framed this issue under a 'Plot' package (Johnson, 1991o,), but more often it was framed as a threat to sovereignty under the Westminster core position.

The 'Plot' packaged featured in the framing of an article in May 1991, when Johnson accused the French of "perverting" the Common Market by pushing for a defence pact to rival NATO. (Johnson, 1991o) Later that year he again accused the French and Germans of being behind a "plot" to form a Europe-only defence pact and a joint foreign policy. (Johnson, 1991n2) "What lies behind the "Franco-German move," he surmised, is "a blatant attempt to restore the two nations' accustomed dominance of the European political landscape." His use of phrases such as "Franco-German tactics" appear designed to evoke particular emotional responses in readers.

EC-sponsored peace talks, aimed at brokering a ceasefire in Yugoslavia, were framed by Johnson as an issue of national sovereignty. (Johnson, 1991v) When EC foreign ministers agreed to send a force of diplomatic and military personnel to monitor the ceasefire, Johnson quoted "jubilant" members of the Commission hailing it as a "victory for European federalism". (Johnson, 1991w) Later that year Johnson wrote that Britain faced intense pressure to give way on its veto powers over foreign policy. (Johnson, 1991m2) Behind the move was France, claimed Johnson, which wanted other countries to be bound "by the will of Europe". (Johnson, 1991m2) Surrendering the veto is unthinkable, Johnson said, reminding his readers that:

> Britain is an island with an imperial past, a large standing army, and emotional ties and commitments around the world… [Conceding majority voting on foreign policy would mean] ending this nation's

> right, at all times, to choose its own friends and foes; to settle its own destiny on the world stage. It means a concerted EC foreign policy in which, on any given issue, three or four countries would allow themselves to be voted down.

In a memorable metaphor, Johnson wrote that "Majority voting is the dry rot in the timbers of sovereignty. It spreads." (Johnson, 1991o2) The spread started with the Single European Act of 1986 and at the rate of current changes will spread to environment, transport and maybe tourism, culture and education. Interestingly, Johnson conceded that "in much of this, frankly, there is a good deal of logic." But allowing majority voting on foreign policy would, he warned, produce a "cancerous resentment on the part of the worsted country".

A month later Johnson warned that Britain would "almost certainly" abandon the veto on foreign policy. The article featured many areas of concern for Eurosceptics, including the loss of Britain's right to shape its own foreign, environment and immigration policy. (Johnson, 1991t2)

5.2.2 The 'Single Currency' and 'Embrace Integration' core positions

The single currency as a threat to sovereignty is the third most common core position in Johnson's journalism from Brussels, appearing in 12 articles across this time frame. The "embrace integration" core position appeared across ten articles.

In his first year in Brussels Johnson adopted an "embrace integration" core position on the issue of the single currency, urging Thatcher to support monetary union. While Johnson criticised the "socialism and subsidy" of the Delors' proposals, joining the EMS has "distinct merits", he argued. "The price to be paid in terms of 'sovereignty' is very small – especially when it is realised that, as so often in this debate, monetary 'sovereignty' is just interventionism in disguise." (Johnson, 1989a) In December 1989 he wrote a stinging critique of British objections to the setting up of a European central bank. (Johnson, 1989j) Britain's sovereignty argument was starting to look "threadbare" as Bundesbank interest rate shifts were often mirrored in London. By continuing to object Britain risked being left on the outside "with its nose pressed against the windowpane".

More often, Johnson framed the single currency issue as a threat to sovereignty. He repeatedly claimed that it could be foisted on Britain, against her will. In October 1989 Johnson warned that Britain was on a "forced march towards monetary union". (Johnson, 1989f) The following year he claimed that joining the exchange rate mechanism locked Britain into "an irreversible process" of monetary union. (Johnson, 1990k) Johnson depicted glee in Brussels' circles at the British move: Commissioners were in a "cock-a-hoop mood". Later that month Johnson again claimed that the single currency would be "imposed" on Britain by majority voting - which Johnson framed as the "destroyer of national sovereignty". "The Paris-Bonn axis" was accused of being behind the plan. (Johnson, 1990m)

At the Rome Summit later that month Johnson again drew heavily on a loss of sovereignty rhetoric. (Johnson, 1990p, Johnson, 1990q, Johnson, 1990r). Britain faced nothing less than "the rape of the pound by Europe", he wrote, and Thatcher's protests about monetary union had been treated with "indifference" by EC leaders. (Johnson, 1990q). Johnson warned that the EC's reach was growing, with monetary union as the first step in the creation of a European "superstate", with a single foreign and defence policy and an EC intervention force. (Johnson, 1990p) "In the past," wrote Johnson, "the implementation of such grandiose plans for European unity would only be attempted by force of arms." He described it as a "classic nightmare. The three great continental powers yoked together to produce a superstate, and Britain powerless to play the old game of exploiting the balance of power to keep Europe safely divided."

Maastricht and the single currency

In June 1991 a Johnson front-page story in the *Sunday Telegraph* warned that John Major might be prepared to surrender Britain's veto. According to the story, Europe wanted Britain to sign up to a set of binding conditions on political and monetary union. (Johnson, 1991q) A stand-off loomed, said Johnson, between Major and Tory Eurosceptics, with the Bruges Group's secretary Patrick Robertson "driving the Government before him like a flock of gibbering geese".

Yet even at this time of heightened concerns over the future of the pound and the drive towards political union, Johnson again adopted an "embrace integration" core

position that September. (Johnson, 1991e2, Johnson, 1991d2) According to Johnson, Britain risked being "left behind" in Europe if she did not embrace monetary union:

> To be left behind, according the present draft treaty text, means a humiliating lack of influence on European monetary policy, with outsiders forbidden even from listening at meetings of the Euro-bank. (Johnson, 1991d2)

Johnson's euro-enthusiasm was short lived. Just days before the Maastricht summit in December 1991, Johnson returned to his core position of the single currency as a threat to sovereignty, comparing Britain to a reluctant bride at the altar of monetary union. The plan for monetary union, "hatched in the Brussels Commission," was masterminded by France in an effort to "rescue their monetary sovereignty" from Germany. (Johnson, 1991u.2) Now Britain "has become ensnared in a process that will lead to the end of the pound". Maastricht was, in effect, a "conveyor belt" to a "United States of Europe". (Johnson, 1991w2)

5.2.3 The 'Control Immigration' core position

Johnson's sovereignty theme also embraced a 'control immigration' core position. These articles, notable for their stereotyping of people of different nationalities, grouped immigrants in with undesirable groups including terrorists, gun-runners and drug smugglers. Johnson raised the spectre of these groups wandering unchecked across Europe following EC enlargement. Loaded terms such as "swamped", "flooded", and "tide" were used to convey the scale of immigration Europe might face from eastern Europe, Turkey and North Africa. His articles also highlighted tensions between Britain and the EU over the control of borders.

A story from May 1990 focused on an unpublished report for the European Commission which claimed that immigration in four southern European countries had leaped by 50 per cent since 1985. (Johnson, 1990e) Johnson raised the possibility of 25 million people moving from North Africa to Europe over the next four decades. Britain, warned Johnson, would see an immigration policy foisted upon it by countries such as Italy which benefitted from cheap immigrant labour. An unnamed Commission official was quoted as saying: "Italy has always thought of itself as an exporter of people – waiters and ice-cream salesmen. Until last year it did not even have restrictions on entry by Turks."

In January 1991, Johnson warned that the abolition of frontiers could see "migrant workers wandering unchecked from Czechoslovakia to Spain and from Algeria to London." (Johnson, 1991b) Johnson quoted a Commission report saying that much of the migration would be driven by ethnic Germans from Russia and Eastern Europe clamouring to re-join "the Fatherland". As a consequence Europe faced being "overwhelmed" by immigrants from Eastern Europe, many of whom, according to Johnson, possess a deep-seated "welfare mentality". (Johnson, 1991c2) Johnson cited evidence from pollsters that Eastern Europeans are "conservative, pessimistic, even curmudgeonly people, relishing authority and censorship, cynical, after decades of communism about whether hard work brings advancement." Ultimately, Britain must face up to what a wider union meant: "a tide of immigrants", "a flood of under-priced Eastern farm produce", and paying out extra money for structural funds.

Just days before the Maastricht summit Johnson warned that Germany, the main destination for thousands of "fraudulent" asylum seekers, wanted centralised control of immigration, and for an immigration clause to be written into Maastricht. (Johnson, 1991v2) Johnson warned that "once Brussels has got its teeth into the subject it will never let go, gradually dragging the rest, asylum included, into the federalist maw." He claimed this would ultimately mean Britain losing control of its borders.

In 1992 Johnson raised the possibility of millions of Anatolian peasants descending on Europe should Turkey join the EC, following a statement by the European Commission's vice-president that "an EC without Turkey is inconceivable". (Johnson, 1992c) Johnson reported that there was surprise in Brussels at the remarks, "where the tacit understanding is that it would be unthinkable to admit the Turks, with a population of 60 million, largely consisting of Anatolian peasants." A month later Johnson reported that the EC commission was on a "collision course" with Britain over its refusal to agree to the abolition of immigration and customs checks by the end of 1992 for travellers arriving from other EC countries. (Johnson, 1992d) Up until now, wrote Johnson, Britain's island status has made it "easier to control drugs, terrorists, illegal immigrants and rabid dogs." Now Britain and the EC could soon be "swamped" by immigrants from eastern Europe and North Africa.

As the completion of the single market approached, Johnson depicted changes to border controls in a consistently negative light. Loosening border controls would "needlessly erode the country's defences against illegal immigrants, drugs and terrorism." (Johnson, 1992r). As always, Britain was "isolated" on the issue, but facing "demands" from Brussels and even the possibility of legal action: "Brussels is confident that it could eventually win a legal battle with the Government over the issue in the European Court of Justice, but would prefer Britain to give way quietly." (Johnson, 1992s)

5.3 The Plot Against Britain

'The Plot against Britain' emerges as an interpretive package in 48 articles during Johnson's time in Brussels. This package encompasses the idea that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain. Of the three core positions within this package, the position that the 'Franco-German axis' is driving the EU and trying to isolate Britain, is by far the most dominant, appearing in 33 articles. This position peaked in 1992, the year the Danes rejected Maastricht and Britain was forced out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism. The latter issue in particular was seized on by Johnson and other journalists who blamed Germany for Britain's travails. The 'Untrustworthy Politicians' core position – embodying the idea that certain politicians are zealously committed to political union and cannot be trusted – appeared 10 times, and the 'German thirst for expansion' core position – that Germany's drive towards integration is driven by an historic thirst for expansion – appeared 5 times.

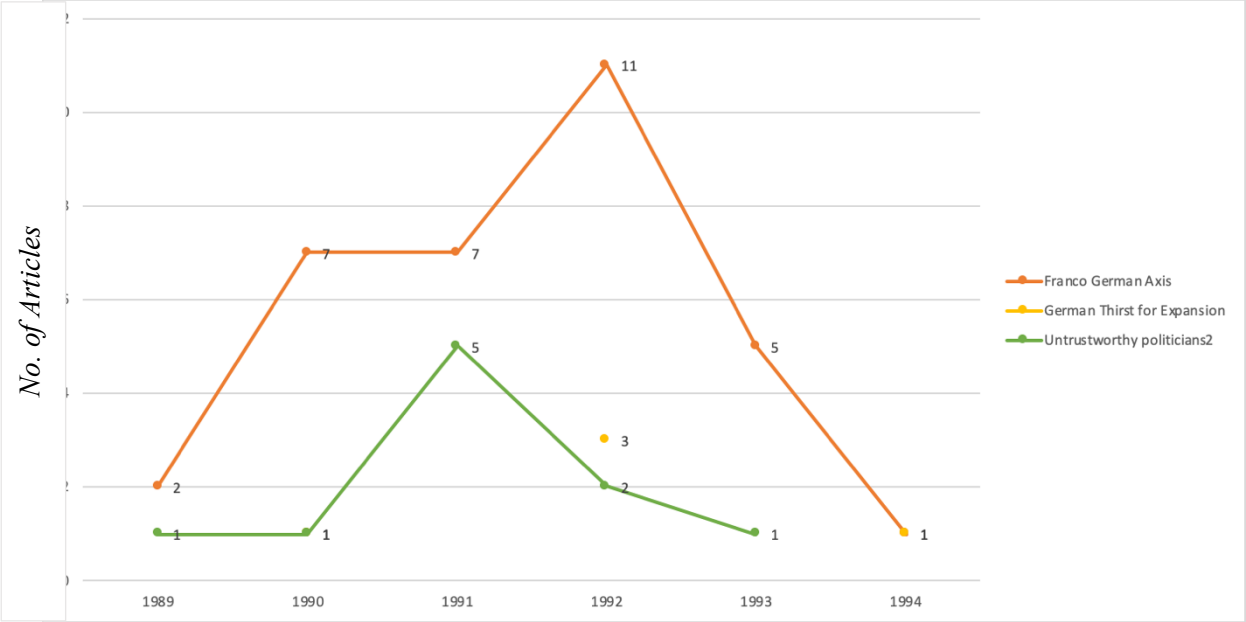

Figure 2. The Plot against Britain, 1989-94

5.3.1 The 'Franco-German axis' core position

At the core of a good deal of Johnson's writing lies a deep distrust of France and Germany and their plans for deeper integration. Their actions – on foreign policy, integration, enlargement and social policy – are invariably framed in a negative light. Johnson's underlying belief, that the European Union is run for the benefit of these two countries, underpins this narrative. For Johnson the European Union is a construct designed by France to contain Germany's over-expansionist tendencies. Both countries, argues Johnson, are intent on pursuing their own interests and leftist agendas at the expense of the free market and Britain. Britain is frequently depicted as being "isolated" by France and Germany.

A typical example of this narrative can be found in a July 1989 report about France assuming the EEC presidency. (Johnson, 1989c) Under the headline "French accent worries the EEC" Johnson uses the language of socialism to describe French plans for Europe. President Mitterrand "and his *confreres*" are depicted as wanting to create "a Europe of *citoyens* and *travaileurs*", with the "railroading" of social issues through a "Leftish European Parliament". Johnson warned that the fallout for Britain of "French rhapsodising over the social charter and monetary union" would be severe, with workers having a say over the key decisions of European multinationals. Months later, on November 9, 1989, Johnson returned to the "plot" theme, citing claims from anonymous

Commission sources that "France has manipulated its current presidency of the Council of Ministers to protect its own interests while manoeuvring to isolate Britain over monetary and political union." (Johnson, 1989i)

EC plans were often interpreted as a means by which France or Germany could stop countries like Britain "having the edge over them." (Johnson, 1990j) In September 1990, a plan to make Sunday the official day of rest for the EC's 320 million citizens could, claimed Johnson, "transpose German rules against commercial activity on Sundays, even down to Sunday markets." Johnson quoted government sources saying that "it is monstrous that Brussels should appropriate such a far-reaching social and cultural decision." (Johnson, 1990w) In October 1990, a decision by Germany to back January 1, 1994, as the date for the creation of a European central bank, is also framed in a negative light. Johnson alleged that the "giant Euro-bank" would be a moment of "rapture" for Brussels, with Britain becoming ever more isolated in its battle against monetary union. (Johnson, 1990n)

As discussed earlier, Johnson used a 'Sovereignty' package to frame articles on negotiations and treaty drafts ahead of the Maastricht summit in 1991. He also framed the issue under a 'Plot' package, with a 'Franco-German axis' core position. In September 1991, for instance, he claimed that the Dutch treaty draft was nothing more than:

> …an old-fashioned Franco-German trade-off over the two biggest changes in the way Europe works. In exchange for German assent to monetary union, the French could give way over an extension of the powers of Parliament. That would leave Britain isolated. (Johnson, 1991h2)

In October Johnson claimed that France and Germany were planning to establish a faction of EC "super-federalists" at an upcoming meeting in Paris. (Johnson, 1991j2) Johnson framed this as "a naked attempt by the EC's traditional dominant axis to usurp the leadership of the current inter-governmental negotiations" and represented "a colossal insult to the way the Netherlands has conducted the presidency."

Johnson sometimes blamed France and Germany's alleged slights on Britain on the outcome of the Second World War. In the run-up to the Edinburgh summit in 1992, for example, he gave this explanation for the EC's "concerted burst of vilification" against Britain:

> There is a natural propensity among foreign politicians to snipe at Britain. One cannot get away with saying this too loudly in Brussels, but it still rankles deep down, throughout the political classes of the other 11 EC countries, that Britain was the only Community member to have 'won' the Second World War; and so there are few sights more likely to gladden the hearts of our partners than the spectacle of ministers and Whitehall mandarins having their aloof, ineffable noses ground in the mud. (Johnson, 1992z)

Black Wednesday

In his framing of Black Wednesday, Boris Johnson mined a deep seam of anti-French and German sentiment. In its immediate wake, he placed the blame for Britain's travails squarely at the door of the Germans. (Johnson, 1992u; Johnson, 1992v; Johnson, 1992w) According to Johnson, Germany's "self-centred economic policies" were largely to blame for Britain being forced out of the exchange rate mechanism. (Johnson, 1992v) Now the vision of a single European currency would be replaced "by the spectre of a two-speed Europe, with Britain in the slow lane", he warned. (Johnson, 1992u) Johnson predicted "the almost certain collapse of the Maastricht Treaty in its present form". A "bloc" centred around Germany "will attempt a 'Maastricht Two'" from which Britain would be excluded.

However, at one of the lowest points in Britain's relations with Europe, Johnson stated that the EU "should not be allowed to fail as a political entity". Britain now had "a chance to steer Europe away from the rocks. How much better, therefore, while the rubble is still lying fresh around us, that Britain should lead the way in piecing together those bits we can tolerate.…it would have the dual merit of keeping Britain on the inside, and keeping Europe moving forward." (Johnson, 1992v).

Johnson's appeal for Britain to take the lead in Europe is necessary, he claimed days later, because France and Germany were scheming to create a "two-speed Europe" – with Britain in the slow lane. On September 22 he wrote that Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl were plotting to start the "Franco-German motor" of the European Union in order to "back Britain into a corner". Or worse: "Would the federalist countries dare, after years of trying to keep Britain abroad, finally chuck her off?" (Johnson, 1992w) Johnson reimagined a conversation between the French and German leaders on monetary union:

> 'Helmut', he is supposed to have pleaded… 'we can no longer guillotine the speculators as we did in the Revolution. So let us cheat them forever; let us fuse our ancient currencies, the franc, the mark, into the de facto currency of Europe.'

This could have grave consequences for the Major government, warned Johnson, which was then facing a tough battle on both the foreign and domestic fronts. If Major failed to "quash its Tory mutineers" and Maastricht perished, Germany would "concertina" the seven-year timetable for monetary union into one year. He continued the imagined conversation: "At a stroke, dear Francois, one money, that is, for the real Europe, you and me, the believers, the front rank, the first tier, the advance guard: France, Germany, Benelux. The rest – spendthrift Italians, chaotic Greeks, British sovereignty junkies – let them make their own dispositions."

In February 1993, as turbulence continued within the ERM, Johnson filed three news reports which once again pitted the UK against the "Franco-German axis". (Johnson, 1993a) Britain, he wrote, was being scapegoated by other countries for the woes of the ERM. (Johnson, 1993b) Johnson suggests that France was engaging in "Anglophobic demagoguery" because she was simply too afraid to confront Germany:

> To speak ill of Germany is an altogether different matter. It has a frisson, an echo, which France has tried to hush since the end of the Second World War….France is like a lover who knows her beloved is faithless, or is about to be, but dare not mention it for fear of provoking just the rupture she most dreads….French politicians vent their spleen on Britain because they are frightened to vent it on Germany.

Johnson dug deeper into the German-French relationship with an article in March on the French presidential elections. (Johnson, 1993d) Johnson asked, what lies at the heart of the "Paris-Bonn axis…the historic locomotive force of the European Community?" Once again, Johnson reached back in history for an explanation: "The French are candid about what they believe constitutes the essence of this relationship," he wrote. "It is shame. 'It is powerful, this shame. It works,' says one official. But for how long? No matter how appalling Germany's crimes towards France, 50 years is a long time to feel so beholden to one's victim."

5.3.2 The 'Untrustworthy Politicians' core position

From Johnson's earliest days in Brussels, the Commission President Jacques Delors emerged as a major focus of his work. "Who knows how much of my life I have consecrated to writing up the doings of Jacques Delors?" Johnson mused in later years.

"Months, years." (Johnson, 2008, p. 5). Most of this work is deeply unflattering and is framed primarily within the 'Untrustworthy Politicians' core position. Delors is variously depicted in Johnson news reports and commentary as "the man who epitomises Tory fears of an EC superstate", "Frere Jacques", an "emperor", "the Beelzebub of Brussels" and "the *bête noir* of the Conservative party". (Johnson, 1991i; Johnson, 1991f; Johnson, 1991l; Johnson, 1991z2)

Johnson's first major profile of Delors appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* on May 18, 1989. Under the headline 'Guess who's not flavour of the week?' Johnson wrote: "The name of the beast is Jacques Delors and his number – in case anyone needs reminding – is 1992." (Johnson, 1989a.2) As the mastermind of greater integration, Johnson referred to Delors as Thatcher's "Euro-bogeyman". The prime minister is, wrote Johnson, determined not to see "her work undone by any fancy continental ideas of *mittbestimmung*, or worker participation, slipped through by Brussels." On December 17th, 1990, a story appearing under the provocative headline 'Delors holds the levers of power in Europe' raised the spectre that "the most powerful civil servant in the world" might seek a third term as Commission President. This story had little basis in fact ("there is talk"). It does, however, allow Johnson to muse on what a third term might mean: political union remaining at the heart of the EC's mission. (Johnson, 1990u)

Speculation lay at the heart of another story about Delors in April 1991. This front-page story alleged that Delors "is trying to prolong his reign until the middle of the decade." (Johnson, 1991i) Johnson warned that "the prospect of endorsing a full 10 years of 'Frere Jacques', with his unflagging devotion to Euro-workers' rights, Euro-currencies and other embarrassments, may cause British patience to snap." A quote from arch-Eurosceptic Enoch Powell endorsed the Johnson view: "I am beginning to wonder if he wants to be crowned emperor."

In June 1991 Johnson launched a more personal attack on the Frenchman. Delors, Johnson wrote, spends his evenings at his desk "advancing France – and himself." In fact: "Everything in Delors' life is subordinate to his appetite for power." His ultimate aim is the creation of a "United States of Europe" largely run by France, "in which Germany will be kept perpetually under the beady eye of Paris."

> How can a bureaucrat behave so arrogantly towards a government [Britain] and exude such certainty of his rightness? Scratch Delors and you find a socialist, a man of some eccentricity, sadness, frustration; and above all, a patriot." (Johnson, 1991s)

The article also described Delors' plan for monetary union as "a Parisian plot to recoup financial sovereignty from the Frankfurt Bundesbank."

Johnson's framing of the Maastricht Treaty outcome is informed by his distrust of Delors. Although he penned a glowing review of the deal, describing it as a "copybook triumph" for John Major (Johnson, 1991a.3), the sheen appears to have worn off remarkably quickly. On December 13th and 15th, he wrote two articles questioning the outcome for Britain, claiming that Delors, "the *bête noir* of the Conservative party…left no doubt that he expected Britain to give way on social policy to the gravitational pull of the rest." (Johnson, 1991a.3). The second article, under the headline 'Britain crawls on the track laid by Jacques' claimed that the "pestilential interference" of the Social Chapter, banning work on Sundays and newspaper rounds, was now a fact of life. The next issue federalists will push, warned Johnson, is immigration.

In the wake of the Edinburgh summit in 1992 Johnson wrote that Delors was "empire building" again. This time the Frenchman had taken a step towards "creating a European cabinet" with oversight of justice, foreign policy and immigration. (Johnson, 1992a.2). Johnson claimed this would stoke "British fears" about the "beginning of a new Brussels-based 'industrial strategy'… It will be the first time that these policy areas have been brought within the power of the commissioners and their 13,000 civil servants – a move that will delight federalists and dismay British Euro-sceptics." Playing to national stereotypes, Johnson wrote that: "More worrying still for Euro-sceptics is the appointment of a little-known Italian…to enforce the myriad new pieces of European law that will make up the single market…. It is feared that the former diplomat may bring a distinctly Latin approach to his job."

5.3.3 The German 'thirst for expansion'

The core position 'German thirst for expansion' was extracted from five articles of Johnson's from his Brussels days. Two related to monetary union (Johnson, 1990l;

Johnson, 1992g), one to a German plan for a "Brussels FBI" (Johnson, 1994b) and two related to Danish fears over German dominance of the EU ahead of the Danish referendum on Maastricht. (Johnson, 1992o; Johnson, 1992q)

In October 1990, Johnson framed Denmark's decision to join forces with other EC countries seeking monetary union as a ploy by the smaller country to rein in Germany. (Johnson, 1990l). An unnamed "Danish political source" in the article expressed deeply anti-German sentiments: "Our experience of Germany is that it is too big to float about in the middle of Europe. Unless they are bound in, the Germans feel encircled and get aggressive. That is the whole purpose of EC integration."

Following the Maastricht summit, the ambitions of Germany appeared to cause Johnson the greatest concern. (02/02/92) In February 1992 he wrote a highly speculative piece in which he depicted the EC "falling under the sway of a united Germany". This was based on the German head of a regional government holding talks with Delors to discuss what branches of "the Brussels bureaucracy" could move to Bonn. Or as Johnson put it:

> Germany is seeking to consolidate its new dominance by moving key European Community institutions from Brussels to Bonn…. Such transfers could not fail to create the impression that major EC political and economic decisions were flowing directly from Germany, rather than being filtered through Brussels…. With Frankfurt seemingly certain to be the home of the European Central Bank, any move to Bonn from Brussels would intensify fears of the EC falling under the sway of a united Germany.

In 1994 Johnson wrote that the British government "faces a renewed struggle" with Germany over the country's plans to create "a full-fledged EC police force" capable of mounting operations "anywhere in Britain and the rest of the Community". (Johnson, 1994b). Johnson accused the Germans of plotting to create "a Brussels FBI… [with] new, powerful and secretive K4 committee of national interior ministry officials meet[ing] in Brussels." Johnson quoted "British sources" saying "they did not want 'people in uniforms' being attached to Europol, let alone sent on missions." Johnson's interpretation of this story is open to question, as he cites a sole unnamed "EC source" as the basis for the report. Johnson himself noted that at present, Europol's only task is to pool intelligence on drug traffickers. Yet he predicted that the plan was likely to cause "uproar" amongst Tory Eurosceptics.

5.4 The Threat to British Identity

The threat to British identity core frame focuses on the issue that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life. Although identity issues emerge strongly in literature on Britain's relationship with Europe, it is not a strong theme in Johnson's work, appearing just five times during his time in Brussels. The European project as a threat to the British way of life core position appeared twice, the EU's Catholic ethos core position also appears twice and the EU as a threat to Britain's Anglosphere of the Commonwealth and US appeared three times.

The core position that the European project as a threat to the British way of life emerges in two articles on EU directives. In November 1990, the Italians were in Johnson's cross-hairs over their 'have a baby' EC directive. (Johnson, 1990s) Europe, he wrote, wanted EC-wide norms for pregnancy leave and pay, a move at odds with Britain: "British officials are sceptical about whether the EC has any business encouraging such a Europe-wide 'pro-baby' policy, which has long been a goal of Catholic countries such as France and Italy." The following year Johnson wrote that a new "Brussels law on sexual equality" could threaten the teaching of scripture at Oxford colleges. (Johnson, 1991y). The ruling, he said, would threaten the financial viability of some of Oxford's smaller colleges by insisting on theology roles being open to women, thereby doing away with the combined chaplain/theologian tutor role. Now bureaucrats in Brussels were, claimed Johnson, dooming the college chaplain-tutor to extinction: "No longer will the much-loved figure shamble, gown billowing behind him, from pastoral care in chapel to biblical exegesis in his rooms," he intoned. They were being removed "with all the random senselessness of a poppy felled by a passing scythe."

At the height of the Maastricht Bill debate in the UK, Johnson adopted the 'Catholic ethos' core position in an article claiming that Jacques Delors was planning to turn European federalism "into a semi-religious crusade". The rationale was, apparently, the "spiritual void" in Britain and other EU nations. (Johnson, 1993c). Two commission reports allegedly said that "religious differences…are at the heart of the conflict besetting Maastricht" and that "some kind of peculiar new Euro-spirituality inspired by Brussels – is the answer."

> We knew that Jacques Delors was religious. We knew he was a Christian Socialist. We knew he prayed before each Wednesday's meeting of the 17 EEC commissioners, prompting inevitable quips on the lines of 'Delors is my shepherd'. Few though, imagined there could be any connection between the Commission president's enthusiasm for religion and his Euro-federalism.

The collapse of the four-year-long Uruguay Round of trade talks in December 1990 was framed by Johnson as a threat to Britain's Anglosphere, specifically relations with the US. He claimed that the failure of talks marked a rift in the Atlantic relationship, as Britain moved ever closer to its European partners. (Johnson, 1990t). The following year Johnson warned that NATO "could be wrecked" by EC intransigence over cuts in farm subsidies. (Johnson, 1992i) Johnson said that Britain must not allow the trade talks to fail. A Europe without America risked becoming:

> …neo-Gaullist, bloody-minded and protectionist…the Garden of Eden of the French socialist: a place where tobacco advertising is banned by Brussels; where each worker has his minimum wage and maximum hours of work; where only a small number of American soap operas may be broadcast on television; where industry works in partnership with the Commission to foist unwanted products on consumers; where Britons pay to fund Mediterranean peasants to do virtually nothing; and where American troops are about as welcome as Japanese cars. In short, a museum. It is indefensible.

5.5 The Threat to Liberal Free Markets

Sixty-five articles appeared under a 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' interpretive package or frame. This package encompasses the ideas that European state subsidies are interfering with markets, that the Commission is responsible for intrusive and expensive legislation, and that the EU is responsible for fiscal waste including the alleged high cost of sustaining a large Brussels bureaucracy. The second aspect is the EU's perceived curtailment of Britain from reaching its global trading potential.

There are six core positions within this frame, of which the Common Agricultural Policy core position – that Britain, as a rich nation, is paying too much in handouts to support poorer nations and the wasteful CAP – was the most popular with 25 articles. This was followed by the core position that British taxpayers are footing the bill for Europe's bloated bureaucracy, which appeared 19 times. The 'Protectionism' core position – that the EU's protectionist policies are a threat to Thatcherite free-market principles – appeared 9 times, followed by the Social Chapter as a threat to UK manufacturing which appeared across 8 articles. Finally, the one positive core position – that the single market will benefit

Britain – appears a total of 4 times. During the 1989-94 period, the 'Leave EU' core position does not appear.

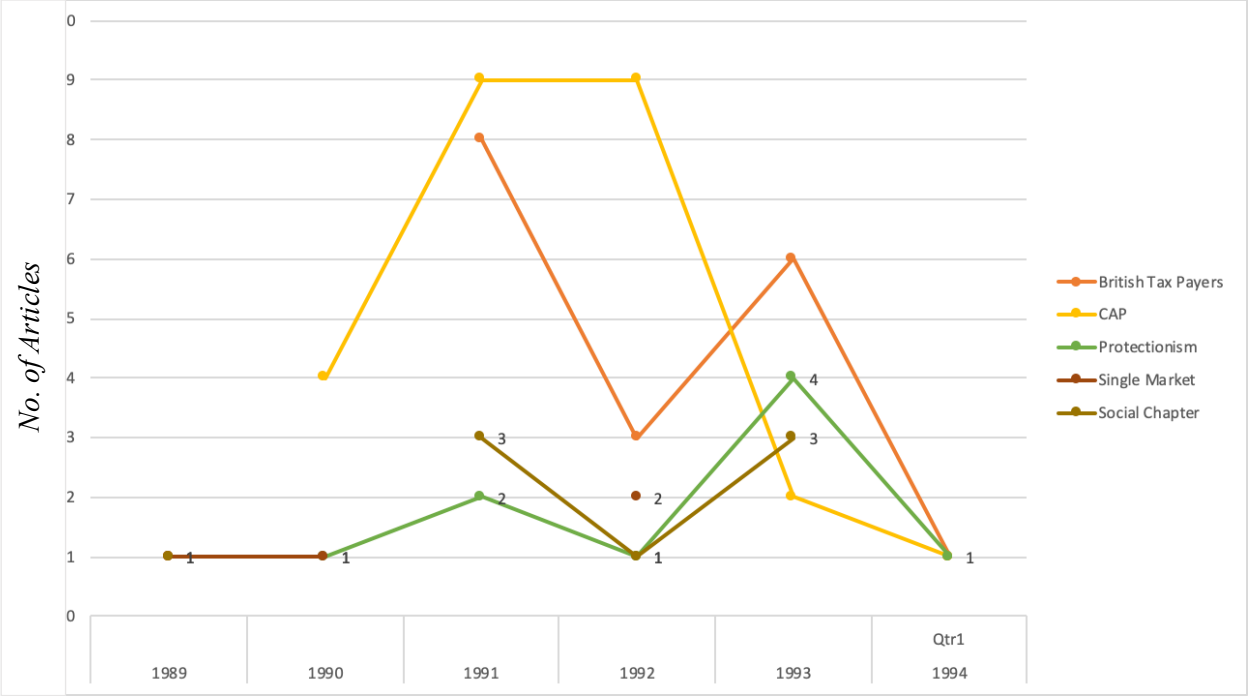

Figure 3. The Threat to Liberal Free Markets,1989-1994

5.5.1 The Social Chapter and protectionism core positions

The Social Chapter core position – representing the notion that the EU's socialist policies threaten UK manufacturing – appeared across eight articles between 1989 and 1994. But Johnson often wrote about social policies, sometimes framing EC social initiatives as threats to sovereignty. As Johnson noted in an October 1989 article, the social chapter allowed the EC to act in a wider range of "social areas" and to adopt more legislation by majority voting. (Johnson, 1989h) This echoed sentiment within the Conservative party. From 1990 onwards, one of the main source of cultural clashes between Britain and the EU were directives on social policy. Domestically, the Social Chapter was the issue that "brought the rebels closest to scuppering the treaty." (Baker et al., 1994)

Ever attuned to the mood music at Westminster, Johnson framing of the social chapter and the EC amplified the threat it posed to Britain's free market principles. Writing in May 1991, Johnson depicted the EC's 12 stars symbol as "a common EC socialist design". (Johnson, 1991m) In the same month Johnson claimed that the EC was seeking to extend control into questions of workers' "basic rights" and "living and working conditions". Such policies would he warned, "raise costs, lose jobs, and place extra

burdens on industry." (Johnson, 1991l). Ahead of Maastricht Johnson wrote that the EC was trying to "force" the government to accept "European standards for workers' rights." Once again the issue was depicted in entirely negative terms. Johnson claimed that a "harmonised" social security policy would force member states to pay social benefit at the rate of 40 per cent of average income, and compel British industry to set up "workers' councils" which would have to be consulted on all business decisions – with EC ministers having the power to "overrule" British employment laws. (Johnson, 1991, p2)

Maastricht and the Social Chapter

Following the Maastricht summit, John Major managed to garner almost universal praise from the media for the deal agreed at Maastricht. Boris Johnson was one of his main cheerleaders. In an article titled 'Eyes pop as victorious Major pulls off a plum deal', (Johnson, 1991y2) Johnson wrote that the agreement was "a copybook triumph for Mr Major". The prime minister stood firm and succeeded in getting an opt-out from the hated social chapter, "a piece of hypocrisy which Britain has been right to condemn." Now "Britain has slain the dragon of the social chapter", thanks to Major's "firmness and resolution". As a consequence:

> Britain will be able to go its own sweet way, plucking from the pudding of Euro-law of workers' rights those plums it likes, turning up its nose at the costly and restrictive.

However, Johnson noted that it was a "real disaster" that there was now a new European community with "exclusive competence for social policy". In a prescient piece of commentary, he predicted that Britain would, in the end, join what he termed the "Social Community" but that it will have been shaped "according to the designs of others". A new set of laws would be passed, he warned, over which "Britain will have no influence".

In 1993 the social chapter opt-out threatened to derail Major's attempts to get the treaty through parliament.[13] As the rebellion at home grew, the issue became a discernible focus in Johnson's work. In April, Johnson warned that the EC might impose the social chapter on Britain "by the back door", claiming that several EC countries were considering

[13] Baker et al. (1994) note that the *Sunday Telegraph* and Murdoch-owned newspapers supported the rebel cause throughout.

creating mandatory "Euro-works councils" for multinational firms. (Johnson, 1993f) Johnson quoted anonymous diplomats saying that "a move by the 11 [member states] would inevitably force British firms into line." Johnson returned to this theme in June, writing that the opt-out could not protect Britain from the imposition of a 48-hour working week. (Johnson, 1993h) Johnson concluded that Britain was powerless to stop much EC social policy, despite the opt-out.

Framing Europe's economic malaise

In 1993 Johnson wrote several stories which juxtaposed Britain's economic recovery with mainland Europe's deepening recession. Adopting a 'protectionism' core position, Johnson wrote this analysis ahead of an EU summit in Copenhagen in June 1993:

> …the British economic recovery, now undeniable to judge by figures such as sales of new cars, is a daily affront to the Delorean vision of a united EEC….Europe's economy belches smoke, with the German locomotive straining before the clattering old cattle-trucks of the eastern Laender. (Johnson, 1993i).

In his depiction of the EU and the Commission President Jacques Delors, who had taken to his sick bed ahead of the Copenhagen summit, Johnson appeared triumphant:

> Mr Delors' dream of the late 1980s, of Europe as an oasis of high social protection, of high wages and high technology, a Europe *a la Grande Vitesse*, has been vaporised….As a metaphor of the total paralysis of the Community's nervous system, Mr Delors' affliction was irresistible.

Warming to this theme, Johnson wrote four days later that "Caution and general Britishness have been vindicated" as the European recession forced a reappraisal of wage costs. Francois Mitterrand, Helmut Kohl and Jacques Delors had "squandered public confidence, so high in the late 1980s, in the European dream." Now all is changed:

> …the high old days of a super-confident bureaucracy dreaming up new pan-European legislation in their baths has gone. The torrent of directives has dried to a trickle…subsidiarity's pruning hook is at work in the Commission. (Johnson, 1993j)

While Johnson gleefully predicted a culling of Commission powers, this article comes with a warning. Recession may have reconciled much of the EC to Britain's point of view – but if Europe recovered "so too will the European dream".

5.5.2 The Common Agricultural Policy and EC structural funds core position

Over the course of Johnson's six years in Brussels, the Common Agricultural Policy was the most common core position within the 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' package, accounting for 25 articles. With its reputation for mismanagement, wastefulness and grift, Johnson had little need to exaggerate the policy's failings. This did not stop him. The CAP's intervention stores are "modelled on Hitler's Germany". (Johnson, 1992t) The system itself was "Stalinism" in action. (Johnson, 1992a) Johnson had plenty of springboards for his attacks: the stalled world trade talks and reform of the Common Agricultural policy dominated the EC agriculture agenda in the early 1990s. A second aspect of this core position revolved around the EC spend on structural funds. This was framed by Johnson as a "soak-the-rich scheme" involving the transfer of monies from the richer Northern European countries to the poorer countries of the Mediterranean and Ireland. (1991q.2)

Over the course of 1990, the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations focused on eliminating non-tariff barriers to trade, and EC negotiators clashed repeatedly with the US over the latter's demands that Europe cut agricultural subsidies. Johnson took a negative view of the EC's stance, writing over the course of the year about the "lunacy" of the CAP. (Johnson, 1990i; Johnson, 1990i; Johnson, 1990r) In July, as a trade war loomed between the two blocks, Johnson wrote: "The Common Agricultural Policy is alive and well, and a menace to world prosperity." Farm subsidy was depicted as a "scourge", and fraud was "endemic". (Johnson, 1990i). Johnson quoted unnamed sources saying that the "mountains" of surplus food cost the EC £60 billion a year. (Johnson, 1990v) "Instead of promoting this Virgilian programme with a ramshackle, iniquitous and fraudulent system of price maintenance," Johnson wrote, "it would be much better to give the farmers the money – to move to a system of social support for people, rather than for unwanted product." (Johnson, 1990i)

Johnson mused that were Margaret Thatcher to become the new European Commission president, the CAP "would take a terrible mauling. Those heavily subsidised German farmers with their single cows and two BMWs would bark miserably into their carphones as EC price support was slashed: 'This frau President Thatcher! Who does she think she is?'" (Johnson, 1990w)

The overproduction of food within the EC was a particular focus of Johnson's ire in 1991 and 1992. (Johnson, 1991d; Johnson, 1991g, Johnson, 1991p; Johnson, 1991c) Johnson was scathing of a system that had by then led to "massive food surpluses". (Johnson, 1991k.3) Across Europe storehouses are "bulging" with record stocks of "unwanted beef" and "mountains of cereals and butter", including the "30 million tonnes of wheat [that] have accumulated in silos and granaries across Europe." This "titanic wheat surplus" would fill St Peter's Basilica in Rome three times, claimed Johnson. (Johnson, 1991k.3) In 1991 Johnson emphasised the moral dimension of this situation, juxtaposing the plight of the Soviet Union, which "faces a winter of near starvation" with the wheat surplus that would produce 67.5 billion loaves of bread. Johnson showed a knack for translating dense EC statistics into relatable images – in this case the surplus equated to "1.75 trillion slices of toast". He mused if this toast was "the same shape and size as those on British breakfast tables" they would cover an area the size as Sicily. The finger of blame was pointed directedly at the "Brussels bureaucrats" who helped create the surplus. Even they, said Johnson, "are at a loss for words".

Johnson levelled some of his harshest criticisms at the CAP's export subsidies. (Johnson, 1991k.3) In 1991 he accused Italian and Greek tobacco farmers of "cashing in on EC subsidies by growing thousands of tons of virtually unsmokable weed, which is then dumped on African and Middle East markets." (Johnson, 1991g). EC red tape, claimed Johnson, made it easy for countries to defraud the Commission.

In January 1992 Johnson reported that a free trade deal remained stalled because of the EC's refusal to cut £22 billion in annual subsidies to its nine million farmers. (Johnson, 1992a) The piece represents one of Johnson's most damning indictment of the CAP. Using language laced with weighted terms, he derided the "Stalinism of the Common Agricultural Policy which is as damaging to world markets as it is to the EC's budget" with its "sinful waste and protectionism". Johnson suggests that the fault for the problem was a consequence of the EU's ideological leanings. He depicted "Marxists" in Brussels delighting in the failure of GATT talks: "Suddenly economic protection, managed trade and industry, 'social protection', and all the bizarre and discredited nostrums of another age are seeping back into the consciousness of policy makers."

The article's real significance, however, lies in the manner in which it foreshadows the writer's engagement with the idea of disengagement. In this case, Johnson suggested that Britain might be better off out of the EU – in this case as a member of EFTA. The European Free Trade Association is depicted by Johnson as "a prosperous free trade area without the Stalinism" of CAP. "Euro-federalists", said Johnson, deride EFTA as "a pathetic simulacrum of the Community", yet in the 1980s annual growth was higher in EFTA countries. If only, he mused, Britain had joined.

Agriculture fraud

Johnson also filed a number of pieces in which he accused the CAP of wholesale fraud. A piece headlined 'Beef about Vatican blowout' alleged that "fraudulent" exports were being made to the Vatican to fuel its "medieval levels of personal consumption". (Johnson, 1992n) Johnson wrote that 10 per cent of the EC's annual budget of approximately £3bn was being lost to fraud, at a time when Britain was being asked to pay an extra £1 billion a year into the EC's budget. "Cheese cheats" were the focus of another article in which Johnson wrote that two French and Belgian dairy companies "cheated European Community taxpayers out of £11 million in a year by consistently lying about their exports of cheese." (Johnson, 1992p) According to Johnson, one of the firms claimed about £7.7 million for "excessively moist cheddar". Another article recounted how "agricultural fraud on an imperial scale has been uncovered by satellite photography over Italy and Greece." (Johnson, 1992x)

Days later Johnson had an exclusive on a leaked report from the Court of Auditors. (Johnson, 1992y). Johnson reported that "a litany of misjudgements by the EC" had cost European taxpayers hundreds of millions of pounds. Johnson cited examples such as the £5.8 million lost "on a botched delivery of sugar to Romania"; the "million-ton beef mountain"; and the "millions…squandered on olive oil subsidies, even though there is no proof that half of the olive oil producers exist." Johnson warned that the document will be "seized upon by anti-Europeans in the Commons as evidence that the EC cannot be trusted with its £45 billion budget." Johnson's report is a damning indictment of EC mismanagement and waste.

Structural funds

Both the EC budget and concerns over Britain's budget rebate feature strongly in Johnson's work. The framing of this core position, that Britain, as a rich nation, is paying too much in handouts to support poorer nations, portrayed the EC budget as "a soak-the-rich scheme, by which Germany and Britain pay in rather more than they get out." Meanwhile, poorer regions were being "pump-primed from a central kitty". (Johnson, 1991q2)

The threat to the budget rebate featured a number of times in Johnson's journalism. In 1991 he wrote that Spain, "with the connivance of most other EC countries", was planning to call an emergency summit "to discuss robbing Britain of its single historic gain" (i.e., its budget rebate). A month later Johnson wrote that Britain had received a "veiled warning" from the Commission that unless it "softened its hostility to a budget increase, the cash that it received from the community could be squeezed." (Johnson, 1991u2)

In 1992 he wrote that the Commission was again "demanding" a big increase in the EC's budget, from £44.2 billion a year to £60 billion to pay for funding for poorer regions. (Johnson, 1992e) Johnson claimed that this put the EC on a "collision course" with Britain as it could jeopardise the rebate. Behind the moves to recoup the rebate, claimed Johnson, were the combined forces of Jacques Delors and Germany, who planned to keep the money to help Germany with the costs of reunification.

In March 1992 Delors was again criticised for wanting to "double the cash" available to Portugal and other poor EC countries from £13 billion in 1992 to £20 billion by 1997. (Johnson, 1992k) In this article Johnson framed the structural funds as a means by which British taxpayers' money was being channelled to criminals and drug addicts in Portuguese slums. They are on "an intravenous drip running back to Brussels – and thence to the German, French and British taxpayer." However, Johnson also noted the positive effects of EC integration, with big companies setting up in Lisbon, perhaps persuaded to do so by the security of an EC-funded infrastructure.

5.5.3 The EC's "bloated bureaucracy" and the cost to British taxpayers core position

The cost to British taxpayers of sustaining EC institutions was a major focus of Johnson's work during his time in Brussels. The core position that 'British taxpayers are footing the

bill for Europe's bloated bureaucracy' was the second most popular core position under the 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' package. Key issues revolved around the EU budget, EU directives and the cost of maintaining the Commission's and Parliament's large bureaucracies. Some of Johnson's most memorable writing – and the source of a number of 'Euromyths' (see Chapter 7) – falls within this core position.

The EU's bureaucracy

Johnson frequently attacked the EU's large bureaucracy, portraying its employees as overpaid, underworked and engaged in pointless bureaucratic exercises: "The salaries are terrific, it is virtually impossible to get sacked, and you can spend most of your time having lunch," he wrote in September 1989. "Nobody in Brussels seems to lift a finger from late July until the middle of September…and of course no one does much on a Friday." (Johnson, 1989e). Along with short working days, there was also Europe's excellent public holiday entitlements:

> Some EC officials believe the time has come to appoint a special saint, St Pont, in whose name such days would be celebrated. "He would be the patron saint of skiving," said a source – speaking from home. (Johnson, 1991n)

In 1991 Johnson wrote that the EC's 12,500 "Eurocrats" were threatening to strike for more pay, with the backing of "hard-line French and Italian white-collar union officials" who "insist on having their own benefits". (Johnson, 1991o.2). Yet, as Johnson reminded his readers, these same officials pay "cut-rate 'European' taxes, often 50 per cent less" than ordinary civil servants. (Johnson, 1991i.2) The training for EC civil servants – the *stagiaire* system – also came under scrutiny. (Johnson, 1991h) Johnson gave an account of a five-month training period filled with "Euro-brats" and "marked by a single-minded dedication to Bacchus and leisure." Johnson suggested that European leaders recalling their time as *stagiaires* might think more favourably about European integration: "It is a simple, Pavlovian technique of pleasure by association."

The EC's spend on buildings to house the Commission and European Parliament was also a target. One of Johnson's most infamous reports concerned alleged plans to blow up the Berlaymont building, the headquarters of the European Commission, because of asbestos used in its construction. (Johnson, 1991p). According to the article:

> …sappers will lay explosive charges at key points so that the structure can implode and subside gently. British sources suggested wryly that detonation could be declared a European holiday.

Although Senor Antonio Cardoso e Cunha, commissioner in charge of EC buildings, is given as the source of this story, some later questioned its veracity. Indeed, three decades later the Berlaymont is still standing. Later in the year he wrote that Brussels and Strasbourg were planning to spend over £1,000 million of taxpayers' money on new European "palaces". (Johnson, 1991r.2) In 1993 he returned to the theme, criticising the "lunacy" of the European Parliament having two homes – one in Brussels, the other in Strasbourg. (Johnson, 1993m) This practice, which Johnson estimated would cost taxpayers £500 million over the next five years, "is the most crack-brained Euro-custom of them all". Johnson was left fulminating over the issue:

> Indignation, when one contemplates the wastage and expense of the European Parliament's three 'home' cities, its endless waltzing movement, is alloyed by a sort of weariness. Invective is exhausted. What adjectives are there left? Only: crazy.

In November he informed readers that in 40 years the EC Commission "has swollen to 13,000 and fills 36 buildings across Brussels." (Johnson, 1993n) The spend included a massive new headquarters for the European Parliament in Strasbourg. "At the cost of £840 million, most of it to be met by the EC taxpayer, the glass and steel palace has risen like some freakish Wurlitzer organ above the houses of Quartier Leopold." If only Britain had the courage, wrote Johnson, to call a halt to the "travelling circus." (Johnson, 1993l)

EU directives

Some of Johnson's most memorable journalism involved the ridiculing of EC directives. He wrote about directives on jam emulsifier, beer preservatives, tractor axles, coffins, and the Euro-condom. He also wrote in colourful terms about the bureaucrats working in obscure Commission divisions, including the "infernal cheese-banning EC busybodies", the "inter-services (banana) group" and the "expert olfactometrists (smell measurers)". The veracity of some of Johnson's news reports and opinion pieces on EC directives has subsequently been called into question (See Chapter 7)

Typical of Johnson's journalism on EC directives was a piece on condom dimensions from May 1991. "The Italian rubber industry has fallen foul of EC rules by making undersized condoms," wrote Johnson. (Johnson, 1991k) "Brussels bureaucrats

have shown their legendary attention to detail by rejecting new specifications for condom dimensions proposed by the Italian government." Johnson said that "Italian egos are smarting" over the move, but the Commission was determined to stick by the rules. An official spokesperson was quoted as saying: "This is a very serious business….One millimetre either way can make all the difference. To be blunt, it is either too tight or it comes off." In July he turned his attention to another "crisis", writing that "Brussels must resolve an intensifying commercial, political and ideological crisis over bananas." (Johnson, 1991x) The report revolved around the serious threat posed by the import of so-called 'dollar bananas' from Central and South America to the traditional EC trade in bananas with former colonies such as Jamaica. Johnson, however, mined it for its comic potential, writing of the EC's "inter-services (banana) group" and the EC's "chief banana expert" toiling away for five years on the issue. "'I do not want to talk about it,' said the EC's chief banana expert. 'It is far too sensitive.'" How to resolve the issue? "A special border 'banana police'," suggested Johnson, "would make a mockery of 1991."

Aside from ridiculing EC directives Johnson criticised their intrusiveness and cost to the British taxpayer. There were the Commission proposals to ban children and young people "from many types of work they can normally perform in the UK." (Johnson, 1992b) Newspaper boys and babysitters might be impacted by the new rules, said Johnson, who warned that the new directive would overturn labour market liberalising measures passed by Thatcher's governments. He wrote about the new coffin laws which meant that corpses and coffins would be subject to new "Brussels legislation for a European way of death." (Johnson, 1992 j.2) In March 1992 he reported that a new committee was being set up to set standard "anti-pong laws" or "smell-factor laws" across Europe. (Johnson, 1992m) "Expert olfactometrists (smell measurers)," wrote Johnson, "described how teams of eight to ten human sniffers are being commissioned to test two sets of air samples." Another article on EC directives was framed as an existential threat to the British sausage. (Johnson, 1991k2) "The pinkness of the uncooked British breakfast sausage was once again imperilled yesterday," wrote Johnson, "after a row between British and Danish MEPs over artificial colourants….British MEPs say 'subsidiarity', or minimum interference, should allow Britons to eat the sausages to which they have always been accustomed."

Occasionally Johnson's light-hearted attacks on Commission rules adopted a more serious tone. In April 1993, following the suicide of a Commission official, Johnson asked if corruption was endemic in the organisation. (Johnson, 1993e) The official had been linked to a multi-million pound tobacco scandal in Greece and Italy. "Everyone has always known that Commission officials," wrote Johnson, "with their lonely offices and vast budgets, were vulnerable to corruption." Johnson illustrated his argument with instances of alleged corruption, such as "one-eared cows", "hairy cheese", and "non-existent sheep." Johnson insinuated that this 'culture' owed a great deal to an inherent disharmony in the EC's make-up:

> Since the days of Mrs Thatcher and before, 'fraud' has been emblazoned on the Euro-cynic's armour…. the EEC's simmering cultural clash is coming to a head: between the straitlaced northerner and the man who tends to be small, dark, and proud unto death.

5.5.4 EC / EU benefits: The single market core position

Very occasionally Johnson acknowledged the advantages Britain accrued from EC membership, framing the single market as a benefit to Britain. (Johnson, 1992f) Johnson concluded in January, 1992, that Britain had for the most part benefited from membership, noting that in 1990, 40 per cent of Japanese and 37 per cent of US investment in the EC went to Britain. On the downside, Johnson said that the major weaknesses, pinpointed by Eurosceptics 20 years previously, had yet to be resolved: the failures of the CAP, and "the undemocratic Brussels machine, full of faceless busybodies…inserting themselves into the nooks and crannies of our national life."

Yet two years later, Johnson appears to have changed his mind. In January 1994 Johnson wrote his first highly critical article about the single market, triggered by personal frustration with his own car and house-buying efforts in Brussels. (Johnson, 1994a) "Anyone hoping to take advantage of the much cheaper second-hand cars in Belgium runs into countless bureaucratic obstacles," wrote Johnson. Consumers and business people are "hugely frustrated" with the "endless" red tape. In a damning indictment of the single market, he wrote:

> Technical peculiarities and disguised protectionism mean the Single Market is about as buoyant as a lead balloon…The European Commission, supposed guardian of the Single Market, has said it can do nothing.

'Goodbye, Brussels'

In 1994, after five years in Brussels, Johnson returned home to London. Before leaving he wrote one final feature article, an "audit" of "how much power, precisely, was handed over" to Brussels during his time in the city. The picture he painted of EU membership is almost relentlessly negative. Adopting a 'Westminster' core position, he wrote that sovereignty is:

> …a cake carved up between London and Brussels, with Westminster's share diminishing as the EC's slice inexorably expands, OR as Brussels advocates would put it, a 'Brussels super-cake' with sovereignty 'pooled' or 'shared' with other EC countries. (Johnson, 1994c)

The article is accompanied by a cartoon depicting Delors as the witch in *Hansel and Gretel*, with Finland, Austria and Sweden[14] as the children. Johnson wrote that for their "£1 billion" in entry fees, "Brussels will sternly oversee the initiation rituals, the bonfire of national prerogatives. No more control of borders, they have been told; no more right to keep out foreign lorries or chalet-buyers, a binding commitment to scrap national currencies, a shared foreign policy, trade policy, environment policy…one could go on."

There is little, if any, positive commentary in the piece, aside from a mention of how British business can benefit from majority voting procedures. There are the "neo-Stalinist farm subsidies", "the banning of prawn cocktail flavour crisps", the 2,794 directives including ones on the transport of calf embryos and the dumping duties on Egyptian artichokes. At every turn, Britain's "natural negotiating stance was warped by France and her farmers". "[Brussels power] emanates, not from the barrel of a gun, but from the Mont Blanc fountain pens of officials." He concluded:

> There's the rub. It all happens in Brussels. However one weighs up the costs and benefits of 'pooling' sovereignty, the EC is run from the Belgian capital. Never mind that decisions are partly British – although Britain's influence will become more diluted, as the EC expands from 12 to 15 members – the geographical location of power is not trivial. The fact that decisions are taken in a foreign city will matter increasingly in the imaginations of British people. Some of this may have logic. But unless the architects of the united Europe are aware of their projects' political limitations, I foresee trouble ahead.

[14] Finland, Austria and Sweden joined the EU on the 1st of January 1995, becoming the 13th, 14th and 15th members of the group.

5.6 Conclusion

From his beginnings as the *Daily Telegraph's* EC correspondent, Boris Johnson's journalism deftly mined and amplified a number of British cultural pre-dispositions. The most important was a deep distrust of any external jurisdiction that threatened British parliamentary power. Johnson identified this strand of thinking, and time and again emphasised the implications of deepening integration for British sovereignty. This study has found that over his five years in Brussels, the threat to sovereignty issue emerges as *the* major frame or package, dominating Johnson's discourse, which in turn reflected and amplified the major concerns of the Conservative Party's Eurosceptic wing. The second major cultural factor identified and mined by Johnson was the threat posed by Europe to Britain's free market ideals. Johnson highlighted examples of what he regarded as absurd EU directives, the wastefulness and corruption of the Common Agricultural Policy, and the EU's socialist and protectionist policies which were at odds with the core values espoused by Thatcherite Conservatism. The third factor was Britain's historic hostility to France and Germany. Whenever Britain found itself at odds with its European partners, Johnson routinely resorted to a 'Plot' package to recycle historical tropes about German expansionist tendencies or the untrustworthy French. Finally there is the 'identity' frame, which encompasses ideas about Britain's physical separateness from the continent and historic ties with both the 'Anglosphere' of the British Commonwealth and Atlantic ties with the US. This did not emerge as a strong feature of Johnson's writing, appearing in only 6 of the articles analysed during Johnson's time in Brussels. The next chapter sets out the findings of Johnson's opinion writing from 1994 until 2016. The implications of Johnson's framing of Europe will be analysed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6 The framing of Europe in Boris Johnson's opinion writing, 1994-2016

6.1 Introduction

After five years in Brussels Boris Johnson had become well-known for his stories about Brussels bureaucrats, the untrustworthy French and power-crazed Germans. Such was his reputation that a fellow journalist, James Lansdale, penned a poem to mark his departure, inspired by 'Matilda' by Hilaire Belloc: "Boris told such dreadful lies/ It made one gasp and stretch one's eyes." (Purnell, 2011, p. 139) By the spring of 1994, the *Daily Telegraph*'s editor Max Hastings, a Tory moderate, had decided to bring Johnson back to London. On his return Johnson was appointed as the paper's assistant editor and chief political columnist. In the former role Johnson was expected to help the paper's deputy editor, Simon Heffer, with the comment pages. Heffer was not impressed with Johnson's work rate, recalling that he was "as helpful as the proverbial chocolate teapot". "I was the person as Johnson's line manager telling Hastings that he was appalling," he says. "Johnson is the only colleague I've ever grassed up in nearly 14 years in Fleet Street, because he would come in and lie to me, he'd lie about everything. And he wouldn't turn up at work. He'd clear off."

Johnson had concerns about his new role as a columnist, telling one of the paper's leader writers he was "a bit worried" as "I haven't got any political opinions". When pushed Johnson said he was "against Europe and against capital punishment". (Gimson, 2016, p. 124) But Johnson eventually established himself as one of the *Telegraph's* most high profile columnists, commanding an annual salary of £275,000 by 2018. (Waterson, 2016) In 1997 he won Commentator of the Year at the 'What the Papers Say' awards. (Gimson, 2016) He continued to return to Brussels to file stories and comment pieces about Europe, which occasionally brought him into conflict with Tony Blair and the New Labour government's head of press, Alastair Campbell. (Purnell, 2011, p. 162)

This chapter sets out how Johnson framed the issue of Europe in his *Daily Telegraph* opinion column. It examines these findings through the four major interpretive packages identified in Chapter 4, namely 'The Loss of British Sovereignty', 'The Threat to

Liberal Free Markets', 'The Plot Against Britain', and 'The Threat to British Identity'. It concludes that the most significant interpretive package in Johnson's opinion writing is 'The Loss of British Sovereignty', which dominated much of his discourse from 1994 to 2016, with 89 of the 147 articles analysed for this period falling within this frame. This was followed by the 'Threat to Liberal Free markets package' with 29 articles, the 'Plot Against Britain' package with 20 articles, and lastly the 'Threat to British Identity' package with 8 articles.

6.2 The Threat to British Sovereignty

Within the 'Sovereignty' frame the Westminster core position is the most common position, occurring 58 times, followed by the 'Single Currency' core position which occurred 25 times. The 'Control Immigration' core position occurred five times and the 'Embrace Integration' core position appeared just once.

6.2.1 The Westminster core position

Within the 'Sovereignty' frame, the Westminster core position is by far the most commonly found position in Johnson's columns. Johnson returned repeatedly to this core position in columns about Britain's place in Europe, EU directives, Tory party Euroscepticism and leadership heaves, as well as the issue of monetary union. His commentary closely aligned him with Eurosceptic thinking in the party, putting him at odds with official party policy on Europe.

In one of his first opinion pieces as the *Telegraph's* chief political columnist, Johnson weighed up the pros and cons of EU membership, musing that "It would be intoxicating to cast off the incubus of Brussels. It would end the wearisome arguments about sovereignty, the confusion about who governs Britain." (Johnson, 1994f) While Johnson argued that there was ample justification for leaving the EU, there was one overriding reason for not doing so. He (incorrectly) predicted that the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference on enlargement would mean "the end of the old all-or-nothing EC compact". Now Britain would be able to choose from "a menu of options". On balance, Britain should stay: "We are better off making trouble from the inside". The

EC would flourish and enlarge. On the outside Britain would be "unable to safeguard her interests". Yet, Johnson foresaw the tentative beginnings of a pulling away from the EU:

> After so many humiliations, the mood in Westminster is light-headed, nihilistic. Exasperated by detail, befuddled by its defeats, parts of the Government, or at least the Tory party, are prepared to debate the question of Europe from first principles. They are right to do so.

The sovereignty issue cut to the very core of Tory party concerns about the EU. Boris Johnson's repeated use of this package reveals evidence of his growing identification with the Eurosceptic cause. While one column in May 1994 compared a Bruges Group assembly to a meeting of flat-earthers, Johnson was moved by their rhetoric:

> …the truth is that the Bruges Group is right in its prejudice, and closer to a real understanding of what is going on in Europe… Our laws may be set aside by the European Court of Justice. Our Government has shown itself consistently unable to assert itself in Brussels. (Johnson, 1994h)

Why do the British people "not rise up as one and cast off the oppressor?" asked Johnson. The answer, he argued, was apathy, but he warned: "There will come a moment when the public can no longer roll its eyes at the mention of Brussels and leave it to the Bruges Group and the politicians….Perhaps it is not now, perhaps not even in five years' time. But the moment of decision will come."

At the 1994 Tory party conference, Johnson continued to dwell on the party's deep-set divisions over Europe, once more appearing to promote a Eurosceptic agenda by framing the European debate around a loss of sovereignty. (Johnson, 1994m) Euroscepticism, he said, "surges from the chasm at the heart of the party….The European question for the Tories…is so deadly and so unpredictable because the agenda is not in their hands." The political agenda "is set by foreign countries, principally France and Germany." Johnson warned that any further integration would damage British interests. He offered a solution: a referendum following the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference is "politically essential" to ask voters whether they approve the changes made.[15] However, he stressed that a 'No' result would not mean withdrawal from the EU.

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[15] The Major government discussed holding a referendum on the EU in 1994, but could not decide what the question should be. 'John Major's Government considered holding EU vote, papers reveal', *The Guardian*,

In January 1995, Johnson wrote in support of eight Tory rebels who had published a charter calling for the scrapping of monetary union and the abolition of the CAP. (Johnson, 1995a) "Angry Tories will say the Sceptic Eight are threatening the functioning, even the existence, of the Government," he wrote. "And yet there are just as many Tories who simply do not understand how it is that Britain can be forced by Europe to do things which its elected MPs, and indeed the government, oppose."

Yet Johnson had little faith in the rebels chances of winning real change on Tory party policy on Europe. In May 1995 Johnson wrote that while the Tories must come together to arrest "the federal ratchet" of Brussels, he expressed concerns about their capacity to do so. (Johnson, 1995c) The ideas being put forward were mere "wheezing veterans from the ignominious Maastricht campaign" which would in no way erode "the conglomerate of EU powers." One issue then at stake was the EU denying Britain the right to ban the live export of animals. In an extraordinary statement, Johnson warned that the Commission's stance "could lead to violence against the 'federal government' in Brussels. It is not pure science fiction, moreover, to see how the anger of the Oklahoma militias with federal laws could, one day, find parallels in Europe."

In the July 1995 leadership race Johnson wrote supportively of the Tory Eurosceptic challenger, John Redwood. The day before the vote Johnson filed a piece calling for a Conservative party leader with a vision around which the party could unite. (Johnson, 1995d) Clearly Johnson did not have John Major in mind. The leadership race once again revealed Johnson's growing affiliation with Euroscepticism. In identifying with the Eurosceptic wing, Johnson sought to broaden his readers' understanding of the creed to include members of the metropolitan elite, of which he counted himself a member:

> This Euro-scepticism does not mean tediously exalting all that is British above continental art and cuisine; bragging that Britten is better than Beethoven, or that Cornish pasty beats *foie gras*. It is

28 December. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/dec/28/john-major-cabinet-considered-eu-referendum-1994-national-archives

> possible to be Euro-sceptic, and a devoted admirer of French cheese and German poetry. It is possible to be Euro-sceptic and a believer in the Common Market, a place of free movement of goods, people and services….This agenda simply involves scepticism about whether the additional forms of supranational government being created in Brussels are right for this or any European country.

The IGC and the EU ban on British beef

On March 29th the Intergovernmental Conference officially opened in Turin. In his weekly column Johnson wrote in deeply pessimistic terms about Britain's chances of protecting national sovereignty at the conference, with the EU "forces of federalism…mustering in ambush." (Johnson, 1996c) The conference did little to shake Johnson's view about Britain's "supplicant" status in Europe: "If there is one conclusion that stands out from the Turin summit it is how far Britain has become a mere satrapy of the European empire." (Johnson, 1996d)

By this time relations between Britain and the EU had deteriorated, following the imposition of a ban on beef and cattle from the UK in the wake of the BSE crisis. For Johnson, the issue of the beef ban appears to have cut to the core of his unhappiness with the EU. "Foreigners", claimed Johnson, and "false friends in Europe" are behind the "infamous" and "sinister" ban. (Johnson, 1996g) British beef, he claimed, "is probably the least contaminated meat in Europe, as anyone will tell you who has been to the farms of Flanders as I have, and watched them shovel angel dust into the mash." When John Major enacted a policy of non-cooperation at the Council of Ministers until the ban was lifted, Johnson regarded it as evidence that Britain was finally fighting back: "The moth-eaten lion roars. Britannia shakes her rusty trident. Atavistic emotions surge in the Tory breast…After all these years of being pushed around and having its milk money stolen in the playground of Europe, the Government has blinked, straightened its spectacles and put up its fists."

Stay or go?

In the late 1990s, Johnson returned to the question of Britain's place in Europe, often stressing the sovereignty issue as the primary source of his concerns. In 1996, a profile of Sir James Goldsmith, the billionaire owner of the Referendum Party, prompted Johnson to consider his own attitude to staying in the EU. (Johnson, 1996e) Writing that he was "not sure" about where he stood on the issue, he predicted that an "In-Out" referendum would

be lost, largely due to apathy and fear of losing business. This, he warned would "validate Britain's commitment to integration, and retard Euroscepticism for a generation."

But a few months later, Johnson appeared to take a much harder line on EU membership, following the imposition of a 48-hour working week across Europe. (Johnson, 1996l) Calling it a "Black Day for us would-be Europhiles", Johnson wrote:

> I cannot help wondering what is the point of the whole set-up. We have MPs, and a Cabinet, and a Government, who draw their power and legitimacy from the British people. But they have been made to look impotent by Brussels; mere ornaments of a nation with nothing left but heritage. They go out to Brussels, and on an issue of cardinal national importance, they are told that under article 118A of the treaty, they cannot pass their own laws.

The only choice, he said, was to either begin "the 20-year delayed task of explaining to the British people that they have been enmeshed into a superstate in which their leaders are of no account. Or else, with great regret, we begin the whole process of getting out."

Following his election to parliament in 2001, Johnson drew on his experiences as a backbencher to attack EU law-making. In 2004 a new EU directive on child car seats caused him to fulminate on the powerlessness of Westminster to resist "these ludicrous plastic cushions or seatettes". From his seat in parliament Johnson concluded: "I sit on European Standing Committee B, watching European legislation come in like a tide, and there is nothing we can do to interrupt or object. We are far less use than the Russian Duma under Lenin. It is a farce, and it is no way to govern a country." (Johnson, 2004a) Writing two years later about the same subject, Johnson said he was "shocked by the depth of my own anger" that British politicians have "neither the means nor the opportunity to contest it." Johnson claimed this apparent lack of agency was justifiable reason "for massive civil disobedience". (Johnson, 2006b)

The growing powers of the European Parliament, so long a rich source of lampooning, was no longer a joke by 2004. Johnson warned that the European Parliament was acquiring ever more powers, following its rejection of a designated commissioner for his anti-gay views. (Johnson, 2004c) The real power now lay "hundreds of miles away in the upstart parliament of Strasbourg, the restaurant-rich Alsatian city. While in Westminster, we beavered away in Gormenghast-like oblivion."

For all Johnson's apparent disillusionment with the EU, he still occasionally advocated in its favour. The rise of UKIP – "a bunch of boss-eyed, foam-flecked Euro-hysterics" – saw him make a rallying call of sorts for EU membership. (Johnson, 2004b) Better to stay in Europe, he argued, fighting for a "flexible, multi-speed Europe" with the benefits of the single market. Britain had a huge chance to reshape Europe – but only through Conservative governance.

The Nice Treaty

The ratification of the Nice Treaty – and the decision to allow Ireland vote a second time having once rejected it – caused Johnson to reminisce about his days in Brussels criticising the EU (Johnson, 2002c) Johnson wrote that while his "nasty days" were over, the EU's efforts to "bully" the Irish to vote yes had once again unleashed his inner Euro-sceptic:

> ...this week some of us are experiencing the old Bill Cash-style mania. Our eyes dilate. We feel an urge to crawl up the wall with rage, because the entire media and Euro-establishment are peddling an outrageous falsehood: that the Nice Treaty is a precondition of the enlargement of the EU; and that, if the Irish vote no, again, on Sunday, all will be lost. This is not true, either in law or logic.

It was the failure to allow a referendum on the European Constitution, however, that prompted Johnson to campaign on the issue. (Johnson, 2003) Claiming that the proposed constitution created a "a single country, called Europe" he said it would be "outrageous" if the constitution were just "rammed through" the Commons: "We need a referendum. We cannot take no for an answer." The referendum never happened, but six years later, the constitution entered into force in the form of the Lisbon Treaty. This event and a visit to Brussels gave Johnson pause to reflect on the way "Power has passed, is passing, and under the Treaty of Lisbon, will pass further to the Euro-parliament." (Johnson, 2009) This, he wrote, was reflected in the physical transformation of the Belgian city, now "sleek" and "self-confident", compared to "desiccated Westminster". "It reflects the shift in the balance of power and the fact that the laws of this country are no longer determined by Parliament at Westminster," concluded Johnson.

The Bloomberg speech

On January 23rd, 2013, in a speech at Bloomberg in London, David Cameron made his fateful pledge for an In/Out referendum on Europe, if the Conservatives won the 2015 election. Writing in his column a week later, Johnson veered closer than ever to arguing

for exiting the EU: "I am not sure exit would be quite the catastrophe some people claim," he wrote.

> As it happens, I think most people would want to stay in the single market, and that is the most likely outcome. But it is also clear that the world has changed unimaginably in the past 40 years – that Britain's destiny is to build links with the BRICs and other emerging markets, as well as Europe and the US. (Johnson, 2013a)

By this time UKIP posed a genuine electoral threat to the Conservative party. Johnson devoted a number of columns to the reasons for its rise. (Johnson, 2013c) Their leader, Nigel Farage was "anti-pomposity, he's anti-political correctness, he's anti-loony Brussels regulation," Johnson wrote approvingly. Yet Johnson appealed to voters to stick with the Conservatives, on the basis that they alone would be in a position to offer a referendum on Europe. The following year, ahead of the European Parliament elections, Johnson again appealed to voters to stick with the Tories, as the only party "who are offering this real prospect of change." (Johnson, 2014b). He reiterated this position again on June 9th, and June 29th, warning that "British politics is visibly dwindling, as decisions are anaesthetically taken in Brussels. In the end we will pay a terrible price for this moral weakness." (Johnson, 2014c)

In May 2013 Johnson produced one of his most significant columns yet on Europe, examining the balance sheet for EU membership. (Johnson, 2013b) On the downside there would be the loss of foreign direct investment, no longer having a say on standards and regulations in Europe, and a loss of global influence. But Johnson made a far more compelling case for leaving, including no longer having to "cough up" for the EU budget and getting sovereignty back – especially over borders: "we would no longer be in the mad position of being forced to extend our entire welfare system to anyone from Bulgaria or Romania." Britain's renegotiation with Europe would only work if Britain was clear about what it wanted to achieve – which in Johnson's view should be "a pared-down relationship based on free trade."

A Johnson column following the Tory victory in the 2015 General Election foreshadowed the core Vote Leave campaign message. "It was that sense of a loss of control that caused voters such fury – even people who were actually quite willing to be persuaded of the benefits of immigration," he wrote. (Johnson, 2015a.1) Johnson argued

that losing sovereignty "is the Faustian pact of the EU". But the experience of Greece showed that the "sovereignty-prosperity trade-off" does not work. "Over decades, British politicians had given away powers that weren't strictly theirs to give. They belonged to the people; and when the people asked for them back, they were told that the heirlooms were now locked in the silver cabinet in Brussels." Surely now, he wrote, with power devolving to the nations and regions of the UK, "it is time to give back powers to the countries of the EU."

A second think-piece later in the year reads like a manifesto for Vote Leave. Yes, "We want to say in, but not at any price," argued Johnson. If Cameron does not get what he wants from the renegotiation, "he could lead the Out campaign…and in that great release of pent-up Eurosceptic energy there can be little doubt that he would be victorious."

> ...the Prime Minister is so right to flash some steel – to unsheathe a section of the blade that might soon be used to cut the rope and set Britain free. Free to make our own laws and our own trade deals; to have impact on the world commensurate with our own abilities, no longer believing that we can somehow puff ourselves up and "punch above our weight" by contriving to call the shots among 28 nations in the smoke-free corridors of Brussels. No longer to sacrifice parliamentary democracy for diplomatic "influence"; no longer the subset of a superstate; no longer the unwilling component of a unique and unprecedented attempt at political unification, but independent, standing or falling on our own merits. (Johnson, 2015d)

He warned the coming campaign would see a "torrent of drivel" from big business, the CBI and "Europhiles" in Parliament: "Remember: they were wrong about the ERM, they were wrong about the euro and they are already exaggerating the downsides of leaving."

Yet Johnson's first column on Europe in 2016 encapsulated the writer's ambivalence. (Johnson, 2016a). The column rehashed the same argument in favour of staying in – the single market – and against: the lack of democracy, the corruption, and the threat of ever closer union. Ultimately Johnson remained firmly on the fence: "I have argued that we would be – on the whole – be better off in a reformed EU, but that Britain could have a great future outside."

Two weeks later, his position had changed. It was, he later said, an "agonising decision". On the 21st of February 2016, Boris Johnson publicly announced he would campaign for Britain to leave the EU. The following day his column set out Johnson's

familiar critiques of Europe. The UK had become "infantilised" by "Nanny" in Brussels, and as a consequence had become incapable of imagining an independent future. (Johnson, 2016b) But, Johnson argued, "We used to run the biggest empire the world has ever seen….Are we really unable to do trade deals?"

> This is a truly great country that is now going places at extraordinary speed. We are the European, if not the world, leaders in so many sectors of the 21st century economy….Now is the time to spearhead the success of those products and services not just in Europe, but in growth markets beyond. This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels, and refer all decisions to someone else… There is only one way to get the change we need – and that is to vote to go; because all EU history shows that they only really listen to a population when it says No… It is time to seek a new relationship, in which we manage to extricate ourselves from most of the supranational elements.

Almost all Johnson's remaining columns prior to the referendum were devoted to Vote Leave manifestos. There were pleas to readers not to be taken in by "the agents of Project Fear" and the "Euro elites". (Johnson, 2016c) The Single Market was "a cloak for full-scale political and economic union." (Johnson, 2016d) EU law was likened to a "ratchet, clicking only forwards" with Britain being engulfed in "a slow and invisible process of legal colonisation." (Johnson, 2016e).

As the days counted down to the referendum, Johnson amplified his anti-EU rhetoric. The EU was depicted as "a narcotic tyranny" and "a gigantic engine of job destruction." Remainers were "American presidents, business leaders, fat cats of every description." There was the infamous – and oft-disputed – claim that the referendum provided the "last chance, in our lifetimes, to take back control of £350 million a week." (Johnson, 2016f) And time and again, there was the repeated use of the Vote Leave campaign slogan: Take Back Control.

In his last column before the June 23rd vote, Johnson made this final appeal:

> It is we who want to give power back to people. It is we who want to stand up against the corporatist and elitist system that will never admit its mistakes. That is why we believe in democracy – because it is the best way humanity has found of correcting the errors of our rulers; and we are mad to throw it away....Now is the time to believe in ourselves, and in what Britain can do, and to remember that we always do best when we believe in ourselves….I hope you will vote Leave, and take back control of this great country's destiny; and if we vote Leave, then all our votes will count for more in the future. This chance will not come again in our lifetimes, and I pray we do not miss it. (Johnson, 2016j)

6.2.2 The Single Currency core position

'The single currency is a threat to sovereignty' cores position is the second most common position in Johnson's opinion writing from 1994 to 2016, accounting for 25 articles in the sample taken. Articles on the single currency also appeared within the 'Westminster' core position.

Throughout the 1990s, the Conservative Party was in disarray over the single currency and Johnson's articles on the issue reflected this party discord.[16] In his opinion writing Johnson decried Major's 'wait and see' policy on the euro and his reticence about committing the party to a referendum on the issue. (Johnson, 1994g) Adopting a 'Westminster' core position, Johnson wrote approvingly in May 1994 of the "clear and honourable objective" of Bill Cash and other Tory Eurosceptics in calling for a referendum on the issue: "They wish to pre-empt any further moves towards a United States of Europe, any further cession of sovereignty." The party, he wrote, "seethes; it boils like the contents of a great cauldron. Beneath it roar the tormenting flames of the European issue. Is there no masterstroke that could lift the lid and release them from this bubbling agony?" A referendum "would be the crack of bone on whip which for many of us have longed."

As 1996 dawned Johnson warned that the Tory party might fall apart over monetary union. (Johnson, 1996a) "The glue is cracking. The Sellotape is yellow. The Band-Aids are running low…neither Mr Major nor any mortal will be able to straddle the party's two divergent horses," he wrote. Throughout the year Johnson stressed the economic dangers posed by the single currency and the EU's stability pact. (Johnson, 1996i; Johnson, 1996j; Johnson, 1996n) This criticism reached a crescendo in the wake of that year's Tory Party Conference in Bournemouth. Johnson likened the issue of Europe to a glacier in Iceland: "superficially restrained, but with the magma of the European issue bubbling beneath." (Johnson, 1996k) Once again he appealed directly to the prime minister to declare that if re-elected, the Tories will not take Britain into the first wave of monetary union. For

[16] In April 1996 John Major pledged to hold a referendum if the Government decided to join the single currency. In 1996 the Labour Party followed up with their own referendum promise, putting pressure on John Major from the party's Eurosceptic wing to rule out single currency membership. Bevans, A. (1996) 'Labour referendum move turns single currency heat on Tories', *Independent,* 18 November. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/labour-referendum-move-turns-single-currency-heat-on-tories-1352954.html

Johnson, the EMU stability pact meant the surrender of economic sovereignty, once and for all:

> It took more than 20 years. It has taken 1,973 meetings of the Council of Ministers to complete the economic subjugation of Britain. It has been a guerrilla war of killer lunches in Luxembourg, of ambushes in Italian hotels, arm-twisting in the Brussels pissoirs. Now, at least in the view of many Tories, the game is up. They've got us. (Johnson, 1996o)

In the aftermath of the 1997 election, John Major resigned and on June 19th William Hague was elected leader. Johnson openly supported William Hague's more trenchant anti-single currency stance. Five days before the new party leader made a speech to the CBI, Johnson offered him some advice on Europe. (Johnson, 1997a) Hague should "extol European trade and co-operation, lauding internationalism, but damning Brussels' parochial obsession with EMU." Days later, William Hague's speech to the CBI did include some of the sentiments on EMU expressed by Johnson. Not surprisingly Johnson gave the speech a glowing review:

> William Hague came to the lion's den yesterday, or at least the lair of the fat cats; and he did not disappoint.… For the first time a party leader has put the economic case against EMU. There would be no way out, he warned, you would risk locking yourselves in a burning house. The words hit home. (Johnson, 1997b)

Throughout Hague's leadership of the party Johnson robustly defended him from attacks from Tory 'wets' over the party's more Eurosceptic line. Of the 13 columns Johnson wrote on Europe in 1998, four were devoted to attacks on the EU. The first of the year was an attack on Tory grandees who have written a letter to the *Independent* calling for Britain to join the single currency. The letter, signed by a former prime minister, two former deputy prime ministers and six former cabinet ministers, also questioned Hague's record on Europe. (Crowson, 2001) Johnson delivered this broadside against Tory Europhiles:

> To be a grandee is almost by definition to be Leftish and wettish….In the imagination of the Tory grandees, they are a buffer zone – literally a zone of buffers – against the vulgar nationalism of the mass of the party. To them, the European Union involves a delightful mingling of civilised elites, a chance to show off the Italian they have honed at the poolside in Chianti. To bury Britain in the EU amounts to a statement about the kind of people they are, or want to be….And in order to combat the distasteful scepticism of the lower orders, they are prepared to engage in some stunning intellectual dishonesty. (Johnson, 1998a)

Johnson concluded with this appeal to principle: "The time has long past, in the Tory party, for 'coded' speeches and letters. We know what the issue is. Let us have the argument *en clair,* not surrounded by Geoffrey Howe's metaphors about broken cricket bats."

The European summit in Cardiff in June 1998 prompted Johnson to question the whole *raison d'etre* of the EU. Joining the single currency would not make Britain any more influential over "the Franco-German axis" – nor can Britain go on deluding herself that she can change the "basic structure of the federalist project". While Johnson very clearly stated that "This is not an argument for leaving the EU", Britain should endeavour to keep the pound and manage her economy independently: "Better to be a nippy tug than a super tanker freighted with contradictions." (Johnson, 1998d)

Six days after the currency became legal tender in January 1999, Johnson predicted that the euro was just the first step in the creation of an "economic government of Europe". Likening Brussels to the Roman empire, Johnson equated the euro with "the silver denarius", the symbol of the new authority. "The plan, in truth is to create an economic government of Europe," wrote Johnson. "Spending rules are already in place. Tax rates, in whose name British parliamentarians first killed the king and took his powers, are to be discussed, decided and – inevitably – legislated in common." (Johnson, 1999a)

During that year's party conference Johnson wrote wholeheartedly in support of Tory policy on Europe. (Johnson, 1999h) Major's policy on Europe was a "disaster", and now finally there was unity around one clear policy: "The Tories are against scrapping the pound." He concluded:

> The EU is essentially an attempt to combat the triumph of supranational commerce, and the expansion of individual autonomy at the expense of government, by creating a new supranational government in Brussels. The problem with this plan is that is it profoundly undemocratic, and in resisting it from within the EU, the Tories will not go wrong.

In 2000 the single currency remained one of the major sources of domestic tension over Europe. William Hague launched the 'Keep the Pound' campaign in March, with a nationwide tour speaking on the back of a truck. (Crowson, 2001). Demands for a referendum on the euro continued as party policy under the new leader, Iain Duncan Smith. In January 2002, as euro banknotes and coins were introduced across Europe, Johnson

followed party policy with calls in his column for the prime minister Tony Blair to let the country decide on EMU: "Give us a referendum, Blair, you pasty-faced coward. And in the meantime, I will wager any reader £10 that Britain will not join the euro in the next five years." (Johnson, 2002a) Johnson rehashed by now familiar arguments about the single currency: the key objective of EMU is "to get French hands on German monetary policy"; the euro will be controlled by "The Frankfurt Eurobank", and the whole project is about creating "a political union, top-down, money-led."

The eurozone crisis

From 2010 to 2016 the eurozone crisis played out across Europe, plunging countries into recession, destabilising governments and leading many to question the *raison d'etre* of monetary union. (O'Rourke, 2014) In 2010, Greece was engulfed in a sovereign debt crisis. The EU and IMF were forced to bail out Greece, as well as Ireland and Portugal the following year. However the loan conditions demanded by wealthier countries including Germany insisted on strict austerity measures. These deeply unpopular measures lead to massive unemployment and political instability. There were fears that were Greece to default on repayments, it could lead to its exit from the euro, potentially triggering the collapse of the currency. (Alessi and McBride, 2015)

The fate of Greece was the subject of some of Johnson's most critical articles on Europe over the coming years. In February 2010 he warned that an "economic government of Europe" loomed as a consequence of the crisis: '...this bailout will come at a serious political price. It is absurd to expect the Germans to write out a colossal cheque for Greece, without giving Berlin some say over how that money is spent." (Johnson, 2010) This, naturally, would mean a "further erosion of democracy". Britain, meanwhile, should "give thanks that we avoided that awful Procrustean bed of pain. Thank heaven we stayed out of the euro." In October 2012, Johnson was aghast at the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the EU: '…look at where the EU machine is taking us now. The catastrophic programme for monetary union is continuing to impoverish the people of Greece and much of southern Europe….We are now proposing to give formal control of eurozone tax and spending policies to the EU institutions – a shorthand for German control." (Johnson, 2012c) The Nobel should instead go to Margaret Thatcher – who warned repeatedly of the dangers of

monetary policy and the lack of democracy in the European project. "She has been completely vindicated," opined Johnson.

6.2.3 The Control Immigration core position

The 'Control Immigration' core position centred on the argument that 'Britain must take back control of its borders'. There were five articles in the sample adopting a 'Control Immigration' core position, the majority of which appeared in the two years prior to the Brexit referendum.

The first article appeared in February 1995, following the decision by Minister Charles Wardle to resign from government over the issue of "national determination" over free movement. (Johnson, 1995b) Johnson threw his weight behind Wardle's decision, writing that the European Commission's "dream" is "to see a bonfire of frontier barriers and customs posts throughout the European Union."

In the two years prior to the referendum, Johnson returned to the issue, writing that he was "not against immigration per se", but merely wanted "a return to sensible and practical border controls." He called for a rethink on free movement to allow governments to "control who is coming into their country." By October Johnson's language on immigration had noticeably hardened. Now "hordes" of people at Calais wanted to come to Britain:

> …there is no way, under current UK law, that we can stop people entering this country in large numbers from all 28 EU countries, including those where wages and benefits are very much lower than our own….What makes people angry is that sense that the whole thing is out of control. (Johnson, 2014d)

While Johnson declared that David Cameron was the only person who could get the reforms needed from the EU, there was also a note of support for UKIP members: "Kippers aren't wicked. They don't hate immigrants, they just hate the lack of control of immigration."

In November 2015 Johnson warned that the population of Britain could hit 80 million by 2050 unless "proper migrant controls" were introduced. "It feels at the moment," he wrote, "as if there is a giant plot…to use the excuse of EU rules to keep immigration beyond democratic control, so the numbers keep rising." (Johnson, 2015c) A

month later, following David Cameron's renegotiation of Britain's terms of membership, Johnson railed against "pious and ill-informed claptrap" from commentators that Cameron's proposals "are somehow destructive of the single market and its 'cherished principles'. What rubbish." While Johnson claimed to be a "passionate believer in the benefits of migration", he wrote: "it should be up to us in this country to decide …whom to admit and when to admit them." (Johnson, 2015e)

6.3 The Plot Against Britain

The 'Plot Against Britain' package is the third most featured interpretive package in Johnson's work from 1994 to 2016, accounting for 20 of the 147 columns Johnson wrote during this period. The 'Franco-German' axis is the most common core position, appearing in 12 articles, followed by the 'German Thirst for Expansion' core position which appears in 7 articles, and the 'Untrustworthy Politicians' core position which appears in one article.

In seeking to convey these ideas, Johnson's columns feature much of the same national stereotyping that became such a feature of his discourse during his time as the *Telegraph'*s EC correspondent. There was German "boot-clicking", (Johnson, 1994l), the "irascible" French, and the "Orwellian double-speak" of Brussels. (Johnson, 1998c Once again Johnson resorted to World War II tropes to justify claims that the euro was a cloak for German domination of Europe, in one article linking the single currency to Hitler's plans for Europe. (Johnson, 2002b)

6.3.1 The Franco-German axis core position

In spring 1994, two columns appeared within weeks of each other attacking France and Germany over the ongoing row about Qualified Majority Voting.[17] Johnson accused the "Franco-German axis" of running Brussels to suit their domestic needs. (Johnson, 1994d) This resulted in Britain being forced to accept "neon-lit humiliations" such as the 48-hour

[17] The expansion of the EU to include Austria, Finland, and Sweden lead to a proposal to increase the 'blocking minority' from 23 votes to 27 votes. Britain opposed the measure. Source: Golub, J. (1999) 'In the Shadow of the Vote? Decision Making in the European Community.' *International Organization*, 53 (4), pp. 733–64, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2601308.

week. "Anyone who studies the EC voting record," concluded Johnson, "will see that Britain is routinely overruled."

The second column questioned the entire basis of the EU. The EU "was a cloak for efforts, led by France, to throw a bridle on the Teutonic beast, to create a European superstructure, called Maastricht, in which to enmesh the Germans." But, claimed Johnson, the plan for a European superstate might founder due to enlargement and German unease about monetary union. Were that to happen, a new Europe would rise up. Britain would be isolated and "forced into abject isolation", after which the prime minister would face "the fury of his backbenches as more power is transferred to Brussels":

> …Will this British misery never end? Will the federalist assaults never let up? Or will they go on until Jacques Delors' successors have at last built their Euro-Jerusalem here in this cobbled city of fine restaurants and ornamental parks?....And yet my hunch is that, sometime in the next 10 or 15 years, there will be an attempt to go ahead with full union.…Europe will be a single currency zone, with German monetary policy imposed on the entire continent. (Johnson, 1994e)

The single currency

In his framing of the single currency issue Johnson often used a 'Franco-German axis' core position to stress what he viewed as a manoeuvre "to keep the Germans in, the Americans out, and the French in charge." (Johnson, 1998b) In late April 1998, as EU leaders prepared to launch the first 11 countries that would participate in the single currency, Johnson asked why Britain should cleave to either the EU or Atlantic blocks:

> It is time for some bold politician to map out an alternative future for this country in which we keep a foot in both camps. Britain could be the intersecting set in the Venn diagram…neither seeing its future exclusively 'in Europe' nor 'with America'….It is time to have our cake, eat it – and keep the pound into the bargain.

Later that year Johnson wrote one of his most disparaging columns yet about the EU, claiming that the euro had its roots in the Third Reich:

> To say that the euro has nothing to do with the war, or Hitler, is absurd. It has everything to do with Hitler….The plain historical truth…is that the European Union did indeed have a weird prototype in Hitler's wartime Reich. In fact, you can only really understand the psychological background of today's experiment in economic and political integration if you understand the horror of what Hitler did in the war. (Johnson, 2002b)

Johnson further claimed that in 1942, Hitler formulated a plan for a European Economic Community for subject territories. After the war men such as Jean Monnet

realised "how dreadfully France could suffer under untrammelled German economic dominance....One day Germany might grow great again, and there was only one long-term solution: to create one nation out of many." Johnson concluded: "It was a grand vision. Fifty years on, it is hopelessly out of date."

The following January, as Greece's debt crisis deepened, Johnson wrote under a 'Franco-German axis' core position that Germany was the only country prospering from the euro. (Johnson, 2012a) The euro "straitjacket", he claimed, was preventing periphery countries from devaluing and going for growth, leading to massive unemployment and welfare bills. Meanwhile Germany "is posting record employment figures….There must be something about the present situation that is wonderful for Germany, and a nightmare for others. That something is the euro." Johnson returned to the 'Franco-German axis' position in May, for another scathing attack on Germany as youth unemployment in Greece hit a record 54 per cent. (Johnson, 2012b). The euro, he wrote, has been a "catastrophe for Greece…a doomsday machine, a destroyer of jobs, a killer of growth…the euro serves as a giant trebuchet to fire swish German saloon cars and machine tools across the rest of Europe." Johnson appealed for a "managed euro rupture" or realignment of the currency along north/south lines – rather than "continuing to immiserate so many people around the continent."

One of Johnson's final attacks on Germany prior to the referendum came in July 2016. This column, framed under a 'German Thirst for expansion' core position, was written in response to a proposal that in return for staying in the single currency, Greek state assets should be "surrendered" to the Institute for Growth in Luxembourg. "And who is in charge of this institution, eh?," wrote Johnson, "Jawohl, meine Freunde! It turns out to be a front for the German…state development bank." Johnson accused Germany of "tyranny" and the European Union of "intellectual and spiritual exhaustion". (Johnson, 2015b)

In the years prior to the referendum Johnson ratcheted up his anti-EU rhetoric, accusing the EU of being "morally bankrupt". In February 2014, Johnson demanded reform – "and if we don't get it, we have to leave". (Johnson, 2014a) Writing under a 'plot' package Johnson gave a virtual shopping list of reforms that Britain must demand

from the "morally bankrupt" EU: reform of the "crazed Common Agricultural Policy", "scrap the appalling social chapter", as well as getting rid of the ECJ's jurisdiction on borders, police, home affairs and human rights. Britain must also fight back against the view "peddled by the Commission that Britain is "the problem child of Europe". In fact, he claimed, "we are just about the politest, the most enthusiastic and the most law-abiding Europeans of all."

6.3.2 The German 'thirst for expansion' core position

In June 1994 Johnson again cast a cold eye on German plans for Europe, following the commemoration of the D-Day landings in June. (Johnson, 1994i) "The future of Europe," he wrote, "is again so manifestly in German hands":

> For today's German politicians, D-Day was the first step on the path to a federal European union…. From the British point of view it is also a union built, for good or ill, on German terms.

While Johnson says it is a "gross and formulistic analogy" to compare "Hitlerian ambitions for Europe" with present-day German domination of the Common Market, he stated: "And yet German influence is again strong enough to give one pause….It is clear where power lies."

Three more 'German thirst for expansion' core positions appear in Johnson's columns towards the end of the year. 'No-one will stop the Germans dominating us' is the alarmist headline on a piece about how Germany was emerging as America's major ally in Europe. (Johnson, 1994l). "The Germans are some way removed from the old boot-clicking," Johnson wrote. "But already Bonn is arguing for control of NATO's future combined joint task forces." In November Johnson broke a story that Britain was planning to allow the French to claim the Western European Union as the primary military power of the EU. (Johnson, 1994n) Johnson made a direct appeal to Tory Eurosceptics to intervene: "If you have rage, Mr Bill Cash and colleagues, prepare to vent it now." Johnson quoted a senior ministerial figure saying that "Germany has been delayed for 100 years from realising its true potential because of the blunders of the Kaiser and Hitler." Johnson concluded:

> There is again a German question….It is just that, in the nicest possible way, the Germans look rather imposing, what with 80 million of them in the heart of Europe.

The Essen European Council in December 1994 provided the peg for more dire warnings about German intentions. (Johnson, 1994o) "The Essen summit dwelt on admitting not just eastern Europe, but even the Baltic states and Slovenia: all Germany's ancient economic outlands….If other European countries are awed by the Germans, the Germans profess to be frightened of themselves….The wider Germany becomes, the greater Germany's weight within it." The piece ends with this prediction:

> When it comes, the single currency will demolish the Conservative Party. For the French, monetary union is the only way to tie down the Germans. For the Germans, it is Vorsprung durch federalism. For the Tory Party, it will be the end.

The following year Johnson accused Germany of using the WEU as a cloak for their plans to create a European superstate. "To the Germans, at once guilt-ridden and arrogant," he wrote, "'Europe' is the vital fig-leaf over their returning virility. It is the cover for Germany's strength. It gives legitimacy to Germany's recrudescent ambitions. To attack 'Europe' is to attack Germany." (Johnson, 1996b).

6.4 The Threat to British Identity

Johnson rarely had recourse to the 'Identity' frame in his writing. There are only eight identity packages in the opinion pieces sampled, two under a 'Threat to a British way of life' position, three under an 'Anglosphere Threat' position and three under an 'Immigration Benefits' position.

6.4.1 'The EU as a threat to the British way of life' core position

In the articles adopting 'The EU as a threat to a British way of life' position, Johnson muses on the reasons why Europe presents such an existential threat to the UK. Britons know, he argued in January 1999, that their "Britishness is under threat from Brussels". Johnson argued that should the British come under assault from Brussels, there will be a revolt: "As the Napoleonic era shows, the sense of Britishness grows stronger with external threat. If the British genuinely fear that their taxes are likely to be set by Continental powers, and their liberties are being lost, the sense of British nationhood will return, and the tittering will be over." (Johnson, 1999d) A year later Johnson argued that the reason Britain resisted moves towards a federal Europe was because "these people want to demolish things that

are valuable in our culture" – such as language and pop songs which have "conquered the world". (Johnson, 2000)

6.4.2 The 'Immigration benefits' core position

Although on balance Johnson wrote more articles calling for controls on immigration, three columns in the sample extolled the benefits of more relaxed controls. In September 2005, he made this impassioned plea for the accession of Turkey to the European Union:

> I badly want Turkey to be a member of the European Union….I believe that we in Western Europe have a historic choice in the next few years, and that we can be visionary, or we can funk it. We can either turn our backs on the Turks, and declare openly or in code that a Muslim country, no matter how secular, may not be admitted to Europe. Or else we can show courage and leadership and begin the great task of the modern age, effecting a reconciliation between moderate Islam and the West, by bringing one of the largest and most powerful Muslim nations into the EU. (Johnson, 2005c)

Another article in 2013 denounced efforts to blame Britain's housing crisis on immigrants. (Johnson, 2013e) Johnson argued that talent and investment from abroad would help create jobs and build new homes. "Yes, we should be tough on illegal immigration," he wrote. "But it makes no sense to exclude talented and legally established foreign workers than it does to exclude foreign investment." He also reminded readers that Britain "provides the most foreigners" across the EU.

6.4.3 The 'Anglosphere' threat core position

The notion of a British 'Anglosphere' emerged after 2000, when UKIP called for closer ties with the Commonwealth. Johnson picked up on the theme in his writing on three separate occasions. In 2013, for example, Johnson wrote of how, in 1973, Britain had "betrayed" its relationships with Commonwealth countries in order to enter into preferential trading arrangements with the EEC. Now is the time, he wrote, to "raise our eyes beyond Europe" and forge new links abroad. Johnson concluded: "I suppose there might be some objection from the EU – but they should be told firmly to stuff it." (Johnson, 2013d)

6.5 The Threat to Liberal Free Markets

The 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' package was the second most common frame used by Johnson in his opinion writing. A new core position emerged in Johnson's post 1994

writing: 'Leave EU', reflecting the view that Britain would be better off outside the European Union. This position appeared in six articles, primarily in the run-up to the 2016 referendum. The position that 'British taxpayers are footing the bill for Europe's bloated bureaucracy' was the most popular core position, appearing in nine articles, followed by the Common Agricultural Policy core position which appeared in seven articles. The 'Single Market' core position – reflecting the benefits to Britain of membership of the EU – appeared in five articles. The Social Chapter disappeared as a core position during this time period, and the 'Protectionism' core position – that the EU's protectionist policies are a threat to Thatcherite free-market principles – appeared twice.

6.5.1 The Common Agricultural Policy core position

The core position that Britain, as a rich nation, is paying too much in handouts to support poorer nations and the wasteful Common Agricultural Policy, did not receive as much attention in Johnson's columns after 1994 as it had during his time as EC correspondent.

On one occasion in 1994, Johnson tried to place the blame the European Commission for a domestic political decision to replace the Milk Marketing Board. (Johnson, 1994j) This, he claimed, would mean that British consumers would be forced to drink inferior "Euro milk" which he described thus: "Processed, boiled, centrifuged, it can remain inert and stable in the fridge for months, and then, like some radioactive isotope, decay with frightening speed….It is Brussels which presses this stuff upon us." It is enough, said Johnson, "to make a reasonable citizen rattle the teacup and blow bubbles of indignation in the cornflakes."

In August 1994 Johnson described the EC budget as "bribe money" to be paid out to farmers who were known to be defrauding the Commission of billions every year. (Johnson, 1994k) Johnson cited examples of alleged fraud he had written about during his time in Brussels – such as the "£27 million olive oil rip-off", "the fetid wheat" and "the 15 million meat carousel". Yet the culprits were rarely prosecuted, claimed Johnson, who accused the Commission of "a virtual conspiracy" to cover up fraud in order to protect their grand project of building a "true European Union". "The more interesting question," he wrote, "is why the public does not rise up as one in pop-eyed fury."

In 2005 Johnson decried "the evil of the CAP" as leaders met at a G8 meeting. Johnson called the subsidy system a "catastrophe" and blamed the French for all its wrongs, accusing French politicians of assisting in "the £5 billion destruction of the British beef industry, when they knew our cattle were perfectly safe to eat." (Johnson, 2005a) Then, in May 2006, Johnson found himself the unexpected recipient of a €10 EU subsidy for his pony paddock, without, as he pointed out, actually going to the trouble of having a pony. "I have managed to hitch my wagon to the gravy train of the CAP and clamp my jaws about the hind teat of Defra," he wrote. "By virtue of possessing 0.3 hectares of grass, excluding the dilapidated outside privy, I am apparently eligible for subsidy!" Johnson used the incident as a peg for another attack on the CAP – "a bureaucratic fortress of madness":

> The government – Brussels – the taxpayer – whoever – is seriously going to pay me 10 euros a year merely for being the owner of this blissful patch of grass and rabbits…you will find your lungs tightening and your lips blibbering into a pant-hoot of pure amazement at the insanity of our masters. (Johnson, 2006)

6.5.2 The British Taxpayers core position

Corruption became a major focus of Johnson's work in 1999, following substantiated findings of fraud against the Santer-led European Commission.[18] On the 13th of January, Johnson adopted a 'British Taxpayers' core position to make a compelling case for the sacking of the entire Commission. (Johnson, 1999b) "After decades of peaceful browsing in the restaurants of Brussels, the Eurocrats are suddenly raising the head, flaring the nostrils, sniffing the wind….A threat has appeared to their existence, more deadly than a duff oyster, more lethal than the Tory Euro-sceptics. Help! They say. Crisis! Constitutional crisis!" Johnson instanced examples of EU waste and corruption, depicting the European parliament as a "happy hothouse in the restaurant-rich Alsatian city; where former SS officers harangue Italian ex-porn stars on the merits of the ewe premium." The article also mentioned the mislaying of £1 billion in humanitarian aid and the billions more lost in fraud and bungling. "It would have been simpler to blowtorch the money," he wrote. "The EU system is systemically corrupt, and if anything, getting worse."

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[18] Allegations of fraud had dogged the Commission for some years, with the European Court of Auditors finding in November 1998 that £3 billion – or five per cent of the EU's budget – had "gone walkabout". (Tomkins, 1999)

Two days later, when MEPs failed to censure the Commission for its actions, Johnson was unsparing in his criticism. (Johnson, 1999c) "Not since the waters retired from the face of the Earth has Strasbourg witnessed such a profusion of spineless life-forms," he wrote. "It was as if Louis XIV had been led to the guillotine, and then allowed to escape with a minor wigging." There is only one way to get the Commissioners to take notice – "and that is to prise their jaws away from the great Euro-teat."

In March 1999 the Santer Commission was forced to resign, "destroyed by its own sheer, exuberant incompetence", according to Johnson. (Johnson, 1999f) But Jacques Santer - "this time-bomb, bacillus, this agent of deep penetration – in the heart of the Brussels machine" – was not done, he wrote.

> Does this mean a freeze on EU spending? Will the lobster picks rust in the restaurants of the Rue Stevin?... *Mais non*! It turned out that Santer and Co. have not actually resigned and gone…they remain until the new commissioners can be found. They will be paid, in homage to the system they created themselves, to do nothing.

The revelation that the French Commissioner Edith Cresson had hired her 85-year-old dentist as a senior EU aide is the cue for another broadside from Johnson. (Johnson, 1999e) The Commission had finally been uncloaked as "a load of free-booting freeloaders commanding their chauffeurs to take their wives shopping in their free petrol 7-series BMWs and installing their dentists as 'scientific advisers'." There was, however, faint praise for the European Parliament for finally acting against Commission corruption. Without them, "there would have been no Committee of Wise Men to press the whisky and revolver into Mr Santer's hand."

But attempts to reform the Commission were bound to lose out to national self-interest, Johnson wrote a week later. (Johnson, 1999g) EU leaders "will huff and puff, and issue strongly worded communiques about the need to 'restore the trust of the people of Europe', and after a decent interval, they will do nothing, zilch, niente….With a wheeze and a creak and then a glorious insouciant chuffa-chuffa-chuffa, the gravy train will be back on the rails."

6.5.3 The single market, protectionism, and Leave EU core positions

From 1994 until 2016 Johnson's columns about Britain's future in Europe vacillated between the positive core position of the single market and the 'Leave EU' core position.

In June 1996, following a meeting of the Conservative Philosophy Group, Johnson had a self-described "dark night of the soul" over Europe. Should Britain stay in, or leave the EU? (Johnson, 1996h) Under a 'single market' core position Johnson wrote of the downsides of membership: Britain's £6 billion contribution to the EU budget, and the Common Agricultural Policy costing the British consumer an extra £500 to £1,000 a year in food bills. He also noted the benefits – mainly associated with the single market: "the rights of people to travel, settle and set up business everywhere; and the risk that in a competitive world, small barriers to trade could appear to the detriment of British business." Having weighed up the pros and cons of membership Johnson concluded: "The needle quivers. The balance trembles. For me, it is still narrowly better to stay in. What our partners should perhaps grasp is that this is now a fine judgement; and that the scales could soon tip the other way." So Johnson was still in favour of British membership, but only just. His comments on the single market provide a rare note of positivity in his otherwise largely negative commentary on Europe.

Indeed, months later an ECJ ruling on the 48-hour week prompted Johnson to conclude that Britain could be forced to leave the EU. (Johnson, 1996m) This comment piece, written under a 'Protectionism' core position, could be considered Johnson's first major leave article:

> …this is a black day for us would-be Europhiles; and the illogical ruling and the intrusive directive are only part of the reason why. As I sit here in a wing of the Palace of Westminster, I cannot help wondering what is the point of the whole set-up. We have MPs, and a Cabinet, and a Government, who draw their power and legitimacy from the British people. But they have been made to look impotent by Brussels; mere ornaments of a nation with nothing left but heritage…the Government no longer governs Britain. It no longer has the power the British people gave it.

It is noteworthy that Johnson still regarded himself a 'Europhile' – but one whose arguments are being slowly eroded by the EU's actions.

The first 'Leave EU' core position appeared as early as December 1999, in one of Johnson's most significant contributions to the debate on Europe. (Johnson, 1999i) For the

first time, Johnson suggested that Britain might be better off out of the EU in a global free trade scenario. Following protests in Seattle against the WTO, Johnson accused the EU of impeding Britain's global trading potential. Johnson cited agriculture in particular as an area where Britain was far better prepared for global competition than her European counterparts. "Britain's problem in Seattle is not free trade," he wrote, "but the way the EU works, anti-democratically, to stop us embracing free trade…the natural British interest is by no means congruent with the EU interest."

Then, as the threat of a greater Europe receded following various crises in the early noughties, Johnson called on Tory Eurosceptics to embrace the good things about Europe. Following the defeat of the French referendum on the European Constitution in May 2005, he adopted a positive 'single market' core position. "We Euro-sceptics," wrote Johnson, are "in a state of complete triumph":

> The European ideal has been overwhelmed with derision and disaster. The European Constitution is dead… As we survey the carnage, it is vital for Euro-sceptics of all kinds that we are not petty…let us scrap the pretensions of the EU to statehood; let us congratulate ourselves…on being so resoundingly vindicated about the euro." (Johnson, 2005b)

He exhorted his readers to remember the good things that have come from Europe – including the four freedoms of movement of goods, people, services and capital. Now is the time, wrote Johnson, for "a wider, looser, more generous Europe, that includes the Turks."

On holidays in Arromanches, Normandy, in 2011 Johnson once again offered a rare hymn of praise to Europe. (Johnson, 2011a) There was criticism of the eurozone, and efforts to create an "economic government of Europe". But Johnson again reminded readers of the benefits of the single market. He recognised, too, why Europe's founding fathers wanted to "create a system that would lock Germany into Europe". Britain, wrote Johnson, now "has no choice but to help clear up the mess and take Europe forwards." He called on Tory Eurosceptics to "overcome the extra distrust and dislike that goes with having been right all along." A month later Johnson, following David Cameron's decision to veto an EU fiscal treaty aimed at saving the euro, Johnson again appealed to the Prime Minister "to set out a positive vision for a Europe" and to push for the proper completion of the single market. (Johnson, 2011b) In the wake of the Tory Party's unexpected overall

majority in the May, 2015 General Election, there was another appeal for Britain to lead Europe to complete Thatcher's vision of the single market:

> We need to complete the market in financial services not just because it is massively in the interest of the UK, but because it is in the interest of every European country….These reforms, completing the Thatcherian vision of the single market – will be good not just for Britain, but for families and businesses across Europe. It is the right way forward for Europe, and never in our lifetimes has a British prime minister had such an opportunity to lead the way. (Johnson, 2015a)

But just a week later, Johnson adopted a trenchant 'Leave EU' core position. As we have seen Johnson's first 'Leave EU' article appeared in 1999. A second followed in December 2013. (Johnson, 2013f) This time, there were no reminders of lost FDI or benefits of the single market. In fact, he asked: "what is the POINT of the EU?"

> Why have we bubble-gummed together this hapless congeries of independent states? Is it to be a united force in international trade negotiations, when the EU's agricultural subsidies so royally stuff the farmers of developing countries? Is it to have a joint foreign policy, when the EU has been so ludicrously disunited on everything from the Falklands to Libya?…Maybe there is a positive vision to be set out – I am just not hearing it yet….At the moment it feels as if the EU is the Bakelite handset of 21st century geopolitics, yesterday's answer to the problems of the day before yesterday. If there is a positive case for this spatchcocked federation, we need to start hearing it now.

In 2015 and in the first half of 2016, more opinion columns would make variations of the same argument. Johnson had by February 2016 declared for the Leave side, and his articles from this moment onwards reflect an unrepentant Euroscepticism. Now the single market was "a microcosm of low growth". EU regulation was devised by "fat cat lobbyists and fat cat businesses and the governments of other countries." Pro-EU businessmen were portrayed flying around in private jets and building subterranean swimming pools, while their employees struggled to buy any kind of home at all. "If you want to back the entrepreneurs, the grafters, the workers, the innovators, the burgeoning and dynamic businesses of Britain – then Vote Leave on June 23, and give this cabal the kick in the pants they deserve." (Johnson, 2016g) In May 2016, he warned that Britain had to do something to stop "uncontrolled immigration" with the arrival of "33,000 immigrants a year" putting intolerable pressure on the NHS. Now Britons must reject the Remain campaign's "scare tactics" and "non-existent bogeymen" and embrace "new opportunities for global trade and partnership". "Decades from now, we will be thriving after leaving the EU and the Remainers will be eating their words," he wrote. (Johnson, 2016h) Campaign themes and slogans reoccurred in his work, with these words appearing in just weeks before the vote: "The only way to take back control is to vote Leave on June 23." (Johnson, 2016i)

6.6 Conclusion

An analysis of Johnson's opinion writing reveals a continuity in terms of the major frames that featured in his journalism from Brussels. The 'Loss of British Sovereignty' package again dominated much of his discourse from 1994 to 2016. Within this package, the threat posed to Westminster's powers was once again the most common core position. This reflects both Johnson's and the Conservative Party's growing preoccupation in the post-Maastricht era with the perceived threat posed by deepening European integration. The single currency position also featured heavily, firstly in the 1990s as the question of Britain's membership threatened to split the party, and secondly after 2008 following the Eurozone crisis. The 'Threat to Liberal Free Markets' package was the second most common frame used by Johnson. Within this interpretive package, the evolution of Johnson's views on Europe is also apparent. The 'single market' core position – reflecting the benefits to Britain of membership of the EU – disappears after 2015. In contrast the 'Leave EU' core position emerges strongly after 2015, appearing in six articles, primarily in the run-up to the 2016 referendum. 'The Plot Against Britain' package is the third most featured in Johnson's work from 1994 to 2016. Johnson's columns feature much of the same national stereotyping that became so identifiable in his discourse during his time as the *Telegraph'*s EC correspondent. Once again Johnson resorted to World War II tropes to justify claims that the euro was a cloak for German domination of Europe, in one article linking the single currency to Hitler's plans for Europe.

Much has been made of the two columns Johnson wrote in February 2016, one declaring for Leave, the other for remaining in the EU.[19] For Remainers the existence of the contradictory articles is evidence of a cynical ploy by Johnson to become prime minister. Yet if we strip away the Westminster intrigue about Johnson the ambitious politician jockeying for position, one thing remains. A detailed examination of Johnson's work reveals that the February 2016 column was, in fact, the inevitable conclusion of a

[19] In an unpublished *Daily Telegraph* article written days before his column appeared backing Leave, Johnson wrote of the EU: "This is a market on our doorstep, ready for future exploitation by British firms. The membership fee seems rather small for all that access. Why are we so determined to turn our backs on it?" Elgot, J. (2016) 'Secret Boris Johnson column favoured UK remaining in EU'. *The Guardian*, 16 October. Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/oct/16/secret-boris-johnson-column-favoured-uk-remaining-in-eu.

lifetime of Eurosceptic writing. The next chapter will analyse the impact of Johnson's journalism on Conservative Party elites.

Chapter 7 'What's going on and why is it bad for Britain?' Johnson's writing on Europe and his influence on the political debate

7.1 Introduction

Boris Johnson was not the first journalist to write an anti-EU narrative in the pages of a British newspaper. Euroscepticism in the press began to take root in the late 1980s, at the point when Margaret Thatcher soured on the European project. Yet the Brussels press corps that Johnson joined in the spring of 1989 was not known for its critical thinking on Europe. From an early stage Johnson set himself apart from the press pack. He used humour, exaggeration and some argue, downright lies about Commission plans in order to make his mark as a reporter. His approach was perhaps best summed up by a fellow EC correspondent as "What's going on and why is it bad for Britain?"

This chapter synthesises some previous press coverage of Europe prior to 1989 with the reflections and insights of interviewees. It also examines Johnson's methodology as a reporter in Brussels, his writing style and the impact of his work on journalistic discourse in other media outlets. This is followed by a section detailing the extent to which media coverage of Europe, in the context of the Maastricht Treaty, was a high political priority for John Major's government. Johnson's putative impact on the Conservative parliamentary party is examined. Johnson's alleged part in the outcome of the first Danish referendum on Maastricht, regarded by some as "the midwife of British Euroscepticism", will also be explored. Johnson was a cog in a much bigger media machine that from the 1990s onwards gradually moved in a Eurosceptic direction. This chapter looks at the media's role in driving Eurosceptic sentiment in the Tory party. Finally there is an assessment of Johnson the opinion writer and the crucial role he played in delivering Brexit in 2016.

This chapter sets out findings and analysis based on 29 interviews conducted between May and October 2021. The interviewees, drawn from the worlds of politics, diplomacy and journalism within the British elite, were selected on the basis of their first-hand knowledge and involvement in the key events being examined. They include: Lord

Chris Patten, the former Governor of Hong Kong, cabinet minister and Conservative Party chair; Lord Norman Lamont, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer who presided over sterling's forced withdrawal from the Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1992; Lord Peter Lilley, a leading Eurosceptic member of John Major's cabinet in the 1990s; David Heathcoat-Armory, a former Eurosceptic MP who resigned as Treasury minister over John Major's stance on the euro; Lord Christopher Tugendhat, the British Commissioner to the EEC in the early 1980s who helped negotiate the budget rebate; Andrew Mitchell MP, a former vice-chair of the Conservative party and a Government whip at the time of Maastricht; Lord John Kerr, the former British ambassador to the EU and the US who was the chief Maastricht negotiator; Lord Kim Darroch, the former UK ambassador to the EU and the US, and the former head of press for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Sir Ivan Rogers, the former UK permanent representative to the EU and Europe adviser to David Cameron, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown; Sir Michael Arthur, a former FCO Director General, UK ambassador to Germany and Maastricht negotiator; and Sir Richard Stagg, the former High Commissioner to India and the British government press secretary in Brussels during the Maastricht negotiations. Journalists include: Matthew Parris, the *Times* columnist and former Conservative MP; Simon Heffer, the *Daily Mail* columnist and former deputy editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and *The Spectator*; Andrew Gimson, Johnson's biographer and *Telegraph* columnist; Sir Simon Jenkins, the former editor of *The Times*; Martin Wolf, chief economics commentator at the *Financial Times*; and John Rentoul, chief political commentator at the *Independent.* A number of journalists who served as EC correspondents at the same time as Boris Johnson were also interviewed. They include: John Palmer, the *Guardian*'s former Europe Editor; Charles Grant, the *Economist*; David Gardner, *Financial Times*; Tommie Gorman, RTE; and Geoff Meade from the Press Association.

7.2 The British Press and Europe: from broad consensus to creeping Euroscepticism, 1972-89

This section sets out how press coverage of Europe gradually shifted from broad consensus to a more questioning stance on Europe, prior to Boris Johnson's arrival in Brussels in early 1989.

From the early 1970s onwards the media, reflecting a mainstream political consensus, welcomed Britain's membership of the EEC. (Gowland, 2017) The 1975 referendum to decide whether to remain in the EEC was enthusiastically supported by the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Daily Express*, the *Sun, The Times*, the *Guardian* and the *Financial Times*, representing a combined readership of 45 million people. Just one national newspaper supported leaving the EEC: the Communist Party's *Morning Star*. (Greenslade, 2016) "I think the press…was almost universally not pro-European, but reconciled to the fact that Britain was a member of the EU," according to Simon Jenkins, a former editor of *The Times*. Lord Patten, the former cabinet minister and Conservative Party chairman, says that the press reflected widespread approval of the EEC amongst Conservative party members. Indeed, in 1975 support for membership was highest amongst *Daily Telegraph* readers at 89 per cent. (Clements, 2017)

> It was the case in the 1960s and 70s, that if you were a Conservative candidate, and were against our membership of the European Union, you'd probably want to keep quiet about it…being in favour of Europe was the desired position. And it would not help you in a political career if you were on the other side of the argument…And that partly reflected the fact that the newspapers were strongly in favour of our membership of the EU. *Chris Patten*

The Conservative party's vision of Europe culminated in what many regard as one of Margaret Thatcher's greatest achievements: the single market. Once again, it received strong support from the media. But the budget row in the 1980s had already subtly changed the dynamic between politics, the press and Europe. According to some insiders, the row marked the beginning of press hostility to Europe, driven by Thatcher's rhetoric on the issue. Lord Christopher Tugendhat, Britain's EU commissioner with responsibility for Budget and Financial Control from 1997 to 1985, was one of the key negotiators involved in British efforts to win a budget rebate. The dispute over the issue, aggravated by Thatcher's poor relationships with Giscard D'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt, had, he says, "profound long term consequences because Mrs. Thatcher found that bashing the EU played very well to a domestic audience, and the confrontational relationship between Britain and the EU became established." From then on, he argues that "the media tended to report EU events always through the prism of a battle. It was always a negotiation between us and them, rather than a negotiation between members of the same outfit."

John Kerr, Britain's lead negotiator at Maastricht, dates the beginning of press hostility to the late 1980s, when a legal case taken in Ireland delayed passage of the Single

European Act "at a crucial moment". In the same period the Commission president Jacques Delors made a speech on the EC's social agenda at the TUC conference in Brighton, and began developing plans for the single currency. Number 10's unhappiness with Delors' plans were communicated to the media via Thatcher's press team, and in particular the Government spokesman, Bernard Ingham. John Palmer, the *Guardian*'s former European editor, says depictions of an "over-ambitious, arrogant Brussels bureaucracy, increasingly getting political delusions of grandeur" became a repeated theme at government press briefings. John Kerr recalls a heated encounter with Ingham in the wake of a European Council meeting in Brussels in June 1987. The outcome, an agricultural reform plan, was supported by the British but blocked by the French with German support:

> On the way back from Copenhagen on the plane, Bernard Ingham gave me a fantastic dressing down. 'This must never happen again. There are two stories that I can sell. The best is like this: 'Thatcher says no, blocks everything.' That's great! The second best is, 'Thatcher wins. Foreigners concede.' There is no way I can sell the story, 'Thatcher says yes, 2 foreigners say no.' It is ridiculous. How am I supposed to sell that?' I thought I'd done very well…. But it had become in number 10 that adversarial relationship between London and Brussels.

Delors' TUC speech, and Thatcher's famous rebuttal in Bruges in November 1988, marked a turning point in both political and press sentiment towards the European project. According to Sir Ivan Rogers, the UK's former permanent representative to the EU, Delors' elevation of the notion of a "social Europe" and the arrival of structural funds to enable the weakest member states to survive the liberalising forces of the single market, changed press attitudes to the EC. "That's where the Tories flip to seeing Europe as a threat by imposing social democracy or socialism by the back door," he says. "And that's I think where the key Murdoch and other press starts to flip and become positively anti-European."

Significantly, Eurosceptics in the Conservative Party began to garner more sympathy in the press. According to the former MP David Heathcoat Armory, the Bruges speech made it "respectable" to question the whole European project. "It emboldened people to start thinking for themselves….The politics of the fact that it was a European Union was becoming clearer. So I think we were entitled to start to think that that wasn't the final settlement in 1975. It helped that we had a Prime Minister [who] made it ok to start to question things."

In 1990, plans for a common currency and proposed new powers for the European Parliament attracted the ire of the tabloid press, with the *Sun* publishing one of its most infamous front pages emblazoned with the headline 'Up Yours Delors!' (Parker et al, 1990) This story and its striking headline symbolised an important shift in the Murdoch tabloid press coverage of Europe into "rank stereotyping and strident jingoism". (Daddow, 2012, p. 1232) Yet criticism of Europe remained muted in the mainstream Conservative press. According to Simon Jenkins: "It was a time when the argument in Britain about Europe was an argument about how Europe should be adapted, about the euro, about how we should take it forward?…These arguments were the arguments – we were not arguing that Britain should withdraw."

Peter Lilley, a leading Eurosceptic who served in John Major's governments from 1990 to 1997, argues that prior to Johnson's tenure as Brussels correspondent, most journalists were little more than "apologists" for the European Union:

> That's what they assumed they had to do, including conservative journalists and conservative politicians. I think they thought they had to, and it was considered very bad form to be critical of the European Union. Actually having someone who mocked what was happening was real, daring stuff in those days.

Yet within the Foreign Office, the perception was that the centre-right newspapers, whilst not openly hostile to Europe, were becoming more Eurosceptic in tone, reflecting subtle shifts in thinking within the Conservative Party. Kim Darroch, the former UK ambassador to the US who was then seconded to Rome, recalls that during the European Council in Rome in 1990, the British media wanted stories based on British isolation and British defeat. "And they were looking particularly in the context of British domestic politics and what that meant for Margaret Thatcher's position in the Conservative Party," he says.

Christopher Tugendhat remains convinced that proprietors played a major role in the press drift towards Euroscepticism. Both Rupert Murdoch, the proprietor of *The Times* and the *Sun*, and Conrad Black, the owner of the Telegraph group, were both strongly supportive of Thatcher. Had she pursued a more pro-EU agenda, "then the Murdoch and the Black papers were very likely to do the same," he says. Thatcher's demise, when it came in November 1990, was irrevocably linked to Europe. Other issues which had made

her unpopular, such as the poll tax, were brushed aside. "Her fall was linked very much to opposition to further European development," says Christopher Tugendhat. "And at that point, the centre of gravity in the Conservative Party shifted in a very much hostile to Europe direction."

7.3 Breaking with convention: Boris Johnson's novel approach to reporting Europe

The timing was fortuitous for Boris Johnson's appointment as Brussels correspondent. 1989 marked the fall of the Berlin Wall, growing domestic tensions over monetary union and the ERM, and open discord between Margaret Thatcher and her most senior ministers over deepening integration. According to Tommie Gorman, RTE's former Europe Editor:

> The events that were happening in European politics, the shifts that were taking place – the dynamics actually suited somebody who had an alternative view, who would become a go-to person for dissidents within the Tory party.

Charles Grant, who arrived in Brussels as the *Economis*t's correspondent at the same time as Johnson, says that the British press pack was very consensual. "Everybody thought the EU was a good thing and there wasn't much serious critical thinking about it," he says. According to Simon Jenkins, this press approach reflected a general apathy about the EU. "No-one thought it was a remotely important subject because we were part of the EU, and that was the end of the matter." Gorman recalls a polite, "public school" atmosphere at British press conferences. "It was like going to mass in the old days. Where certain people would be in the front row, and certain people would be in the second and third row. And they would go through the motions and questions would be asked."

Johnson was regarded by the press pack as a "joke figure", according to Simon Jenkins. "He was a wild card," he says. "He wasn't a serious journalist…[and] he wasn't taken remotely seriously. He never articulated a complex argument for something." Charles Grant agrees. "I knew that he was politically ambitious, but I never thought he'd become Prime Minister – I mean, that was out of the question. He wasn't serious enough for that. He was too much of an entertainer, too much of a comedian who liked to make people laugh."

Yet within a few years Johnson had become the most important Eurosceptic voice in Brussels, according to Grant. Despite his bumbling approach and shambolic demeanour, Johnson had a clear agenda in mind. David Gardner, who was the *Financial Times'* Brussels correspondent, recalls their first meeting, shortly after Johnson's arrival in the capital. "The first time I laid eyes on him he looked extremely dishevelled. And he was late to, what some people used to call 'midday prayers' – the noon briefing at the Commission. He came over to me, I was standing at the back….And it was what he said that stuck in my mind. He just sort of gurgled and said, 'What's going on and why is it bad for Britain?' They were virtually the first words I heard him speak." Sir Richard Stagg, who was the British Press Spokesman in Brussels during the Maastricht negotiations, was the first point of contact for the British press corps. In his first two years in the job he fielded more calls from Johnson than from any other journalist:

> It became very apparent that Boris was really the main sort of person with an agenda, whether it was a personal agenda, the agenda of his newspaper or just an agenda which he found worked journalistically.

From an early stage, Johnson correctly identified an opening for a very different type of Brussels reporting. "Because it is a free market, there will always be someone to buck the conventional opinion, ready to buy when the market is low," he later wrote. "If someone spots that gap and starts to offer another stock, there will be one of those tipping points. Suddenly, everyone will stop selling and start buying." (Johnson, 2003). Johnson achieved his breakthrough by filing large volumes of material, much of it adhering to re-occurring themes. "His narrative was the Emperor had no clothes – or at least the Emperor had fewer clothes than the Emperor was claiming," says Andrew Gimson, Johnson's biographer. "And the Emperor – Jacques Delors – was trying to grab a great deal more power at the expense of the nation states. And this could be dramatised through sausages and things like that." For Sir Richard Stagg, Johnson's narrative was the result of several intertwining motivations:

> I think he saw it as three strands probably. I think he did genuinely believe that there was a flaw with what was going on in the European Union, that it was becoming ever centralised, and trying to interfere in what Douglas Hurd described as the nooks and crannies of daily life….I think, secondly, he found it was a very rich seam journalistically, and therefore, it was good for his professional life that it was a never ending source of stories about what was going on in this project. Because if you think that they're trying to develop activity in a huge range of areas, you'll always find something they're doing, whether it be weights and measures, or border controls, or regulation of the vegetable market, which you can interpret or distort – whatever the right word is – in a way that is

journalistically good. And I think he also had a sense of humour so he told the stories as a bit of a laugh.

Johnson's Brussels narrative was underpinned by an instinctive sense of what would play well with readers, as well as a desire to entertain. "He'd somehow have a gut feeling for politically incorrect people and what they would be laughing at, at any particular moment – and he played to that gallery," according to Gimson. "And one of the things that they'd like, or course, is sort of annoying the grown-ups." David Gardner agrees. "He was tapping into this, and realised what he was doing was infotainment. And it was going down very well. He became a sort of minor celebrity...and he revelled in it." Kim Darroch describes Johnson as "a sort of Swiftian satirist and comedian. The main point of all his 'Euroscare' stories was entertainment. I think to this day, Boris would rather raise a laugh from his audience, than polite applause over some political point or other."

Johnson developed a particular persona that suited his journalistic approach. "He had that almost cultivated untidy look about him," says Tommie Gorman. "And he'd hang around with the guys and they would have great fun ribbing him and they'd make jokes to his face… But there was also the reality that he was dangerous. Because he had the ability to actually find the bones of a story and shape it into something significant." Several Brussels contemporaries believe that Johnson, aware of growing domestic unrest over Europe, as well as his own proprietor's distaste for the project, played to this gallery. "He was rightly alert to the fact that his bosses were expecting a slightly more substantial version of the stuff that appeared in the tabloid press. But with a bit more gravitas as it were. And that became his niche," says John Palmer. "Boris relished in his reputation as the authentic voice of Britain in Brussels….He enjoyed the anachronistic character that he became in Brussels where he was the subject of sort of faux outrage. It all played brilliantly."

As detailed in Chapters 5 and 6, 'The Plot Against Britain' package, embodying the idea that Jacques Delors was conspiring with the French and German leaders to create a European superstate, occurred frequently in his work during this time. "Jacques Delors was the bogeyman at the time, for those who were anti-EU, partly because he was French," recalls Geoff Meade, who was the Brussels correspondent for the Press Association. "And also because he was the one talking about a single currency, a political union. So if you

wanted some serious anti-EU meat to get your teeth into, Jacques Delors gave it to you." With Delors openly committed to an integrationist agenda, finding a story to fit an EU superstate narrative often proved surprisingly easy, according to David Gardner:

> In the office of nearly every commissioner or director general or even lower down the chain, on the shelf you will find some dusty plan for world domination which will never see the light of day. It's really not hard to come by these things, but the way you judge them is by looking to see whether they are in the legislative pipeline. In most of the cases that Boris chose, they never even got near that pipeline….It was like his Domesday book which was a splash one Monday in the *Telegraph*[20]. It had absolutely no basis whatsoever except as an adjunct to reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and he knew that perfectly well....Once he got back to London and really got the dimensions of the impact that that sort of rubbish had, there was absolutely no stopping him. He never looked back, really.

Kim Darroch, who was head of the FCO's news department in the 1990s, said that while these stories weren't completely invented, "the dishonesty was inventing or claiming or implying that this was about to become policy, that it was about to be voted upon, that it would in fact become something that would govern our lives, when in reality it was never going to go anywhere. The way in which it was presented was therefore deliberately misleading." Tommie Gorman says that Johnson's method was to "put together two half-truths. He would put together half of an orange and half of a lemon and call it a fruit. He would put together something that couldn't be explained away by logic. And that would be his story. And he was constantly in that space. I saw it so many times."

For some observers, Johnson stories had more than a germ of truth. Sir Richard Stagg points out that the three most powerful figures in Europe at that time – Delors, Mitterrand and Kohl – were genuinely committed to an integrationist agenda. "There was a very strong push in one direction. And I think Boris probably would have felt he was trying to help resist this happening, at least without due care and diligence." While Johnson may have "exaggerated" and on occasion "distorted" stories, "in essence, Boris had a point".

> I think he wanted to issue a bit of a wake-up call, you might describe it. That there was a creeping transfer of power, which was happening almost subliminally and needed to be identified and stopped, or at least overseen and dealt with consciously…he was putting a spotlight on something

[20] In an article headlined 'Domesday book' of Europe's farms' Johnson claimed that European "spy satellites" would be used in "Big Brother policing of every acre of arable land form the upper atmosphere". (Johnson, 1992b.2)

> that was absolutely real and was part of a political agenda set by the founders of the European Economic Community in the 1950s, which debates in the UK and elsewhere tried to gloss over.

Other commentators are less generous in their assessment of Johnson's work. According to the columnist Simon Heffer, who was deputy editor of the *Telegraph* while Johnson was in Europe, "I imagine quite a lot of what Boris wrote from Brussels had a grain of truth in it, but only a grain and was then elaborated and romanticised to the point where it became virtually indiscernible from fiction." John Kerr, who was then the UK's permanent representative in Brussels, accuses Johnson of entirely fabricating many of his stories. "I mean it was clearly nonsense…he was seen as a joke correspondent at the time – a columnist rather than a journalist. So many of the stories were fallacious, obviously biased." Kerr adds: "I don't think the Foreign Office took it nearly seriously enough….I think that was a big misjudgement."

When sources could not be found to corroborate stories, Johnson simply made them up, according to his friend and former colleague Geoff Meade. He cites Johnson's coverage of a new Commission rule that banned a flavour agent used in the manufacture of prawn cocktail flavour crisps as an example of this practice:

> There is an alleged quote…from some unnamed secretary in DG crisps, or whatever the department was called, and it was plainly made up. Because it was something like, 'oh, it's all our fault, we're terribly sorry, we didn't know, we've corrected it." And it was one of those glib throwaway quotes which Boris cheekily put in. He didn't need to do that. The truth was a great story. But he went that extra kilometre to make it seem it was a cock-up by a crazy Brussels bureaucrat.

Johnson used the press conferences of visiting ministers to add ballast to stories that would otherwise prove difficult to corroborate. According to Kim Darroch:

> He would find some crazy MEP – and if you know the European Parliament, that's not a difficult task – who would propose something completely bonkers and Boris would ask 'What are you going to do about this proposal for this?'…And the minister would look flummoxed because no-one had briefed him on this….There was always the kernel of something in there. And Boris would sort of amuse himself like that.

John Kerr, who frequently took the lead at press conferences, was "not impressed" by Johnson who was "always late and never bothered to take notes". Kerr claimed that when Johnson missed a meeting altogether, "he'd sit down and make something up for half an hour". John Major and his cabinet ministers were "very guarded about him", according to John Palmer. "You could pick it up from politicians. They would say, 'Um, that was an

interesting report in the *Daily Telegraph*,' that kind of thing. Certainly there were supporters of John Major in the government at cabinet level [who] were increasingly beleaguered, and when they came to Brussels they feared constant ambush from Boris." On one such trip Norman Lamont, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, found himself in Johnson's crosshairs:

> I remember there was a very thorny issue of legally binding minimum rates of value added tax and excise duty. And I thought I had engineered a very good compromise, which did not involve a legally binding rate, even though we were conforming to their targets….But Boris was deeply critical of my position.[21]

"He drove me up the wall," Ken Clarke, who replaced Lamont as Chancellor in 1993, told an interviewer in 2018. (Mardell, 2018) "Boris would turn up and send back stories which were accusing me of the most outrageous betrayal of the national interest in this that or the other thing. Which with the greatest respect were at times completely invented. I mean he's a good journalist. It was riveting stuff. But it was propaganda." Lamont came to the conclusion that Johnson was "deeply Eurosceptical…as his questioning was plainly deeply hostile to the European Union."

7.4 The impact of Johnson's journalism on media depictions of Europe

Most of the people interviewed for this project believe that Johnson's negative depictions of Europe influenced newspaper discourse on the EU in the mainstream press. Johnson is credited by some, including Kim Darroch, with creating a new genre of story – the Euromyth. These stories, which were later collated by both the European Commission and the Foreign Office, concerned trivial matters which painted the European Union in an absurd light. (Henkel, 2021) "He became aware that stories about monstrous plots against Britain being concocted in the Commission, like forcing women's hairnets on fishermen on the oceans, became front page stories and were given a degree of gravitas," says John Palmer.

Johnson's approach obliged other journalists to cover 'Euromyth' stories, and thus become more critical in their coverage of the EU, according to Sir Richard Stagg. The

[21] Under a 'Sovereignty' package, Johnson accused Chancellor Norman Lamont of giving the EC permanent powers over indirect taxation, a decision that Johnson claimed had "the potential to inflame Tory backbench fears about loss of economic sovereignty." (Johnson 1992c.2)

pressure on journalists to find new Euromyth stories did not come from Brussels, but from news desks in London. Many reporters shared stories about pressure from their news desks to follow up on a Johnson story. Johnson's 'Domesday book' of Europe's farms' report, for instance, which claimed that European "spy satellites" would be used in "Big Brother policing of every acre of arable land from the upper atmosphere" prompted a call to the *Financial Times'* David Gardner late one night:

> I got called up by the night desk of the *FT* that night, out of the blue, it was about 2 in the morning. The guy said to me, 'We're looking at the *Telegraph*. I hate to say…' and I thought, 'Oh Christ'. And I just asked one question, I said, 'What's the by-line?' And he said, 'It says here Boris Johnson.' And I put the phone down and disconnected it. And I never heard a word about it ever again. The following day nobody at the daily briefing raised the question at all. At the end, just as the spokesman was about to leave, Boris got up and said, 'Un petit instant!' …And said, 'Any response at all to that heart-breaking report in the *Daily Telegraph*?' And the spokesman looked at him sideways and said, 'Non'.

After a similar call from the PA news desk in London, Geoff Meade confronted Johnson. "I said Boris, if every word that's on the front of the *Daily Telegraph* today, if I had written those exact words and put them out on the national wire, I'd have been sacked by now! I said, how do you do this? How do you get away with it?"

Was Johnson pioneering a new brand of Eurosceptic writing? Opinion is divided. David Gardner believes that Johnson "seemed to be pushing against an open door, [and] other people followed through." Geoff Meade, who became a close friend of Johnson's, argued that he did not suddenly change the manner in which Europe was reported. However, Meade acknowledges that Johnson's style of writing and sometimes dubious sourcing, distinguished him from the rest of the Brussels press corps. "He was doing the same job as everyone else in Brussels, with a bit of added viv and verve, and a bit more hyperbole," he says. "He had his own truth, shall we say." Matthew Parris, a former Conservative Party MP and now one of Britain's most respected political commentators, believes that Johnson, through the popularity of his Eurosceptic writing, did encourage other journalists to mine the same seam. His "brand" of writing though, could not be duplicated: "Only Boris can write like Boris," says Parris.

Kim Darroch believes that although Johnson wasn't the only one producing 'Euroscare' stories at that time, he, more than any other journalist, was the main purveyor. He speaks from experience, as the co-author of a Foreign Office booklet published in the

early 1990s to counter false stories about Europe. "A significant number of the stories addressed in it were from the pen of Boris Johnson," he says. He believes that Johnson's work may have had a lasting impact on the way in which the EU was covered in the mainstream media:

> My gut is that it did make a bit of a difference, not least because I know journalists from that period in Brussels. And their editors would all be on to them saying, 'Why can't you get stories like Boris Johnson?' And they were all out rewriting his stories or searching for new ones themselves. So it became a real sort of trend, a real cult to find these 'Euroscare' stories. It wasn't just the *Telegraph* or *The Times*. They were appearing everywhere. And add to that more serious commentary about the European project not being what we had signed up to. And that must have had some influence on people.

Charles Grant, who now heads up the Centre for European Reform in Brussels, says that Johnson's work did make a difference. "I think certainly you can say that Boris' agenda in the early nineties in Brussels made it easier for other people to write similar stuff later and helped to sort of shift the narrative about Britain's relationship with Europe, from Europe being a good thing that was open for business and the single market was in Britain's interest, to being a nefarious superstate that's plotting to destroy sovereignty."

7.5 John Major, the press and Europe

Concerns about Johnson's work and its potential impact on both public and Conservative parliamentary party opinion reached the highest levels of Government. John Major was deeply concerned about media coverage of Europe, and as the newspaper regarded as the "in-house journal" of the Tory Party, coverage in the *Telegraph* was regarded as a particular problem. "John Major was absolutely obsessed with media coverage, and very bitter about the way he thought newspapers should have supported him," according to Kim Darroch. So infuriated was Major by the tone of press coverage that in 1993 he considered blocking Johnson's nomination as a Conservative candidate for the European Parliament, according to Andrew Mitchell, the Conservative MP who was then in charge of candidate selection for the party.

John Major's obsession with the media was well known in Westminster circles. Norman Lamont describes him as being "excessively" sensitive about the press. "John Major was an avid, obsessional newspaper reader," says Simon Jenkins, who was editor of

The Times from 1990 to 1992. "[Gus] O'Donnell, when he was Press Secretary pleaded with him not to read the first editions at midnight before he went to bed. It's like reading reviews of your play before you go to sleep. Major was literally an addict of reading newspapers. They made him constantly nervy and obsessive and complaining." Chris Patten, a close friend, said it was one of Major's few weaknesses as a politician: "And I used to say, you've got to stop reading them!"

Sir Michael Arthur, who later became ambassador to Germany, was a leading member of the Maastricht negotiating team. He believes that Major was justified in his concerns about press coverage. "I think the press was an articulation of opinion in the country. They didn't try to lead opinion, they followed it. They simply stoked it up to be a bit more negative on Europe. But they didn't just make it up. It was articulated in the body politic – both inside parliament and outside parliament. So he was quite right to be sensitive to that. That was…a very sensitive political pressure point."

Press coverage of Europe was, as a consequence, a high political priority for Major. His appointment of Gus O'Donnell – who later became the cabinet secretary and Head of the Civil Service – to the position of Press Secretary to the Prime Minister was a measure of this. "He was keen to throw top resources at this issue," according to Sir Richard Stagg. "I think from John Major's point of view, the media were a significant factor in the likely outcome of the Maastricht Bill. That was the most important piece of legislation in his time at Number 10. And if it failed, there was going to be a very major mess affecting our standing in the European Union….So trying to ensure that media coverage was reasonably balanced, fair and objective and reflected the full range of factors at play was pretty important."

Britain's negotiators at Maastricht found themselves having to walk a fine line between keeping their EU partners happy and ensuring that any deal was acceptable back home. According to Sir Michael Arthur:

> The complexity of negotiating with [member states] was almost easier than the bit of how do we get these things through in London, and by that I mean the party in cabinet and in parliament. The complexity of negotiating with the European partners was equal in complexity to negotiating inside government and with parliament and public opinion in Britain….So we were constantly trying to balance the two.

Discussions about how various outcomes would play with Conservative backbenchers occurred "all the time," according to Sir Michael. "And not just Conservatives, across the House of Commons – Labour as well. When you're sitting in the middle, you had that in your mental screen all the time. What would public opinion, what would parliamentary opinion accept and what would they fuss about?"

The Maastricht deal, finalised in December 1991, was the subject of a carefully orchestrated press campaign from inside Number 10. In the early hours after the deal had been agreed, sections of the treaty were sent through to a group co-ordinating the Government's response. A four-page digest of the agreement was sent to the homes of cabinet ministers, key party figures and opinion formers. (Seldon, 1997) The press response was almost uniformly positive, with the *Daily Telegraph*'s editorial stating: "Mr Major deserves the heartfelt gratitude of his party for averting a disaster which might have made election victory unattainable." (*Daily Telegraph,* 1991) For Boris Johnson, "it was a copybook triumph for Mr Major, the stuff of Foreign Office dreams. The headlines today and not just in the popular press, will read that Britain has slain the dragon of the social chapter." (Johnson, 1991y.2) Only a small number of commentators, including William Rees Mogg and Simon Heffer, opposed the treaty.

"What's often forgotten is that the Maastricht Treaty was phenomenally popular in Britain," says Lord Kerr. "It was John Major's triumph – game, set and match. Seen off monetary union; the Social Chapter opt-out. The Tory press was absolutely united that this was a triumph." Lord Patten, who became Conservative Party Chairman in 1990, says that in the immediate aftermath of the negotiations "there was never any question of it being criticised in the cabinet, and hardly any criticism in the parliamentary party….It was still the case that the Conservative Party in its guts was pro-European."

7.6 The impact of Johnson's journalism on Eurosceptic sentiment within the Conservative Party

The Government's real trouble with the press began in the months following the successful negotiation of the Maastricht Treaty. 1992 would prove a transformative year for the Conservative Party. In a huge electoral upset the party won that year's general election. With a razor thin electoral majority, John Major had to steer the Maastricht Bill through

parliament. Two events almost destroyed his chances. The Danish referendum in June revealed to Eurosceptics that Maastricht's passage was by no means assured. Then, in September came Black Wednesday and Britain's humiliating exit from the Exchange Rate Mechanism. In its wake the right-wing press moved in a virulently anti-EU direction, a trend that would endure in the decades to come.

Johnson did play a role in the turning of press and parliamentary party opinion against Maastricht and Europe, according to the accounts of key politicians and diplomats. In the case of the Danish referendum, experts and politicians including the MEP John Stevens, believe that Johnson's journalism played a decisive role in the outcome of that referendum. Secondly, what one senior diplomat has called a "drip, drip, drip" of anti-EU stories from Boris Johnson in Brussels, may have influenced parliamentary party opinion. These two aspects of Johnson's putative influence will be examined in this section.

Between 1988 and 2000, just over 1,700 articles on Europe appeared under Boris Johnson's by-line in the *Telegraph*. Most of these articles appeared prior to 1994, when he was still Brussels correspondent. It was this body of work that concerned Number 10. Andrew Mitchell MP, who was then a Government Whip, said Major "was furious with Boris for writing articles about how he wanted to straighten out cucumbers and bananas…it soured the whole atmosphere." According to Matthew Parris, Major was "acutely aware" of coverage in the *Daily Telegraph* and its potential to damage efforts to get Maastricht through parliament. Parris believes that the 'Boris effect' was real, and was hurting the Government: "It was very damaging, you had this running sore within the party and it was constantly being exacerbated by what appeared in *The Telegraph* and to a lesser extent the *Mail* and the *Express*. It was very damaging indeed, and it helped destroy John Major's government."

The extent to which Johnson influenced parliamentary party opinion is a disputed matter. According to Charles Grant, most Eurosceptics on the backbenches in the early 1990s were not close to him personally, with some actively distrusting his commitment to their cause. But leading Eurosceptics in the party, including Norman Lamont and Peter Lilley, believe that Johnson's work did make an impact on Conservative elites. His editor, Max Hastings, would later say that Johnson "made the weather to a remarkable extent" and

that his articles did a great deal of harm. (Mardell, 2018) Andrew Gimson recalls that Johnson's office in Brussels was covered with 'herograms' from his boss in London. Johnson "knew he was making an impact," says Gimson.

In 1992, Sir Richard Stagg became private secretary to Douglas Hurd. One of his main responsibilities was the passage of the Maastricht Bill through parliament. From this vantage point he reached this conclusion that Johnson's consistent reporting of Maastricht through a sovereignty frame did have an impact on the Conservative Parliamentary Party:

> It was obvious that there was a sort of drip, drip, drip…which was at a minimum unhelpful and possibly quite dangerous. Because it was almost all written from one side. In that sense, I think, partly for journalistic reasons, partly for reasons of political belief, Boris didn't make much effort to deliver balance in his coverage. It wasn't that he in general told untruths. But he only really covered it from one perspective, which was the creeping tentacles of the superstate, and the grave threat that represented to the ability of the UK to run itself the way we wanted….And obviously, *The Daily Telegraph* is in a sense the house journal of the Conservative Party. So Tory voters and Tory MPs themselves are all following Europe through that prism, [making it] more and more difficult to take forward what Douglas Hurd would see as a central policy of working with our European partners on a whole range of issues….I would say that it affected the balance of people's thinking, so that for those who were already pretty firmly Eurosceptic, this just reinforced/confirmed their opinions. And for those who were more open-minded or in two minds, it probably shifted them to be more inclined to the sceptical view rather than the positive.

This view is supported by a number of other leading diplomats and politicians. The Conservative MEP John Stevens says that Johnson's style of "poking fun at the European process" in an effort to render it ridiculous was "highly destructive". Kim Darroch, who was deputy head of the Europe Department at the Foreign Office during the passage of the Maastricht Bill through parliament, believes that the volume of Johnson stories, as well as their tone, was "a major factor in influencing growing Tory disillusionment with Europe." "I think it was damaging, but it's very hard to know…how much people are influenced by what they read in newspapers… But my gut is that it did make a difference."

Testimony from the party's Eurosceptic wing supports this view. Norman Lamont, who became a leading Eurosceptic after his time as Chancellor, says that Johnson's negative articles on Europe slowly corroded party attitudes to Europe:

> Boris was seen as a bit of a court jester. But I mean, that is the role of the court fool, to tell the king things that the king doesn't really want to hear. And Boris was a bit like that….I think the drip, drip effect of each individual article probably influenced people more than they acknowledge.

For the party's Eurosceptics at Westminster, Johnson's work illuminated the extent to which Britain's sovereignty was being impinged by Europe. According to Peter Lilley,

a Eurosceptic member of John Major's cabinet, this had, until Johnson came along, "been hidden by the commentariat in Britain".

> He did tell us what was happening in Brussels, which we in Parliament tended not to know….And I suppose what it did was demonstrate to people that an awful lot of legislation was going through in Brussels, which we never saw in Parliament. That was quite amazing really. Here we were, we thought we were a sovereign parliament, and we're never considering any of this stuff. It never happened, never came to us. We couldn't debate it. He could debate it. He could write about it. We just didn't see it. So that was significant.

John Palmer believes that Johnson consciously played to a Eurosceptic gallery in the House of Commons. "He became aware that there was a choir in the House of Commons who would take up on the Tory backbenches the 'outrageous' behaviour of the Commission," he says. "I thought he was dangerous in the way that I thought English Euroscepticism in the Conservative Party was a potentially lethal development. Partly because it smelled of a form of populism that we've not seen in Europe, really, since the Second World War anywhere on this scale. It eventually, intellectually, created UKIP and the Brexit movement generally. He delivered ideological soundbites for those who could employ them more directly at home in the UK." Palmer concluded that Johnson became a very important asset of Eurosceptics who were then gathering strength within the Conservative Party.

David Heathcoat-Armory, a Eurosceptic who as a party whip had the task of ensuring rebels were kept in line, says that Johnson was "a help" to the Eurosceptic cause. Johnson, along with other Eurosceptic journalists, "emboldened the rebels". But he is clear that the press alone did not drive Eurosceptic sentiment. He likens it instead to a "two-way influence", with journalists reflecting party sentiment which in turn impacted on thinking in the House of Commons. Through his writing, Heathcoat-Armory says that Johnson found common ground with the party's Eurosceptics, by voicing one of the central tenets of their creed:

> He had a great sense of history and tradition, so he could see the elements in British history which don't accord with European integration….We're not by tradition and history, an exclusively European country unlike Germany, which has a continental mindset….I do remember sort of finding echoes in his journalism. I don't think he would have put himself down as a necessarily diehard Eurosceptic in those days, but certainly his journalism was highly critical of what was happening in Europe.

Johnson's anti-EU journalism did not happen in a vacuum. For Chris Patten, the manner of Britain's ejection from the ERM, combined with the Danish referendum result, turned Europe into a very live issue in the minds of a small group of Conservative MPs. This, combined with "the endless drip, drip, drip of Boris Johnson and others' mendacity" had a real impact, he says.

The Telegraph also provided Johnson with the perfect platform to ensure that his work was being read by Conservative MPs who were already souring on the federalist goals of the EU. "*The Telegraph* was Eurosceptic," says Geoff Meade. "It pandered to the readers. And of course it brought Boris to political attention. It's a complicated saga – if that's what your paper's readership, particularly at the high end, feel, then of course you write for that audience....So through Boris, through his editor, and the nature of the paper, he reflected what the *Telegraph* political class wanted to hear….And it read well, it fed the mood of the *Telegraph*."

The former EU commissioner Christopher Tugendhat also concluded that Johnson "confirmed and consolidated", rather than acted as a driver of Euroscepticism in the party. His journalism "played a part in embedding a point of view and misconceptions and the idea of a power-hungry executive and absurdities and all that – it certainly contributed in every way," he says.

For Peter Lilley, Johnson's work was "a faint echo of sentiment rather than a leading part". Yet his journalism "helped break the ice on the issue. There had been a taboo about mentioning it….So for someone who was clearly a successful journalist to be taking a different line was…[a] slightly liberating thing." Johnson didn't change people's views, said Lilley, but rather "made people more comfortable articulating them."

In this way, Johnson amplified growing unhappiness about Europe within the Conservative Party. "It's too easy to blame the newspapers for creating a current of opinion, when, in my view, all they were doing was noticing cannily…which way the current was running and going with it." says Matthew Parris. "In that way, of course, pleasing their readers; stroking their readers' existing prejudices. *The Daily Telegraph* was

very astute in catching the wind and Boris Johnson himself was extremely astute at catching the wind."

7.7 How the British Government sought to counter Johnson's anti-EU narrative

The measures undertaken to "rein" Johnson in indicate that senior Government figures had concerns about the impact of his journalism on both Conservative elites and the party's grassroots. Johnson's journalism mattered, and efforts were made to counter his anti-EU narratives.

The passage of the Maastricht Bill through parliament was a particularly sensitive time, with the Government facing a legal challenge as well as growing support for the party's Eurosceptic wing. At the Foreign Office, Sir Michael Arthur recalls concerns about the tone of reporting on Europe in the press. "People were worried about fallacious reporting. Responsible reporting is fine. But fallacious reporting has always worried the Foreign Office because we realise it will be out there in public debate. And there has been fallacious reporting – no question."

The publication of the booklet on Euromyths (see above), which featured a substantial number of Johnson stories, was part of an FCO effort to counter false narratives on Europe. "We did have a unit in the European Department in the early 1990s, which was looking at trying to get a more positive image of Europe across in the media," says Kim Darroch. The Euromyths book was widely distributed to libraries, public bodies, universities, trade associations, journalists and politicians. "Ministers kept saying to us, we must have something which fights back all this stuff," he says. "So we ended up submitting various options and this is the one they wanted."

Tristan Garel-Jones, who as Minister for Europe helped steer Maastricht through parliament, eventually tried a more hands-on approach in order to counter "the lies that Johnson was pursuing," recalls Lord Patten.

> He got Johnson to come into the office on one occasion. And he said to him, 'Look, Boris, you keep on producing these horror stories about the size of condoms or whatever. I tell you this, I'm going to give you my personal telephone number and the office number. And when you've got a story like

> this, I promise you that if you phoned me up and asked me about it, I'll tell you whether it's true or not.…I'll deal directly with you, and I'll be prepared to do it on the record or off the record, whichever you'd like.' Boris never, ever got in touch with him. He went on doing the same things. He wasn't interested in the truth. He was interested in throwing stones over the wall.

Kim Darroch says that senior politicians, press and special advisers also spoke to "owners and editors" about his work. Simon Heffer, who was deputy editor of the *Spectator* at the time, said that some of Johnson's work for the magazine prompted calls from Whitehall. According to accounts from Andrew Mitchell, John Major even considered trying to scupper Johnson's efforts to become a Conservative Party candidate for the European Parliament elections in 1994. Mitchell, who was then vice-chairman of the party in charge of candidates and a Government whip, was taken aside by the senior Tory Norman Fowler in the House of Commons and warned that Major did not want Johnson to become a candidate. At a later meeting with Major, Mitchell warned that excluding Johnson from selection would undermine the whole selection process. Major reluctantly agreed. According to Mitchell, "It is to his credit that he did not exercise a Prime Ministerial veto. After all, Boris had been persistently beastly to him and repeatedly taken the mickey out of his European policy in the *Telegraph*." (Purnell, 2011, p. 165) John Major has said he has no recollection of these events.

Tory MEPs reportedly continued to try and block Johnson's candidacy. The head of the candidate advisory committee, Lord Basil Feldman, backed his run, however, and Johnson was added to the candidate list. Johnson eventually decided not to stand for election as an MEP, instead turning his sights on Westminster. (Purnell, 2011) His work as a journalist, which had so stoked the ire of the Prime Minister and pro-Europe MPs, had won him favour with the party's Eurosceptic wing. Peter Lilley, one of the ministers dubbed a 'bastard' by Major, wrote to Johnson ahead of the 1997 General Election and asked him to apply to stand for the Tories in St Albans. "I said, Look, you ought to be in Parliament. Why don't you apply for St Albans? And I will use my huge influence in the Conservative Association to ensure that you're selected." At this stage, Johnson did not have a high public profile. So why did Lilley single him out?

> I suppose because I thought, we need someone who knows what's happening in Brussels. And who's an articulate and amusing chap. I've always put quite a high premium on wit, even my opponents – I'd forgive them anything if they're funny.

7.8 The impact of Johnson's anti-EU narrative on the Danish referendum on Maastricht

The Danish rejection of Maastricht in June 1992 is regarded as a galvanising moment for British Eurosceptics. Charles Grant described it as "the midwife of British Euroscepticism". Had it not been for the referendum result, "all would have been well", according to Christopher Tugendhat. "It suddenly threw everything in the air," he explains. "That what had seemed inevitable, what seemed to be in the stars was suddenly shown to be reversible." In its wake the way now seemed open for Conservative rebels to block ratification of the treaty. As Peter Lilley recalls: "That seemed like an opportunity for us to say, okay, everything's over. It's been rejected by a member state and it requires unanimity. We can all relax and go home."

At a time when the Danish referendum campaign was being closely monitored in Britain, Boris Johnson found himself on the front line. As the paper's EU correspondent he covered the story extensively, both before and after the referendum result. One of his articles is credited with playing a pivotal role in the 'No' vote. Years later, Johnson himself would boast about his role in the result:

> All journalists probably delude themselves that they may have influenced the history they are paid to observe. My boast is that I probably did contribute to the Danish rejection of Maastricht. I thought it was quite good stuff. (Purnell, 2011, p. 126)

However, this study has found little evidence to support the claims made by Johnson and other observers that his journalism played an important role in the outcome of the Danish referendum.

The Danish referendum in June, 1992, took place at a crucial phase in the passage of the Maastricht Bill through parliament. The Government had a slim majority of just 21. (Bogdanor, 1992) On May 21th, twenty two Tories had voted against a Paving Motion to resume the Committee Stage of the bill, representing the biggest revolt against Europe since British entry to the EEC in 1972. (Seldon, 1997). As opposition grew to Maastricht at Westminster, the spotlight turned on Denmark. One of the central issues of the campaign revolved around the perceived threat of greater European integration to Danish national identity. (Friis, 2002) In the days preceding the vote on June 2nd, the polls showed a

slight majority in favour of ratification. But the treaty was narrowly rejected by 50.7 per cent to 49.3 per cent. Johnson wrote a number of pieces in the run-up to the referendum, all highlighting concerns about the treaty. One of these articles is credited by some with playing a decisive role on the outcome, which in turn galvanised Eurosceptic sentiment at Westminster.

Johnson's drumbeat about the perils of Maastricht began that March. The treaty, he wrote, will "let loose forces in Europe" that cannot be controlled. (Johnson, 1992d.2) The issues Johnson cited that "majorities" of Danes express concern about – the CAP, social policy and a joint foreign policy – mirrored growing anxieties within Tory circles. Johnson quoted "one Dane" saying: "People feel they are going to let loose forces in Europe they cannot control. I think there is actually the possibility of a 'no' vote." In April Johnson correctly surmised that a Danish rejection of the treaty and "the embarrassments of monetary and political union" could trigger a move by "the anti-Europeans on the right of the Tory party." (Johnson, 1992o) Johnson advanced the idea that the Danes were opposed to Maastricht because it "intensifies German dominance". The Maastricht Treaty itself was depicted by Johnson as the "blueprints for a federal Europe".

But it was a Johnson news report on the 3rd of May, 1992 that allegedly tipped the scales towards a 'no' vote. The story appeared on the *Sunday Telegraph's* front page under the banner headline 'Delors' plan to rule Europe'. (Johnson, 1992e.2) According to the report:

> European Community foreign ministers were stunned yesterday to learn of a plan by Jacques Delors to transform the Brussels Commission into a 'European government', with himself or his successor becoming a fully-fledged elected 'President of the European Community' with executive powers.

Johnson claimed that Delors was planning to scrap rotation of the EC presidency in favour of "centralising power in Brussels"; and was also determined to abolish "remaining national rights of veto". According to the report, France and Germany were backing the plan. British officials, on the other hand, were said to be "appalled" by the idea, "which they believe could inflame Tory backbench suspicions about the ambitions of Brussels just as the Commons faces ratification of the Maastricht Treaty." The story was attributed to "close aides" of Jacques Delors.

This article appeared at a critical juncture in the Danish referendum campaign. Johnson correctly identified and tapped into the key fears about Maastricht amongst the electorate – that it could mean the centralising of power in Brussels, the abandonment of the veto, and a greater German say in the running of Europe. The Danish 'No' campaign seized on Johnson's *Sunday Telegraph* report, and according to Johnson distributed thousands of copies of it to homes across Denmark. Prior to the publication of this story, polls had indicated a narrow 'Yes' victory, but in its aftermath the proposition was defeated. (Purnell, 2011) What added to the article's credibility was the inclusion of a quote from Denmark's then foreign minister, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, who described the Delors' 'plan' as "absurd… No one will agree to this." While Jensen says he was quoted accurately in the story, he later accused Johnson of misrepresenting the changes proposed by Delors. "The way it was presented is that he had found some secret Delors' plan – that was the absurdity of it," he said. (Rankin and Waterson, 2019) "Boris Johnson's article was very imaginative. The claim that Delors would rule Europe was well out of proportion and was water on the paranoid wave that opponents of the Maastricht Treaty were trying to create." (Shirbon and Schomberg, 2016)

Uffe Ellman-Jensen is in no doubt about the story's impact: "It definitely had an impact. The story was that once the Danes had voted yes then we would have much more Europe, much more union and all that stuff. When I said it was nonsense, I was called a bloody liar." (Rankin and Waterson, 2019) Years later, Johnson would lay claim to having played a role in determining the result: "It was huge in Denmark. The story was seized on by the 'No' campaign. They photocopied it a thousand fold. They marched the streets of Copenhagen with my story fixed to their banners." (Johnson, 2003, p. 6)

However, the former Danish MEP Lis Jensen, who played a key role in the 'no' campaign, has no recollection of Johnson's article. (Shirbon and Schomberg, 2016). Other than Uffe-Ellman-Jensen's account, there is no other first-hand political insider testimony to support the thesis that Johnson's article or articles had an impact on the outcome. Indeed, a search of journal articles on the causes of the Danish rejection of the Maastricht Treaty makes no mention of Johnson or his journalism.

There is however, a good deal of empirical evidence that Johnson used the Danish referendum as a springboard to amplify the 'Sovereignty' frame both before and after the

vote. While his journalism may not have tipped the scales in Denmark, back home at Westminster it was having an effect. On May 5th, Johnson reiterated the claims about the Delors' 'plan' for a "Cabinet government of Europe". Johnson accused Delors of "a shameless attempt to centralise more power in Brussels" and to create an "elected" ruler of Europe. (Johnson, 1992f.2) On May 7th, Johnson again played to Danish fears of German dominance of a greater Europe. (Johnson, 1992g.2) Johnson wrote of the "Viking bloody-mindedness" of Danes "who have always regarded European integration as a ramp allowing Germans to buy up their beaches." The Danes doubt "that federalism would somehow dilute German dominance; for them, it can only be intensified." With a nod to his domestic audience, Johnson wrote that the entire continent was "in ferment against federalism". Maastricht, he warned, "will tie us to Germany like dinghies to a super-tanker":

> …the united Germany has become a great fact, and EC union the shadow of a dream. Neither Maastricht nor any EC treaty changes can hope to tether the Germans again. No system of joint action, no voting formula drafted by M Delors, can control the Germans if, in their hearts, they no longer wish to be controlled.

Johnson's barrage of stories under a 'Sovereignty' frame about Commission plans to dominate Europe continued throughout the month:

> We know that it is a draft report on the enlargement of the Community….We also know that, if Jacques Delors gets his way, it will be hot stuff: turning the EC Commission into a political executive, run from Brussels by a kind of super-president, a man or woman equipped only with the democratic fig leaf of approval by the European Parliament….Power would be sucked from national governments which currently take it in turn to preside over EC business, and concentrated in the buff Brussels Commission building where Mr Avery now sits in purdah, doodling on his blueprints. (Johnson, 1992h.2)

Three days later Johnson had another front-page story, this time featuring a denial from Delors that plans were in train for a cabinet government of Europe. (Johnson, 1992i.2) Charles Grant, Delors' biographer, says that the Commission president "would have been very angry about [the Johnson article], because this fairly obscure paper that one of his junior officials wrote got built up by Boris into an extraordinary plot." In Johnson's report Delors is quoted saying emphatically that "it is a lie and a personal insult." But Johnson cast doubt on Delors' denial, claiming it "directly contradicted the words of some of his closest officials only a week ago."

On May 24th Johnson appealed directly to "worried backbenchers" not to believe claims that the Treaty's pillar structure would keep power in the hands of national governments:

> The Government has sold Maastricht to worried backbenchers as a new model Europe where, it says, the power of the Commission is reined back, and the ability of national governments to cooperate freely between themselves in enhanced. This proposition cannot be refuted with too much vehemence. Ideally, one should be able to use expletives to describe the Government's disingenuousness….The pillar system does not, in the remotest sense, remove the Commission from its central position. (Johnson, 1992j.2)

On May 29th Johnson predicted a 'no' vote would mean that "The Treaty for monetary and political union of Europe, the fruit of 12 months' wrangling between EC governments, will be dead." (Johnson, 1992k.2). Once again, Johnson emphasised the threat to sovereignty likely in the event of a 'yes' vote, claiming that the WEU could become "the future mailed fist of the Community…which may be dominated by Germany." Johnson's growing unease with the Maastricht Treaty is clear. Governments across Europe, he warned, "will find it difficult to defend the proposals involved: the single Euro-currency and bank, 'EC citizenship', the prototype EC foreign policy and army."

The day after the Danes voted 'no' to Maastricht, Johnson predicted that the entire agreement was now in jeopardy. (Johnson, 1992l.2) "What for the last eight years seemed to be the unstoppable locomotive of European union was spectacularly derailed by 50,000 Danes…the Danish decision has exploded the most potent myth of European integration: that it was somehow an inevitable, historic process." The only options were either a full renegotiation, or for the Danes to negotiate opt-outs on contentious issues. If the latter were to happen, Johnson predicted that it would be impossible for Major to argue that there was no option but to fully engage in Europe, or stay aloof. "The Danish referendum, once and for all, has introduced 'Europe a la carte'," he wrote.

Back home, the Tory rebellion continued to grow. Cabinet ministers including Norman Lamon, Michael Howard, Peter Lilley and Michael Portillo thought the Danish defeat was an opportunity for Major to reject the treaty and replace it with a looser agreement with the EC. (Seldon, 1997, p. 294) That afternoon, on the advice of Douglas Hurd and Government whip Richard Ryder, Major announced to the Commons that he would delay the committee stage of the bill, but would not abandon the treaty. One sceptic described it as the moment they realised Major "was not one of us." (Seldon, 1997, p. 294)

Days later a 'Fresh Start' early day motion calling for the postponement of the Maastricht Bill was signed by 84 Tories. In Brussels, Johnson's articles kept up pressure on the Government. In a news feature piece he depicted the "Danish Euro-disaster" as the end of the road for Maastricht, and possibly the EC. (Seldon, 1992m.2) To support his argument he cited an "EC expert" who predicted: "It will not just mean the end of Maastricht, it means the end of the Community as we know it." Johnson described the Treaty as "this taut skein of compromise, this hymn to ambiguity and sleight of hand." Delors wanted to create "a federal tightly-integrated, Little Europe, based on France and Germany, Benelux and Italy." Maastricht "was essentially designed to suit [French] needs". Johnson concluded: "Maastricht is not dead, not yet. But there is blood in the water and the sharks are closing in. One more determined attack and it will be over."

Christopher Tugendhat looks back with regret on the whole episode. "The whole debate over the Maastricht Treaty had a terrible effect in hardening lines and in dividing people into different camps," he says. "And, you know if it hadn't been for the Danish referendum, I think that Maastricht could have been the start of a new beginning."

7.9 The wider role of the press in promoting an anti-EU agenda

Johnson was an important Eurosceptic voice, with a powerful platform in the *Daily Telegraph.* However, he was not alone in pursuing an anti-EU agenda. Other, larger, independent forces were at work. The fallout from Black Wednesday, the Prime Minister's pro-EU agenda and the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty "led to a shift in tabloid coverage and a more critical approach". (Startin, 2013) For some former colleagues, Johnson was a mere part player in a much bigger drift towards Euroscepticism in the press. "I know Boris likes to praise himself and say that he had a huge impact on public opinion," says Simon Heffer. "I think he had an incremental impact on public opinion, along with the way that the rest of us did."

Sir Michael Arthur describes Johnson as "a bit of icing on the cake" of a much bigger anti-EU press narrative. "I'm in no doubt that the Murdoch press right through the 90s and beyond has been anti-Europe and determined to move the agenda in that way. And they captured the Tory party and some of the Labour party too, and moved them

progressively in the direction we all see." John Palmer agrees that Johnson's role was part of a trend that saw Euroscepticism in party and press "turn from a little bonfire into a much bigger conflagration". "The speed with which that happened was much more than about Johnson," he says. "Johnson was a part player in this. It would be wrong to put him as a historical cause. He embodied and picked up on and gave expression to forces which were coming in from the margins of society, particularly the margins in British politics."

Maastricht was the event Eurosceptic columnists and editorial writers had been waiting for, according to *The Times* columnist Matthew Parris. He argues that while news reporters could take an objective view of Maastricht as a negotiating success, columnists and opinion writers, who were disposed to dislike the EU, could now use Maastricht as an "anchor" for anti-EU sentiments:

> Any columnist must always be sometimes almost desperately on the search for what we would call pegs to hang things on. You can't just write an article about how you're feeling about the European Union this week….What Maastricht did was give a lot of anti-European writers and thinkers pegs every day to write on.

This negative press not only fed a "toxic" atmosphere in Government but also made it "very very difficult to get the Maastricht Bill through," according to Kim Darroch. He believes that the divisions in the party, stoked by the press, were one of the factors leading to the party's crushing defeat at the 1997 General Election. "The Eurosceptic wing of the party has had its hand around the throat of the Tory party ever since," he says. Darroch, who became head of the FCO's news department, recalled the difficulty of trying to get any positive press coverage on Europe in right-wing newspapers in the 1990s. "One spent a lot of time briefing journalists on the context of negotiations and the logic or motives underpinning British policy. But you never thought you were winning."

Norman Lamont believes that interactions between the party and the press played an important role in stoking tension over Maastricht. "I think it was just the interaction between the two, the Eurosceptics, the Maastricht rebels would feed off the press, but then the press would sort of listen to the debate. And some of them might find a particular clause in the Maastricht Treaty and say, 'Oh, my God, what's this gonna lead to?' And then you'd get newspaper articles about it."

Black Wednesday marked a decisive shift in press attitudes to John Major and his government. "You're left with a situation in which Europe has become unpopular as an issue, partly because of the ejection from the ERM," explains Lord Patten.

> There's a small group of Conservatives who are fired up about the issue, who suddenly find themselves not being written about in the newspapers as crazies, but as representing a new wave in politics, and getting favourable and encouraging press in the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Telegraph* and elsewhere. And people who should have been regarded as non-entities, like Bill Cash, are suddenly great gurus! So there was a real transformation which was partly fed by other events, but undoubtedly encouraged by a shift in the mood of the newspapers, which conservative MPs knew that their supporters were most likely to read. And I think that had a huge impact. *Chris Patten*

Throughout the 1990s newspapers were used as a conduit by leading Tories to forge particular narratives on Europe. Leaks from the cabinet compounded Major's misfortunes. Simon Heffer says he had a number of sources in cabinet who fed him a steady stream of stories. "There were three or four people who were really very unhappy. And they felt that Major had just sort of gone down on his knees, and started to take orders from these people, which they felt was objectionable." He believes they spoke to him out of a desire to communicate to Conservative grassroots supporters that they were not being ignored by everyone in cabinet. By 1996 an "overwhelming" proportion of Tory commentators and opinion formers "were deeply Eurosceptic", according to Major's biographer Anthony Seldon. (Seldon 1997, p. 634).

Following his sacking from Government in 1993, Norman Lamont became one of the most important anti-Europe voices in the Conservative party. In 1994, he was the first senior party figure to raise the possibility that Britain might leave the EU. Lamont believes that press critiques of the EU, particularly from opinion writers, had a "huge impact" on the parliamentary party. Therefore getting newspapers such as the *Telegraph* "on side", he says, "was very important". It was a slow process which "grew gradually, step by step" following Maastricht, with the tabloids and the *Telegraph* in particular hardening their views on Europe. "And from that moment onwards… John Major on to David Cameron, they were permanently looking, how can we keep everybody together? Keep everybody on board?" says Lamont. "That was what forced Cameron into the position of having to offer a referendum....I think the press had been influential all the way along, and it just grew like the mustard seed."

In the late 1990s, keeping Britain out of the euro became a rallying cry for the Conservative press. David Heathcoat-Armory, who resigned as a Treasury minister in 1996 over the government's refusal to rule out joining the single currency, conducted a carefully orchestrated press campaign in order to mobilise opinion:

> Getting press and popular opinion was absolutely crucial and that's why when I resigned...I wrote a pamphlet which the *Sun* re-published and I wrote an article for the *Daily Telegraph*, which Charles Moore, who was sympathetic, put in very prominently. I'm not a natural promoter really but I was very careful to take the press with me. [It was] absolutely critical by then. I thought one day, it would come to a big vote. To do that, we had to mobilise opinion.

By the time of the 2016 In/Out referendum, David Cameron and the Remain campaign found themselves cut off from their former allies in the press, according to Christopher Tugendhat. Senior figures within the party also believe that the constant attrition of anti-EU stories had a profound effect on Conservative Party opinion. "Looking back, this sort of thing kept up for decades had a very marked effect on right of centre opinion, particularly Conservative Party activists," said Ken Clarke. "And party leaders didn't usually upset the newspapers by responding to it particularly. Increasingly as the years went by, pro-European arguments just weren't printed by the right-wing press." (Mardell, 2018)

Simon Heffer believes that the post-1997 general election period marked a turning point in public opinion against Europe. Fleet Street followed suit. By the time the Conservatives returned to power in 2010, "there was a significant chunk of the press that wanted out, and I think that it helped reinforce people's views," he says. Heffer joined the *Daily Mail* as one of their most high profile columnists in 2011. "The *Mail* became – and I think I did have a small hand in that – not just a Eurosceptic paper, but the viscerally anti-European paper it was."

John Palmer believes that the Eurosceptic press ultimately played an "enormous" role in delivering Brexit:

> It was much more than Boris Johnson in the end. But Boris Johnson was an important staging post of it. It developed into a populist political movement. It had tones of English nationalism, tones of EU migration, of racism, it had utopian visions of a return to the trading patterns of Empire. It had delusions about the special relationship with the United States. It built upon various mythologies. But the influence of written journalism at a particular time fulfilled a very important stage in giving it a bit of rocket lift into the political sphere.

Sir Michael Arthur agrees with this assessment. "If you demonise Europe, no wonder that people get more and more cross with it every time something goes wrong and you want to blame somebody. The press had a very strong role in encouraging that." Martin Wolf, the chief economics commentator at the *Financial Times,* also believes that the press had a large effect both directly and indirectly on informing and shaping opinion among Conservative supporters:

> The corrosive scepticism of the papers played a big role….The key point was, it was relentless. It was *all* their writers, *all* their editorials and *all* their news stories, directed in the same way. There was no parallel force on the other side. And that, of course, is cumulatively very, very important.

The press may have influenced events – but one leading Eurosceptic is clear that the media did not drive Eurosceptic sentiment in the party. "I can't think of any journalist I followed devotedly and thinking, 'My God, I wish I could say that, you know that's really original'," says David Heathcoat Armory. "In those days I don't think it was driven by the press. But…to get the press on your side and sympathetic and able to publish stories [was] extremely important." Peter Lilley, who campaigned for a Leave vote, believes the press "had remarkably little impact" on the 2016 referendum result. "[People] were obsessed with the sovereignty issue…[they] just wanted to make their own laws….And that really hadn't been hammered into them by newspapers, so much as by establishment politicians saying, 'Oh, we've really got to do this. We've got no option, old boy. Because of the European Union.' And they just got fed up with it. So people made up their own minds."

7.10 The role of the British establishment in promoting anti-EU press narratives

Immigration and economic factors clearly played their part in driving Brexit. But Lord John Kerr, Britain's most senior diplomat on Europe for almost three decades, believes that one of the main drivers of Brexit was the "connivance" between successive governments and the press "in presenting Brussels as a place of endless battles and ambushes, that Britain was alone against these horrible continentals." (Mackay, 2019).

In their attacks on the EU, this study has found that the press was aided and abetted by successive Tory and Labour administrations which pursued active policies of blaming the EU for domestic policy failures. Brussels stories were often framed as if they were

football matches, recalls Giles Merritt, a former columnist with the *Financial Times* and *International Herald Tribune*. "Whenever there was a European summit or a Council of Ministers, where the British had a strong interest, it would be who won? Because they needed the headlines when they got back, that Britain had routed the foreigners."

Chris Patten, a former EU commissioner, says that every negotiation was treated by successive British governments "as a zero-sum game".

> It was always us versus Europe, us versus other European countries. And in fact, when you look at the record, we got most of what we wanted….We got enlargement, which was a big political goal of the Conservative Party, and we got the single market which was Margaret Thatcher's and Arthur Cockfield's invention. So we got Europe*, a la carte*, on our own terms, but still behaved as though somehow we were imprisoned in this *Bruxelloise* cage, and being done down and always being beaten.

Sir Ivan Rogers, the former UK Permanent Representative to the EU who resigned in 2017, was Europe Advisor to three prime ministers – Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and David Cameron:

> They all developed a style of dealing with Brussels, which made it a kind of binary, you know, we either win or we lose. You know, there's no such thing as an honourable compromise in British politics. So we developed across both parties a sort of discourse where you went to Brussels to lay down the law at the table, demonstrate that Britain was leading from the front, demonstrate that Britain was winning the key battles in Europe. I think this has been endemic in British politics for 25 or 30 years.

Rogers recalls that Gordon Brown developed a style of discourse on Europe where triumphs – some of which were "entirely fictional" – were fed to an unwitting public with the collusion of the press:

> He would have ideas of what he wanted the *FT* or *The Times* or the *Telegraph* to report him as having said or done on all these visits to Brussels, and part of my job when I was Director of Europe in the Treasury in the late 90s and early [21st] century was manufacturing the stories by which Gordon would demonstrate that he was the master of all he surveyed on the Brussels scene.

Senior politicians and diplomats agree that this anti-EU narrative, driven by politicians and the media, ultimately damaged public perceptions of Europe. "When there's a problem, the government tries to blame Brussels, and when there's success they try to take the credit," says Sir Richard Stagg. "Over a 20-year period, the picture of the European Union in people's minds is going to be more negative than it should be." Part of this anti-EU narrative exploited an underlying anti-German sentiment, says Sir Michael Arthur, who

became Britain's ambassador to Germany in 2007. "Germans would go to Brussels and come back and say, 'we've all found a wonderful solution together'," he says. "Britain would go to Brussels and say, 'We beat them! We won!' And you had to do that back in the House of Commons. And that's partly because our system of parliamentary democracy is gladiatorial in a way that is not the case in continental parliaments."

7.11 The influence of Boris Johnson's opinion writing on shaping anti-EU narratives, 1995-2016

From 1995 to 2016, Johnson was one of the *Daily Telegraph*'s most highly paid and widely read columnists. "I think there is absolutely no doubt that Boris was *the* commentator," says Sir Richard Stagg. "In a sense he was in that zone where the *Daily Telegraph* in a sense can be moderately intellectual and serious, but also populist, and also very plugged in to the Conservative Party. So he was writing for the journal, which was the sort of house journal of the party in power. And the party was most divided on Europe at that stage."

According to insider accounts, it was Johnson's opinion writing, rather than his public roles, that helped cement his standing as an important Eurosceptic voice with the grassroots. As an MP, Johnson failed to shine or win over any converts at Westminster. According to Matthew Parris, Johnson never had much influence within the Conservative parliamentary party:

> He doesn't perform particularly well in the chamber and the closer you get to him, the more selfish you realise he is. It wasn't just that he wasn't clubbable, but he wasn't actually particularly likeable....So I don't think that as an active politician he did nearly as much to change the parliamentary Conservative Party, as he did as an active journalist by amplifying and running with the wind of Euroscepticism.

Johnson's biographer Andrew Gimson agrees that he did not draw his strength and influence from MPs, many of whom found him "totally disreputable, totally unreliable". His method was instead to draw on the support of constituents – a method not without historical precedent:

> It was the case with Disraeli and Gladstone, who actually didn't always have very good control of their parliamentary followers, but they had such a pool in the wider country that that meant they had to be taken more seriously in Parliament. So I would say he was playing to the wider gallery. While trying not to burn his boats with the people he knew in Parliament.

David Heathcoat-Armory, who was an MP until 2010 and served as one the leaders of the Eurosceptic European Research Group, spoke on the same platform as Johnson at a party conference. He remembers Johnson as being supportive of the Eurosceptic cause at Westminster – "but whether it was a heartfelt concerted hostility to the way things were going, I couldn't judge really." He concurred that it was Johnson's platform as a journalist that mattered more than his contribution to politics. "He was an extremely talented journalist, and I read his stuff with great interest," he says.

Writing a column gave Johnson the freedom to express his opinions on Europe in a more unfiltered form. "I think the difference was he was then philosophising much more," says John Palmer. "Boris was rarely constrained by the normal rules that apply to reporting. But when he became a commentator, he had additional freedom." His critiques of the EU acted as a springboard for the adoption of a more right-wing populist stance on a whole range of issues. According to Palmer, Johnson

> …picked up that there was a degree of reaction against conventional politicians, in opposition and in government, mouthing things and then changing their minds, using technocratic language. He discovered what Trump knew before him – that there was a populist way of speaking to the masses, which suddenly the professional politicians found difficult to counter.

Johnson did not write prolifically about Europe in his years as an opinion writer. Yet according to Charles Grant, who is now director of the Centre for European Reform, a Brussels think tank, Johnson was regarded as a relative heavyweight on the European debate. Grant believes the columns were more influential than Johnson's output from his Brussels years. "He was one of several Eurosceptic people writing from Brussels, the most entertaining and perhaps the most talked about, but he was one of several. But his *Telegraph* columns – they were very brilliant pieces of journalism, whatever you think of the content and the lies in them, they were great journalism."

It is widely acknowledged that Johnson's decision to support the Vote Leave campaign tipped the balance in favour of a 'No' Vote. (Clarke et al 2017; O'Rourke, 2018) "He's very responsible," says Matthew Parris. "I don't think we would have left the EU without Boris Johnson. In fact, I'm pretty sure we would not have left the EU without Boris Johnson." Kim Darroch also agrees that without Johnson, Vote Leave would have lost. It

was Johnson's personal appeal and charisma that undoubtedly helped sway voters, according to Ivan Rogers:

> They wouldn't have won without Johnson because Gove is an unappealing figure with no public following. And Farage is an alienating figure….So Johnson's decision to go with Brexit got them to 52 per cent. I think Johnson tips it over because he's got charisma, he's got popularity – like him or not. I obviously think the guy is the emptiest of shells. He's one of the emptiest public figures I have ever worked for. But he has the ability to reach the public and connect with the public…in ways that no other politician of this generation does.

Matthew Parris believes that a combination of Johnson's different roles – as an opinion writer, as Mayor of London and as a celebrity – placed Johnson in a powerful position in 2016:

> Part of that was his cultivation of anti-European thought in his writing, which he did assiduously over a long time, and no doubt helped influence quite a few people's opinions. But the main thing he did was a political act….And because he had become a likeable and popular figure within the Conservative Party and to a lesser extent in the country, that swung it. He swung it - there's no question.

Chris Patten also agrees that Johnson's journalism was "quite influential…because it was quite well done." "He had a cartoonist's view of Europe which just went down well with the British public," says Simon Jenkins. "And it did feed, eventually, a hostility to Europe which surprised me and many other people that actually this sort of ribald approach towards politics and towards Britain's future in Europe was biting quite deep and was effective." For Martin Wolf, Johnson's voice as a newspaper columnist was not decisive in the vote. His main contribution to Brexit was "in making the EU look ludicrous….But he was one voice, probably an important voice among many who created the environment within which this flourished." Johnson's friend and former colleague, Geoff Meade, thinks that Johnson "is quietly very proud" of the way in which he is sometimes referred to as a catalyst for driving Eurosceptic sentiment. "He knows that history will record his impact in a journalistic sense, before he even got into politics, was enough to turn the tide of views in Britain on EU membership."

7.12 Conclusion

Euroscepticism in the British media pre-dated Boris Johnson's time as the *Daily Telegraph's* EC correspondent, driven by factors including Margaret Thatcher's growing hostility to the European project. However, according to the accounts of senior figures in the British elite, coverage of the EC "lacked serious critical thinking" and was largely

consensual in this regard. On his arrival in Brussels, Boris Johnson identified an opening for a more sceptical, questioning narrative on the EU, summed up by a fellow journalist as "What's going on and why is it bad for Britain?" Johnson's anti-EU narrative often focused on the threat to sovereignty posed by deepening integration. Some of his stories were based on documents "that would never see the light of day," according to some accounts, but were rarely contextualised in these terms. Johnson also specialised in a form of story called the "Euromyth", which painted the EU in an absurd light.

Johnson's journalism had two major effects. Firstly, most people interviewed for this project believe that Johnson's negative depictions of Europe influenced coverage in the mainstream press, which became progressively more Eurosceptical in the wake of the Maastricht Treaty. Secondly, Johnson's platform in the *Telegraph,* the Conservative Party's "house journal", meant that rebellious backbenchers during the Maastricht period viewed Europe in part through the prism of Johnson's anti-EU lens. This impacted on anti-EU sentiment in the Conservative Party, by both informing and confirming an anti-EU bias that was taking hold within the party. Following his time in Brussels Johnson continued to cement his position as a Eurosceptic voice through his opinion writing.

Chapter 8 Discussion and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

Over a period of three decades, Britain's ruling Conservative elite embraced a set of ideas on Europe that ultimately led to Britain's decision to leave the European Union in June 2016. This study details and analyses Boris Johnson's journalism and explores its influence on shaping elite opinion on Europe within the Conservative Party.

Much has been written about Johnson's putative influence on the 2016 Brexit result, with studies and media commentary pointing to the decisive role he played in the outcome. Commentators and politicians have claimed that the negative way in which he wrote about Europe during his days as a Brussels correspondent, and later as an opinion columnist, had an impact. Yet no study had examined the precise nature of Johnson's writing and the way in which he framed Europe in his journalistic discourse, nor had one endeavoured to evaluate the extent of its influence on the shaping of elite Conservative opinion.

This study sheds new light on both the way in which Johnson wrote about Europe, and how it impacted upon members of the Conservative elite. In the first place a framing analysis of Johnson's work reveals the way in which Johnson constructed Europe through his writing. Secondly, interviews with leading diplomats, politicians and journalists reveal the extent of Johnson's influence among elite networks in particular, as a correspondent in Brussels and afterwards as an opinion writer for the *Daily Telegraph*.

Central to unlocking this exploration of Johnson's influence on Conservative elites is the application of critical elite theory, particularly as it applies to opinion writing. This is the conceptual framework within which Johnson's work as a journalist can most readily be understood. Aeron Davis' theory explores the way in which journalists can influence political agendas, their work acting as communications channels through which elites seek to influence other members of the elite. Politicians also use the media and their interactions with journalists to find out what other politicians are thinking about any given issue. In this way journalists "have a significant social and cultural role in helping MPs to reach agreed agendas and positions." (Davis, 2007, p. 182). This final chapter uses a critical elite

theory lens to address if Johnson's journalism on Europe impacted upon political agendas on Europe within the Conservative Party.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. 1. Framing Europe: the major themes Johnson used to frame his analysis of Europe; 2. The influence of Johnson's journalism: a critical elite theory perspective; 3. Advancing critical elite theory and media-source relations; 4. Limitations and further research; and 5. Conclusion.

8.2 Framing Europe

The first aspect in seeking to evaluate Johnson's influence involved a framing analysis of his work for the *Telegraph* over a 27-year period. Interviews with peers from his time in Brussels reveal that from his earliest days as a correspondent in the city, Johnson's journalism set him apart from the Brussels' press corps. His journalism, a potent mix of exaggerated stories of bureaucratic excess and meddlesome EU laws, used catchphrases, deft metaphors and historical allusions to build particular frames on Europe. The study used a framing methodology pioneered by Gamson and Modigliani (1987, 1989) to identify these frames. Using this approach each element within a news story is broken down into its component parts to reveal a particular frame, or interpretive package. The matrix and interpretive packages are one of the significant original aspects of the study, which can be applied to future studies of how Conservative media outlets cover Europe.

In defining these packages, it was important to identify the historical forces that underpin Britain's uneasy relations with Europe. In Chapters two and four, the multiple factors contributing to Britain's ambivalence towards the EU were explored. They are rooted in history, in Britain's geographical separateness from the continent, and in various ideological perspectives. This study of literature, combined with an analysis of Johnson's journalism, revealed four major themes.

8.2.1 The Loss of British Sovereignty

The most important interpretive package that emerged in Johnson's work was a deep distrust of any external jurisdiction that threatened British parliamentary power. The drive towards monetary and political union pushed the question of sovereignty to the top of the

agenda within Conservative Party circles. The Maastricht Treaty (1992) was a key turning point on this road, providing "an occasion for display" of this aspect of the culture surrounding Europe within the Conservative Party. (Gamson and Lasch, 1983, p.1). This interpretive package, defined for this study as 'The Threat to British Sovereignty', emerges as *the* major frame package in Johnson's work. It dominated his discourse, accounting for over half of all the frames found. Of the 386 articles analysed between 1989 and 2016, the 'Sovereignty' package appears 203 times.

Issues around the single currency, integration, immigration, the benefits of membership and the burgeoning powers of European institutions constitute core positions within this frame. The threat posed to Westminster's power emerges as the most common core position. Johnson used attacks on European institutions to press home the perceived threat they posed to the British Parliament. Many of his most withering critiques were directed at the European Parliament, which in the late 1980s began to accumulate more powers. There is similar constancy and force to Johnson's attacks on the European Commission, with emotive language and memorable metaphors used to conjure ideas of ever-encroaching Brussels' power. Phrases that regularly appeared in Johnson's news reports in the run up to the Maastricht Treaty negotiations include "United States of Europe", "Euro-superstate", "pan-European government", "the dreaded f-word" (for federalism), "the imperium of Brussels", and in one case, "the rape of national sovereignty". Johnson's election to parliament in 2001 gave an added dimension and urgency to his attacks on the EU. His position on the European Standing Committee B effectively rubber-stamping legislation from Europe led to a conclusion that parliament was less use than "the Russian Duma under Lenin". (Johnson, 2004a)

The immigration core position within this frame emphasised the threat posed to Britain by unchecked immigration as a consequence of EU membership. These articles are notable for their stereotyping of people of different nationalities, associating immigrants with undesirable groups including terrorists, gun-runners and drug smugglers. Immigration became a key factor in the 2016 Brexit referendum and some of Johnson's language foreshadows the tone and content of Vote Leave messaging, which warned about the impacts of unchecked EU immigration. It is, however, worth noting that Johnson's

position on immigration was balanced with more positive coverage on the issue, which is classified for this project within the 'Identity' interpretive package.

Johnson did on occasion acknowledge the benefits of membership, arguing that on balance, the loss of sovereignty was a price worth paying. Several articles appeared in the 1990s adopting an 'embrace integration' core position, warning that Britain outside the single market faced relegation to a "slow-lane" of Europe. (Johnson, 1994f) In his later writing as a columnist, this position all but disappeared. In fact, his opinion writing never made a compelling case for Britain to remain in Europe and much of it is deeply Eurosceptical in tone. This is evidenced by Johnson's steadfast opposition to the single currency. Years before the Eurozone crisis he warned that joining the single currency would lead to Britain's "economic subjugation" in a fiscal union. (Johnson, 1996o; 1998a)

From 2014 onwards Johnson's attacks on the EU are notable for the visceral dislike expressed by the author for the entire European project. "What makes people angry," wrote Johnson in October 2014, "is that sense that the whole thing is out of control." (Johnson, 2014d) The "control" argument, which cut through so effectively in the referendum campaign, frequently emerged in Johnson's writing in the two-year period prior to Brexit. Whilst still appealing for Britain to take a leading role in Europe, Johnson also pinpointed a core argument in favour of leaving, arguing in 2015 that "it is time to give back powers to the countries of the EU." (Johnson, 2015a.1). Once Johnson declared for Vote Leave in February 2016, he urged readers to abandon the EU's "narcotic tyranny" and "take back control of this country's great destiny." (Johnson, 2016f)

8.2.2 The Threat to Liberal Free Markets

The second major frame in Johnson's work was the threat posed by Europe to Britain's free market ideals. This frame encompassed the beliefs that European state subsidies were interfering with markets, that the Commission was responsible for intrusive and expensive legislation, and that the EU was responsible for fiscal waste including the alleged high cost of sustaining a large Brussels bureaucracy. The second aspect was the EU's perceived curtailment of Britain from reaching its global trading potential.

Defined for this project as 'The Threat to Liberal Free Markets', Johnson highlighted examples of what he portrayed as absurd EU directives, the wastefulness and corruption of the Common Agricultural Policy, and an economic approach that was at odds with the core values espoused by Thatcherite Conservativism. Once again events such as the Maastricht Treaty, provided Johnson with the opportunity he needed to attack the EC for undermining Britain's free market orthodoxy, as efforts accelerated to introduce a social dimension to the EC.

Within this frame Johnson also emphasised what he perceived as a lack of fiscal prudence on the part of both Commission employees and MEPs. The latter were accused of abusing expense accounts, enjoying champagne lunches in Alsatian restaurants and junkets to foreign hotspots. Another target, the EC structural funds programme, was decried by Johnson as a "soak the rich scheme" involving the transfer of monies from the richer Northern European countries to the poorer countries of the Mediterranean and Ireland. Critiques of the Common Agricultural Policy were the most common core position within the Threat to Liberal Free Markets package, with many of Johnson's articles railing against the millions being "squandered" on "million-ton" beef mountains and fictitious olive oil producers.

This thread in Johnson's writing and thought reached its apotheosis when the Vote Leave campaign made the false claim that £350 million a week of British taxpayers' money went to fund the EU. According to leading Vote Leave figures, this claim may have proved decisive in the Brexit vote. (Stone, 2018) Ultimately the EU budget issue, ignited by Thatcher's demands for "our money back" from the EEC, was successfully mined by Johnson who helped prime the public into believing that exchequer funds could be more fruitfully spent at home rather than being "wasted" in Europe.

The second aspect of this frame was what Johnson perceived as the EU's curtailment of Britain from reaching its global trading potential. This 'Leave EU' core position emphasised the economic benefits Britain would accrue by walking away from the EU and embracing new global trade deals. Over the years Johnson had shifted between advocating for remaining a member due to the benefits of the single market, and arguing that Britain might be better off leaving the EU. (Johnson, 1999i). By late 2013 the 'Leave

EU' core frame emerged strongly in his work, without the balancing argument of the benefits of the single market. (Johnson, 2013f)

8.2.3 The Plot Against Britain

The third major frame, 'The Plot against Britain', emphasised Britain's historic hostility to France and Germany. This package depicted a 'Franco-German axis' intent on isolating Britain in order to further its own interests. Whenever Britain found itself at odds with its European partners, Johnson routinely resorted to the 'Plot' package to recycle historical tropes about German expansionist tendencies or the untrustworthy French. Johnson suggested that monetary union was part of Germany's plan for a "European superstate". Were it to go ahead he surmised that the EC risked "falling under the sway of a united Germany". (Johnson, 1992g) Johnson's story sourcing sometimes served as a means by which the author could promote a particularly contentious narrative about the subject in question. For example, in a story about alleged German plans to create a "Brussels FBI" Johnson quoted "British sources" saying "they did not want 'people in uniforms' being attached to Europol, let alone sent on missions". (Johnson, 1994b)

In his opinion writing Johnson drew heavily on World War II history to warn of German domination of the EU. He linked the euro and the European Union to Hitler's Third Reich: "One day Germany might grow great again, and there was only one long-term solution: to create one nation out of many." (Johnson, 2002b)

The 'Plot' frame also encompassed ideas about untrustworthy European politicians and civil servants and their integrationist plans. The Commission President Jacques Delors was often depicted in an unflattering manner: he was "Frere Jacques", "an emperor", "the Beelzebub of Brussels" and "the bête noir of the Conservative party", guilty in Johnson's eyes of promoting French socialist interests to the detriment of Britain.

8.2.4 The Threat to British Identity

The final frame, 'The Threat to British Identity', encompassed ideas about Britain's physical separateness from the continent, its historic ties with both the 'Anglosphere' of the British Commonwealth and its Atlantic ties with the US, and the benefits of immigration. This frame was an important one for Brexit arguments and Euroscepticism.

(O'Rourke, 2018) Historically successive Conservative leaders had grappled with the decision to join the EEC as it presented a threat to the country's ties with the post-imperial Commonwealth. (Young, 1998) The notion of an 'Anglosphere' was reignited by UKIP in the early noughties and gained traction throughout the Vote Leave campaign and in its aftermath. (O'Rourke, 2018) Anticipating the message – or creating the playbook – of the Vote Leave campaign in 2013, Johnson called for Britain to look beyond Europe and to embrace a "wider destiny". (Johnson, 2013d) Overall, the identity issue emerged as a minor frame in Johnson's work, accounting for just 13 of the 383 articles analysed. This underscores the importance of the preceding three frames in Johnson's journalism.

8.3 The influence of Johnson's journalism: A critical elite theory perspective

Having conducted a framing analysis of Johnson's journalism, the next step was to establish the extent to which his work may have impacted upon elite policy formation on Europe within the Conservative Party. This process can best be understood through a critical elite theory perspective, which seeks to understand how elites seek to influence policy agendas – and each other – through their use of the media. The media is, in this respect, a major communications channel for the "conflicts, negotiations and decision-making" that take place between different elite groups. (Davis, 2007). This suggests that journalists, such as Johnson, function as actors in their own right, acting as intermediaries between elites in their struggle for power. (Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2017)

This section addresses how Johnson's journalism fits within this theoretical framework, setting out the following arguments: 1. The role of the media on European policy formation; 2. Historical contingency: Johnson was important because he was the right man in the right place within the media to influence party elites; 3. Ability: Johnson, a talented writer, spotted an opening for a new anti-EU interpretation; and 4. Maastricht: Johnson was important because he sparked a world of possibility for Conservative Eurosceptics during the passage of the Maastricht Bill.

8.3.1 The role of the media on European policy formation

The first aspect in seeking to address this question was to establish the way in which elites within the Conservative Party use the media in everyday life. This study has found additional evidence to shed light on the way in which politicians and journalists interact in the shaping of policy agendas. This supports previous studies which have found that elites are the "primary definers of topics" (Hall et al., 2013 [1978]), with favoured access to journalists. (Gans, 1979) It also adds to the body of work interrogating the way in which journalists are used by politicians to influence political decision-making and thus play a role in the decision making process and in the shaping of policy agendas. (Davis, 2003; Cobb and Elder, 1971; Soroka, 2003).

According to new interviews with leading diplomats and politicians, including Lord Chris Patten, Lord Kim Darroch and Sir Richard Stagg, John Major was "obsessed" with the media. He was particularly concerned about the way in which European issues were reported, prior, during and in the aftermath of the Maastricht negotiations, believing that negative coverage would adversely affect efforts to get approval for the Treaty in Parliament. Sir Michael Arthur, a leading member of the Maastricht negotiating team, believes that Major was justified in his concerns about press coverage, regarding the press as "an articulation of opinion" in both Parliament and the country.

Major and his team therefore put a great deal of energy into the shaping of news frames on Europe. A measure of this was the appointment of Gus O'Donnell, who later became cabinet secretary and head of the civil service, to the role of Government press secretary. According to Sir Richard Stagg, the British government press spokesman during the Maastricht period, Major believed that the media would play a significant role in the outcome of the Maastricht Bill. In seeking to shape media narratives, Major was aware that negative press could sway opinion amongst Conservative backbenchers.

This belief impacted upon the tactics deployed by the Maastricht negotiating team. As they worked to get a deal with their European partners, they also had to ensure that any deal would be accepted by Parliament. Discussions about how various outcomes would be received by Conservative backbenchers occurred "all the time," according to Sir Michael Arthur. When a deal was finally reached in December 1991, the message Major and his

team needed to convey to backbenchers, via the media, was that they had won important concessions from their EU partners on both monetary union and the Social Chapter opt-out. A press campaign, carefully orchestrated by Number 10, helped ensure that ministers were "on message" and contributed to the overwhelmingly positive press coverage. According to Lord John Kerr, Britain's chief negotiator and the former ambassador to the EU, the Conservative press was "absolutely united" that Maastricht was a triumph.

This evidence expands the body of knowledge relating to the way in which members of the elite adapt their behaviour and decision-making processes according to the way in which the media covers an issue. (Davis, 2007). It does this by shedding light on how political leaders approached the Maastricht negotiations with a view to getting positive press coverage, which they in turn believed impacted upon party views of Europe at Westminster.

8.3.2 Historical contingency

Boris Johnson was the right person at the right time to exert influence on the direction of Conservative Party policy on Europe. Firstly, Johnson's background, his platform as a high profile reporter and columnist, and the newspaper he worked for placed him squarely within journalism's interpretive elite. Secondly, he arrived in Brussels at a moment in time when the Conservative Party was moving in a more Eurosceptic direction, and media outlets were thus primed to follow suit.

Long before he became prime minister, Johnson was a member of Britain's ruling class by virtue of his education and background. His shared background and social origins lead to his "easy intermingling" with members of the Conservative elite. (Mills, 1956, p. 19). This opened doors for him in journalism, helping him get his first job in *The Times* and later at the *Telegraph.*

Secondly, Johnson's role as a political columnist placed him firmly within Britain's interpretive elite. Columnists earn their place within the interpretive elite by virtue of their "ability to interpret complex reality in ways which contribute directly to their readers evaluation of political rhetoric and action." (McNair, 2000a, p. 208) Punditry is regarded as "the most prestigious sinecure in the journalism business". (Alterman, 1999, p. 95) In

addition to this, Johnson worked for the *Daily Telegraph*, which is regarded by leading politicians and diplomats as Conservative party's "house journal". This gave him a unique and powerful platform for his journalism.

Thirdly, Johnson arrived in Brussels at a moment in time when the Conservative Party was moving in a more Eurosceptic direction, and media outlets were thus primed to follow suit. 1989, the year of his appointment to Brussels, marked seismic events in both domestic and European politics. According to Tommie Gorman, a fellow Brussels correspondent, these dynamics suited a journalist with an alternative view, who could become a "go-to" for Conservative Party dissidents.

While Euroscepticism in the press pre-dated Johnson's arrival in the city, the press pack's coverage of the EC was broadly consensual and lacking in critical thinking. By his own account Johnson spotted a "gap in the market" for a more critical approach to coverage of EC issues. Critical accounts from leading figures in politics, diplomacy, and journalism, attest that Johnson's motivations and approach distinguished him from the British press corps. According to Sir Richard Stagg, the British Government's spokesman in Brussels, Johnson had a clear agenda. This agenda was perhaps best summed up by David Gardner, the *Financial Times* former Brussels Correspondent, as "What's going on and why is it bad for Britain?" This strand of thinking is evident in the interpretive packages and core positions that form Johnson's journalism.

8.3.3 Ability

Boris Johnson's unique abilities as a journalist and the compelling anti-EU frames inherent in his work underpinned his influence over the Conservative Party. Johnson understood the history of Britain and Europe and framed his coverage by drawing on deeply embedded historical and cultural ideas. He successfully created three strong frames on Europe that mined contemporary Conservative Party concerns about Europe, namely the Loss of British Sovereignty, the Threat to Liberal Free Markets, and the Plot Against Britain.

Johnson also helped create a whole genre of new stories on Europe – called Euromyths. These stories, which were later collated by both the European Commission and the Foreign Office, concerned trivial matters which painted the European Union in an

absurd light. (Henkel, 2021). Lord Kim Darroch, who co-authored a booklet for the Foreign Office which sought to counter Euromyths, said that a significant number "were from the pen of Boris Johnson". According to John Palmer, who was in the early 1990s the Guardian's Europe editor, Johnson became aware that Euromyths could become front-page stories, and thus be given a degree of credibility.

Critical actors also substantiate Johnson's role in promoting two particular frames on Europe. His "big picture narrative" – that the Commission, France and Germany were colluding in efforts to create a "United States of Europe" aligns with The Loss of British Sovereignty and the Plot Against Britain frames. Some of the stories which fall within these frames were based on dishonest and exaggerated reporting, as well as dubious sourcing. David Gardner said that Johnson wrote stories based on Commission policy documents that were not in the legislative pipeline and would therefore "never see the light of day". By implying they were about to become policy, Johnson was guilty of presenting information in a "profoundly and deliberately misleading" manner, according to Lord Darroch. However, not every interviewee viewed Johnson's interpretations in this negative light. Sir Richard Stagg said that Johnson was motivated in part by a genuine belief that Europe was becoming too centralised.

The impact of these stories was twofold. Firstly, fellow correspondents in Brussels recall coming under pressure from their news desks to either follow up on some of Johnson's stories, or find stories in a similar vein. In the long run, this pursuit of negative stories lead to more critical coverage of Europe, according to Sir Richard Stagg. This view is supported by Charles Grant, who now leads a think tank in Brussels. Grant believes that Johnson's work did help "shift the narrative" about Britain's relationship with Europe, from the positive aspects of membership such as the single market, to the EU as "a nefarious superstate that's plotting to destroy sovereignty". This broader press narrative, which in some right-wing newspapers eventually became overwhelmingly and relentlessly hostile to Europe, played a cumulative role both directly and indirectly on shaping Conservative Party attitudes to the EU.

Secondly, Johnson's ability to interpret Europe in a new light contributed to the way in which the Conservative Parliamentary Party evaluated the issue of Europe.

According to Peter Lilley, a leading Eurosceptic member of John Major's cabinet, the threat posed to the UK's sovereignty by the EU had, until Johnson came along, "been hidden by the commentariat in Britain". The Conservative MEP John Stevens says that Johnson's style of "poking fun at the European process" in an effort to render it ridiculous was "highly destructive".

8.3.4 Maastricht and the Danish Referendum

Johnson's journalism appeared at a critical juncture in Britain's relationship with Europe, appearing at a time when John Major's government sought to get passage of the Maastricht Bill through parliament. According to the Conservative MP Andrew Mitchell, who was in the Government's whip's office at the time, Johnson's journalism "soured the whole atmosphere" at a particularly difficult time for the Government. Matthew Parris, the former MP and now one of Britain's leading political columnists, concludes that Johnson's journalism was "very damaging" and helped destroy John Major's government.

Sir Richard Stagg, who as Douglas Hurd's private secretary was responsible for the passage of the bill through Parliament, said that the "drip, drip, drip" of negative articles from Johnson was "at a minimum unhelpful and quite possibly dangerous". This is because Johnson was writing for the *Daily Telegraph*, the Conservative Party's "house journal". MPs, explains Stagg, were viewing Europe through the prism of Johnson's writing. He argues that Johnson's journalism "affected the balance of people's thinking", either reinforcing previously held views on Europe, or persuading those with more of an open-minded view of Europe to become more sceptical in their stance.

These views are supported by other interviews with leading figures from within the Conservative Party. The former Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont, a leading Eurosceptic, says that Johnson's negative articles on Europe slowly corroded party attitudes to the EU. Lord Chris Patten, the former Conservative Party Chair and cabinet minister, agrees that it was "the endless drip, drip, drip of Boris Johnson and others' mendacity" that had a real impact on party attitudes to Europe. For the party's Eurosceptics at Westminster, Johnson's work illuminated the extent to which Britain's sovereignty was being impinged on by Europe. In adopting a strong 'Loss of Sovereignty' frame, Johnson was "a help" to

the Eurosceptic cause, according to David Heathcoat Armory, a former Conservative minister.

However Eurosceptics, including Peter Lilley and David Heathcoat Armory, are also clear that Johnson did not necessarily drive Eurosceptic opinion, but rather provided a confirmation bias for members of the party. David Heathcoat Armory describes it as "two-way influence", with Johnson reflecting party sentiment which in turn impacted on thinking in the House of Commons. The former British EU commissioner Christopher Tugendhat also says that Johnson "confirmed and consolidated" the idea of a "power-hungry" European executive, rather than acting as a driver of Euroscepticism in the party.

The actions undertaken to "rein" Johnson in also indicate that senior Government figures had concerns about the impact of his journalism on Conservative elites. According to Simon Heffer, who was then deputy editor of the *Spectator*, calls were made from Whitehall to refute Johnson's stories. Lord Kim Darroch confirms that senior politicians, press spokesmen and special advisers spoke to "owners and editors" about Johnson's work. Occasionally direct appeals were made to Johnson to counter "the lies [he] was pursuing," according to Lord Chris Patten. At one point, the Government's Europe minister, Tristan Garel-Jones, called Johnson in for a meeting and asked him to check back in directly with him on the veracity of the stories that he was pursuing. John Major also allegedly considered trying to scupper Johnson's efforts to become a Conservative Party candidate for the European Parliament elections in 1994. These actions reveal that Johnson was powerful as the Government was evidently worried about – and took actions to counter – his influence.

This study has found little evidence to support claims that Johnson's journalism had an impact on the outcome of the Danish referendum. His front-page *Sunday Telegraph* story about an alleged plan to create a "cabinet government of Europe", with Jacques Delors as president with full executive powers, was credited by one Danish politician with playing a pivotal role in the Danish rejection of the treaty. (Johnson, 1992e.2) Uffe Ellman-Jensen, who was Denmark's foreign minister at the time, said that Johnson's story "definitely had an impact". (Rankin and Waterson, 2019). However, no other Danish politician has subsequently supported this interpretation, nor has any academic study pointed to the

impact of Johnson's article on the vote. What is of more significance for this study is that Johnson used the issue of the Danish referendum to emphasise concerns about the loss of sovereignty posed by the Maastricht Treaty. The Danish referendum has a significance for Britain's place in Europe as it is now considered "the midwife" of Tory Euroscepticism, galvanising them in opposition to the Maastricht Bill.

8.4 Advancing critical elite theory and media-source relations

Previous work on critical elite theory has revealed how journalists can have a strong mediating influence on elites operating at sites of power. (Davis, 2007) This project supports this finding and illustrates the way in which elites at Westminster use the media to push forward particular policy agendas on Europe, thus contributing to the theory's knowledge base. The study also sheds new light on how a unique figure such as Johnson, who was part of elite networks as a columnist and editor, as well as through his role as a Conservative politician, operated within elite networks to further policy agendas.

One key aspect of Johnson's work expands the field of knowledge on critical elite theory. This concerns the way in which Johnson set the "framework of interpretation" for the issue of Europe within Conservative elite circles. (Davis, 2007b) Johnson understood the history and culture surrounding Britain and Europe, and moulded it into three frames that resonated with the party. Johnson's frames on Europe were in turn picked up by what John Palmer calls the backbench "choir" at Westminster – Conservative backbenchers who were increasingly unhappy with the direction of European policy and began agitating for change. Gradually, this Eurosceptic rump came to dominate the party and pushed European policy in an increasingly anti-EU direction. The creation of these frames, and their centrality to thinking within the party, aligns with a critical elite theory perspective on Johnson's work.

This means that even when elite-source relations are not close – as was the case with Johnson and Eurosceptic MPs at Westminster – particular agendas can be still be advanced. It is well-documented that elites are influenced in their thinking and decision-making by media campaigns. (Hilgartner and Bosk, 1988; Manheim, 1994; Davis, 2000a, 2000b) Johnson's sustained negative coverage of Europe in the *Telegraph* may have created a process of "feedback and amplification" at Westminster. (Hilgartner and Bosk,

1988) In later years Johnson summed up his approach as "chucking these rocks over the garden wall and listening to this amazing crash from the greenhouse in England." Whatever his motivations, the evidence points to Johnson's journalism acting as an important channel for growing resentment over Europe within Conservative Party ranks. In this way, Johnson became a participant in the policy process on Europe at Westminster.

More broadly, this study has gathered important evidence from Britain's most senior diplomats that Britain's political elite has consistently used the media to portray Europe in a negative light. For the past thirty years, successive Conservative and Labour administrations have pursued active policies of blaming the EU for domestic policy failures. Senior politicians and diplomats believe that this anti-EU narrative, driven by politicians and the media, ultimately damaged public perceptions of Europe. Lord John Kerr, Britain's leading diplomat on Europe for over 20 years, says that this "connivance" was one of the main drivers of Brexit.

This study also advances the field of study into the role played by opinion commentators on the formation of public policy. This study found perceptions of how the media can influence policy formation differed between journalists and politicians. In general, politicians interviewed for this study believe that the media plays a significant role in shaping both elite and broader public opinion. Journalists, on the other hand, while acknowledging that commentary offers a more influential platform for particular views, generally downplay the significance of the part they play in policy formation. Most opinion writers and journalists interviewed for this project believe that columnists and journalists rarely, if ever, set the agenda. Matthew Parris believes that too often, newspapers are blamed for creating a current of opinion, when in his view "all they were doing was noticing cannily...which way the current was running and going with it. In that way, pleasing their readers; stroking their readers' existing prejudices." What columnists can do is create "a climate of opinion" within which certain ideas – such as Brexit – can flourish.

More often, opinion writing can have an incremental impact on opinion. Simon Heffer believes that the ideas of Eurosceptic commentators "certainly did penetrate" into a wider discourse on Europe. Sir Richard Stagg says it was the constant "drip, drip, drip" of

stories that Europe was an ambitious but misguided project that did lasting damage to perceptions of the EU. This project also found evidence that on rare occasions, a columnist's work can directly impact on policy agendas.

This study advances the field of critical elite theory and media-source relations in several important ways. Firstly, it reveals how a unique figure such as Boris Johnson had an impact on Conservative Party thinking on Europe through his journalism. Secondly, it reveals evidence of the way in which the media can be used by elites at Westminster to advance a particular agenda. Thirdly, it contributes to our understanding of the way in which opinion writers can impact upon political agendas. Fourthly, it reveals new evidence of the way in which political elites colluded with the media to present Europe in a negative light, in order to advance domestic agendas. The policy implications of this latter finding are significant, revealing how the pursuit of short-term political advantage can ultimately have enormous repercussions for a nation's long-term economic, social and cultural health.

8.5 Limitations and further research

The findings of this study are potentially limited by several factors.

Many of the conclusions reached in this study are based on interviews with elite sources, and the work of one journalist. This reliance on findings from interviews and Johnson's journalism alone necessarily limits the conclusions that can be reached about the influence of his work.

Secondly, the journalist-source relationship is an important aspect of critical elite theory. This relationship serves as a means by which politicians can receive and impart information about other individuals and their policy agendas. It is what Davis calls the "physical component" of the information networks that form at elite sites. (Davis, 2007, p. 175) In the early years of his career Johnson's physical separation from Westminster removed him from the traditional milieu in which these close relationships form. It is therefore doubtful that Johnson was "captured" within the closed networks of communication that develop at sites of power, an idea advanced by Davis as a component of critical elite theory (Davis, 2007). Leading Eurosceptic figures interviewed for this project had little contact with Johnson. While Johnson may have found a "chorus" for his

work at Westminster, there is no evidence that his Eurosceptic discourse was a consequence of orchestrated efforts between him and Conservative MPs to advance an anti-EU agenda.

A third limitation lies in seeking to isolate Johnson's influence from that of other Eurosceptic voices in the media. Johnson was an important Eurosceptic voice, with a powerful platform in the *Daily Telegraph*. However, he was not alone in pursuing an anti-EU agenda. By the time of the Brexit referendum the majority of the right-wing press in Britain had adopted a hostile stance towards Europe. Other, larger, independent forces were also at work. The fallout from Black Wednesday, John Major's pro-EU agenda, and the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty led to more critical coverage of the EU. (Startin, 2013)

For former colleagues and leading diplomats, Johnson was a part player in a much bigger drift towards Euroscepticism in the press. Sir Michael Arthur, one of the lead negotiators at Maastricht, describes Johnson as "a bit of icing on the cake" in a much bigger anti-European press narrative. Of greater important, he says, was the role played by the Murdoch press through the 1990s and beyond in their "capture" of the Tory party to move them in a progressively more anti-EU direction. According to John Palmer, it would be wrong to cite Johnson as a historical cause of Brexit. Instead Johnson "embodied and picked up on and gave expression to forces which were coming in from the margins of society, particularly the margins in British politics."

Johnson is a critical case for examination to understand the dynamics at work between Conservative policy agendas, Europe and the media. But Johnson is one journalist among many who pursued a Eurosceptic agenda. A broader network of writers across the British right-wing press also presented Europe in a negative light. Further study is needed to address their role in shaping policy agendas on Europe. In the meantime, this study's findings shed valuable light on the way in which Johnson framed Europe in his writing, which in turn both entrenched views and influenced Conservative Party thought on Europe.

8.6 Conclusion

So many events conspired to turn the Conservative Party against Europe, that it is difficult to separate the impact of Johnson's journalism from the effects of the Maastricht Treaty, or Black Wednesday, or the 2008 financial crisis. As O'Rourke (2018) has noted, historians in years to come will conclude that "Brexit was complicated". But a framing analysis of Johnson's journalism reveals that Johnson successfully tapped in to historical and cultural currents in British society that resonated with Conservative Party MPs. Testimony from leading members of the Conservative Party, some of Britain's most high-ranking diplomats, opinion writers, and correspondents who worked with Johnson in the field, indicate that Johnson's journalism did have an impact on Conservative Party thinking on Europe.

The growth of Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party can be traced back to the late 1980s period. This was driven largely by Thatcher's opposition to the EC's embrace of a social dimension, along with its drive towards deeper integration. Thatcher's growing hostility to the European project influenced press coverage, which began to move in a more Eurosceptic direction.

The Conservative Party's growing opposition to Europe was amplified and, in part, driven by articles that Johnson – and others – wrote. Johnson emphasised three important frames in his writing, namely Britain's loss of sovereignty as a member of the EU, what he perceived as a "Plot" by France and Germany to forge a closer union within which Britain's interests would suffer, and the threat posed by the EU to Britain's free market values.

Johnson arguably had greater reach and influence than other journalists, owing to a number of factors. The first was his unique ability to identify and amplify issues which went to the heart of Conservative Party concerns about Europe. The second was the timing of his appointment to Brussels, which coincided with a drift towards Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party arising from opposition to the Maastricht Treaty and the political demise of Margaret Thatcher. The third factor was his platform in the *Daily Telegraph*, the Conservative Party's "house journal". Rebellious backbenchers during the Maastricht period therefore viewed Europe in part through the prism of Johnson's distorted lens. Fourthly, Johnson specialised in a form of 'Euromyth' that both trivialised the EU and

made it look preposterous. This partly set the tone for coverage of Europe in other newspapers.

Following his time in Brussels, Johnson continued to cement his position as a Eurosceptic voice through his opinion writing. In time, Johnson recast his image in the public mind from the Tory propagating Euroscepticism through his writing to the popular, cosmopolitan Mayor of London known for his support of environmental causes. The Brexit campaign marked the beginning of the next Boris Johnson: the man who had become Mr Global Britain reaching back into his arsenal of Euroscepticism from the 1990s, marrying his old argument, new popularity and perennial skills as a communicator to carry the day.

Appendices

Appendix A – Coding Manual & Findings

A critical part of research involves independently assessing the validity and consistency of research results. Intercoder reliability is therefore regarded as "an integral part" of any content analysis. (Lombard et al., 2018) Using the same categorising coding system, a second coder deductively analysed a subset of the Johnson archive. Training sessions were used to thoroughly familiarise the second coder with the cognitive schema required to suggest each frame. Only two coders worked on the data as this number is considered the optimum number for reliability. (Van Gorp, 2010) During the training process a systematic analysis of the framing and reasoning devices that relate to specific frames was undertaken in order to instruct the second coder to identify the core positions and thus the frame package. One of the main questions for analysis was, did the framing and reasoning devices tie in with the reconstructed frames on Europe?

Once the second coder had applied the coding principles set out below, an intercoder reliability index was calculated to determine the level of agreement between the two coders. To determine the percentage agreement between coders, the Cohen's kappa index, which is widely used in communications studies, was applied. The appropriate acceptable minimum level of coder agreement between coders is .80 or greater.

The first step in the process of instructing the second coder involved designing a coding manual. The second step involved training the coder to use the coding instrument. The coding instructions, containing detailed definitions of each frame and its categories, as well as coder questions, are set out below.

Coding instructions, detailed definitions for each variable and examples

The coder was instructed to look for the specific idea elements or the core positions comprising each frame. This enabled the coder to look for a specific idea rather than making a judgement about which package it represents. (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) In order to help identify core positions and frames, Yes/No questions were used as this restricts the coders' need to interpret the news content and provides greater reliability in the findings. (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, Van Gorp, 2010) The coder was also instructed to look for clusters in the coded devices in order to determine the package as a whole. (Van Os et al., 2008, Van Gorp, 2010). The coder questions are set out below.

Interpretive package 1: The Plot Against Britain

Core Frame: The core frame is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.

Core positions:

- The 'Franco-German axis' is driving the EC and trying to isolate Britain.
- France and Germany will gain most from European integration.
- The German drive towards integration is driven by its "historic thirst for expansion".
- Certain politicians are zealously committed to political union and cannot be trusted.

Coder questions:

1. Does the story suggest that the EU as a project vastly benefits founding members Germany and France over the UK?
2. Does the story suggest that Germany and France are plotting to gain greater control over the EU at Britain's expense?
3. Does this story suggest that France and Germany have the most to gain from deeper political integration?
4. Does this story suggest that France and Germany have the most to gain from monetary union?
5. Does the story insinuate that Germany's commitment to Europe is linked to its historic expansionist zeal?
6. Does this story suggest that efforts to site the European Central bank in Frankfurt are part of German efforts to dominate the European Union?
7. Does the story contain negative depictions of senior Commission officials or EU heads of state?
8. Does this story suggest that the actions of senior Commission officials or EU heads of state are driven by a zealous belief in political and /or monetary union?

Interpretive package 2: The Loss of British Sovereignty

Core Frame: The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to supranational institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that are not in the interests of the British people.

Core positions:

- The Commission, European Court of Justice and European Parliament are taking too much power from Westminster.
- The single currency is a threat to sovereignty.
- Immigration: Britain must take back control of its borders.
- Britain risks being relegated to a second-tier EU nation if it does not embrace integration.

Coder questions:

1. Does this story insinuate that the UK parliament has lost control over common trade rules, environmental laws and food regulations?
2. Does this story suggest that the single currency represents a threat to UK sovereign power?
3. Does this story suggest that European Monetary Union is a stepping stone to full political union?
4. Does this story suggest that Britain's power of veto at the Council of Ministers is under threat?
5. Does this story suggest that a common EU foreign and/or defence policy would erode parliamentary powers?
6. Does this story argue that the EU constitution represents an effort to politically deepen the EU at the expense of national parliaments?
7. Does this story suggest that non-EU immigration to the UK is being hampered by too many EU immigrants entering the UK?
8. Does this article suggest that the EU is denying Britain the fundamental right to control its own borders?

9. Does this article suggest that Britain needs to embrace integration, or risk being relegated to a second-tier European nation?

Interpretive package 3: The Threat to Liberal Free Markets

Core Frame: The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bureaucrats.

Core positions:

- The Social Chapter will hamper UK manufacturing and represents a "socialist way of thinking".
- British taxpayers are footing the bill for Europe's bloated bureaucracy.
- Britain, as a rich nation, is paying too much into the EU budget to support poorer nations and the wasteful Common Agricultural Policy.
- The EU's protectionist policies are is a threat to Thatcherite free-market principles.
- Britain will benefit from the single market as it will reduce prices for consumers, increase employment, and raise living standards.
- Britain would be better off outside of the EU.

Coder questions:

1. Does this story suggest that the Social Chapter raises costs for business and/or inhibits employment and economic growth?
2. Does this story suggest that a socialist ideology underpins the Social Chapter?
3. Does this story suggest that the Social Chapter is an attempt to impose high-cost French-style "socialist" labour laws on EU member states?
4. Does this story suggest that the Common Agricultural Policy is corrupt and/or inefficient?
5. Does this story suggest that British taxpayers are paying too much through the EU budget for the Common Agricultural Policy?
6. Does this article suggest that too much money is being transferred from rich Northern European countries like Britain and Germany to poorer EU nations, such as Portugal, Greece, and Spain?
7. Does this article suggest that too much money is being spent on sustaining Europe's supranational institutions?
8. Does this article suggest that EU directives are overly protectionist in nature?
9. Does this article suggest that the European Commission is overly bureaucratic and/or that its laws are meddlesome?
10. Does this story suggest that European Commission directives place an undue burden on business?
11. Does this story suggest that Britain will benefit from being part of the single market?
12. Does this story suggest that Britain should leave the EU?

Interpretive Package 4: The Threat to British Identity

Core Frame:
The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.

Core positions:

- The European project represents a threat to a perceived 'British way of life'.
- Membership of the EC/EU undermines Britain's historic ties with the "Anglosphere" of the Commonwealth and United States.
- A Catholic ethos underpins some EC Commission policy which is at odds with Britain's Anglican tradition.
- Immigration: Britain will benefit from immigration.

Coder questions:

1. Does this story suggest that membership of the EU undermines Britain's ties to the Commonwealth?
2. Does this story suggest that Britain's NATO alliances will be undermined by EU membership?
3. Does this story suggest that the creation of European Union citizenship under Maastricht represents a threat to British identity?
4. Does this story suggest that the European Union wants to take away emblems of the British way of life, including but not limited to the dark blue British passport, and imperial weights and measurements?
5. Does this story suggest that a Catholic ethos informs European directives?
6. Does this article suggest that Britain and/or the EU should embrace immigration?

Results

39 articles, representing approximately 10 percent of the overall corpus of articles, were randomly selected for coding. Each of the articles was independently coded by two coders, and each article was coded into one of the four interpretive packages.

Intercoder reliability for this single variable was obtained among two coders using Cohen's Kappa, calculated using open-access online intercoder reliability Web service ReCal (Freelon, 2010). The Cohen's Kappa rating was .82. Once this process was completed, the coding of the reliability sample was incorporated into the coding of the full sample.

Appendix B – Interview protocols

Project: Boris Johnson's journalism and the shaping of elite opinion on Europe: A framing analysis of Johnson's work and how it shaped elite Conservative opinion on Europe, through a critical elite theory perspective

Investigator: Niamh Sammon, DCU School of Communications

Sample Interview Question List

Interview questions were tailored to the interviewee's occupation. This list of questions for the opinion writer Matthew Parris is representative of the questions that were asked of opinion columnists.

1. What is the nature of the relationship between political columnists and politicians?
2. What is your perception of how politicians use the media in everyday life?
3. As a political columnist, do you see your work as being part of the policy conversation within political circles?
4. Has a politician ever said to you that they've changed their mind on a policy issue due to a journalist's work?
5. Have you ever come across any evidence that politicians use opinion commentary to 'float' ideas and influence members of their party? If so, was Europe one of the issues they used the media for?
6. Do you think Conservative politicians adapted their attitudes to Europe according to a more hostile media view of the EU?
7. How important is it for Conservative politicians to have support for anti-EU ideas within the pages of the mainstream conservative press?
8. How big a role did Euroscepticism within the media play in the referendum result?
9. Which opinion writers on Europe had the most influence within the Conservative Party?
10. Going back to Maastricht, many of the mainstream Conservative newspapers adopted a pro-EU line. What changed that?
11. You wrote that Boris Johnson's Brussels reporting strayed into opinion /commentary. How did you come to this conclusion?
12. How influential was Boris Johnson on Conservative thinking on Europe – as a reporter in Brussels? As an opinion writer? As a rising star within the Conservative party?

Appendix C – Matrix of Interpretive Packages in Boris Johnson's journalism

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.13 3/12/88	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests.	Social Chapter	'Only four wangling years to go.' Sub: "Boris Johnson examines the questions the EEC must solve on its way to greater unity."	Metaphor: "…nationalist objections are beginning to poke through the hype like icebergs in the mist." Exemplar: Having your teeth pulled out by a Greek dentist working in London Catchphrase: "mittbestimmung" "went native" (for someone going over to Europhile side) Depiction: "Europhiles" "rhapsodise that you will be able to buy life insurance in Lisbon, for instance" Depicts social policy as "the adoption of the German policy of mittbestimmung which has so irked Tory feelings" Depiction of Lord Cockfield – he "went native" in 1985 and used his position as Commissioner for the Single Market to generate a torrent of detailed directives…" Depiction of Delors in Thatcherite circles as a "dangerous subversive with profoundly un-British ideas about such things as worker participation." Roots: Rhodes summit to review Europe's progress towards Single European Market. Consequence: A push towards monetary union and joint EEC social policy could be the consequences of becoming part of the single market
Telegraph p.29 13/02/89	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. Core frame	Single Market	'Euro 'hype' backlash' Johnson canvasses expert views on what 1992 will mean for business/ trade. Cites work from London Business school '1992: myths and realities." Context	Exemplar: Repeats the "old half-fearful joke about European integration" leading to "a depressing selection of Eurocars, Eurobiscuits and Eurochocolate" Depiction: Depicts CBI chairman speaking "rhapsodically" about the new "home market in Europe" and his "gung-ho attitude" Johnson trumpets the backlash against Euro "hype": 'At long last, it seems that there is something of a backlash against the torrential hype that surrounded the 1992 project all last year'
Telegraph p.18 24/04/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Why Britain should back the new 'Gold Standard' Sub: 'Boris Johnson argues that the only way for the Government to influence the course of European monetary policy is from within.'	Catchphrase: "rascally Russians" Depiction: "socialism and subsidy" of the Delors proposals Joining ERM has "distinct merits". "The price to be paid in terms of "sovereignty" is very small – especially when it is realised that, as so often in this debate, monetary "sovereignty" is just interventionism in disguise." Root: "None of this might matter were it not for recent history. Events since the 1950s teach us that after much foot-dragging, Britain does eventually join in with the rest of Europe. …You could say that we are still paying for our earlier refractoriness. It is an open question whether, if Britain had been in on the EEC from the beginning, the whole of Europe would now be burdened with a sprawling and fraudulent Common Agricultural Policy... Now the Delors proposals, with their overtones of socialism and subsidy, present a threat of something even worse." Consequence: Britain is better off arguing within the EEC but Delors proposals with overtones of socialism and subsidy represent threat to British way of doing things Appeal to Principle: "…if Britain fails to claim a top-table seat in the argument, by at least agreeing to join EMS, it may not be in a strong enough position to put its case."
Telegraph p.21 18/05/89	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Guess who's not flavour of the week?' Political profile of Jacques Delors	Exemplar: "The name of the beast is Jacques Delors and his number – in case anyone needs reminding – is 1992." Catchphrase: "mittbestimmung" (second ref) (sic) Delors as Thatcher's 'Euro-bogeyman' Depiction: "Mrs Thatcher was not going to see her work undone by any fancy continental ideas of mittbestimmung, or worker participation, slipped through by Brussels." Consequence: Delors pushing EEC towards greater political integration

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 8/06/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Britain to fight EEC plan for pensioners' 'Britain is heading for a new EEC row after Brussels produced a plan yesterday to allow students and old-age pensioners settle freely anywhere in Europe'	Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Depiction of free movement – Britain will be flooded by EEC pensioners and students who'll want to live off the state Root: Commission plan to allow students and old-age pensioners settle freely anywhere in Europe Consequence: The British state will have to pay benefits for other EEC residents [note: not entirely true – see notes]
Telegraph p.13 11/06/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Europe set to lurch Left and go Green' 4 days out from EP elections Strasbourg set to lurch left and green Excessive European parliament amendments to Commission proposals will hurt business and set back progress in biotech	Exemplar: :"The 518 MEPs and 3,000 support staff still perform the 400-mile expense account merry-go-round between Brussels and Strasbourg" "Some reports spoke of Strasbourg waiters vying to dispense the greatest number of champagne bottles to the Euro-MPs' tables" Catchphrase: "Euro-socialism"; "the super-Green parliament" Depiction: Depiction of parliament's environment committee as populated by zealots – one candidate for chair "showed his green credentials…by sailing a raft across the Atlantic while surviving on nothing but the juice of flying fish", while another candidate resorts to tactics of shouting at the "luckless environment commissioner." Euro parliament should deal with its own wastefulness first – "the expense account merry-go-round" Root: The first parliamentarians were elected in 1979 without much power which was strengthened in 1980 after a European Court ruling that Council of Ministers could not adopt a directive unless Parliament had been consulted. Under Single European Act in 1987 Parliament got more powers of consultation and amendment on issues relating to single market programme of 1992. Consequences: Commission proposals for controls of biotechnology "could face substantial amendment from the Parliament" which could "dry up the commercial applications of the science". Meanwhile we might have to return to "pre-war fridges or the zinc lined icebox – only without the zinc (possibly dangerous, Brussels officials say)" Appeals to principle: This will be bad for British business. "Euro-socialism" means greater environmentalism and the new parliament using its powers "to put a Green twist on everything that comes its way."
Telegraph 15/06/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Your vote today can tame Sir Humphrey in Brussels'	Metaphor: : The European parliament which in theory provides a check on Commission – to which Johnson writes, 'pshaw'. "…the parliament depends on the commission like an infant on its mother." Catchphrase: "Euro-democracy" Depiction: European parliament is "a democratic fig leaf' for commission. The European Commission is holding too much power. Ten years of 'Euro-democracy' have not done anything to challenge the basic power of the civil servants in the Berlaymont Consequence: The powers of the Commission and European parliament are growing unchecked
Telegraph 16/07/89	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'French accent worries the EEC' The French presidency focus on "social" issues "would give workers influence over key decisions of European multinationals"	Metaphor: : "As a British diplomat put it: 'The French may have grabbed the steering wheel. But there is only one car." Catchphrase: "French spurt of supranationalism" "European brotherhood" Depiction: "The French want to create a Europe of citoyens and travailleurs" "railroading" of social issues through a "Leftish European Parliament" "President Mitterrand and his confreres" "French rhapsodising over the social charter and monetary union" British business will suffer if the French get their way with social policies Roots: On July 1, France assumed the presidency of the EEC Consequences: Workers would have influence over key decisions of European multinationals – this has already been rejected by Thatcher.

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 18/09/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain gives up fight over EEC merger control' Britain has had to surrender part control over some mergers by giving commission oversight of mergers with combined value of £7.5billion	Catchphrase: "Fortress Europe" "The Brussels Commission" Depiction: Britain's "retreat over what had been presented as an issue of national sovereignty" Roots: "The Brussels Commission is poised for a breakthrough in its battle to win control of all large-scale mergers in the EEC." Consequence: Consequences:"The French proposal also raises fears that they are prepared to create a "Fortress Europe" with a call for other nations to be more open to takeover bids from the EEC."
Telegraph 18/09/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Has the hour of national spirit come – or gone?' Examines history of nationalism in Europe and in Britain – which he dates back to the Tudor break with Rome. Thatcher has broken faith with two High Tory nationalist principles – on Northern Ireland and on Europe (with SEA)	Metaphor: "Patriotism – like love of one's parents or one's home town – is an entirely good emotion. It is very different from nationalism." Catchphrase: "surrender" of national sovereignty Depiction: Gloomy depiction of Britain "engaged in a substantial transfer - whether you choose to call it "pooling" or "surrender" – of national sovereignty. From the environment to merger control, even, perhaps, to the control of monetary and fiscal policy itself, we are locked into a process of centralisation in a foreign capital. In many ways that is the right course." Depiction of British exceptionalism: "How well the British island 'genius' – balance, sanity, courage, moderation – displayed itself in the Thirties." "...we are now rushing to sell our constitutional birthright for an interminable lunch in Brussels." "...the massive redistribution of wealth involved in the Delors Plan for monetary union." Roots: Examines history of nationalism in Europe and in Britain – which he dates back to the Tudor break with Rome. During WWII "we were the only nation in Europe not to be overrun by a military dictatorship, and the only one to "win the war". Consequences: "Unlike the peoples of eastern Europe, we are not submitting to an alien and repressive regime. We have decided, of our own free will, to take some decisions collectively with other European powers. We show no sign of believing that is tantamount to eradicating our national identity. In a small way, we seem to be rising above nationalism." Powers are being surrendered to brussels. This proves that we are rising above nationalism. Our national identity remains intact.
Telegraph p.46 24/09/89	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests.	British Tax Payers	'It's true what they say about Belgium' The second article in this column describes the well-remunerated working life of commission employees)	Exemplar: Story of the animal lib group that wanted to kidnap an official in the Berlaymont: "Unfortunately they chose to strike at 3.30pm, and found the place entirely deserted." Depiction: "One hesitates to use the word "cushy" (but he does) "The salaries are terrific, it is virtually impossible to get sacked, and you can spend most of your time having lunch" "Nobody in Brussels seems to lift a finger from late July until the middle of September…and of course no one does much on a Friday."
Telegraph 6/10/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Delors plea to Bonn'	Depiction: Depiction of Britain as being "forced march towards monetary union" Roots: Delors concerns that Germany will be knocked out of central role in Europe due to distraction of unification Consequences: Britain is being pushed into monetary union against its will

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.16 18/10/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Europe must unite faster, says Delors' Delors makes speech on Europe at the College of Europe in Bruges, the same platform from which Thatcher made her famous Bruges speech a year earlier. "The French socialist…spoke at length of the need for an acceleration of EEC unity."	Depiction: Delors' "personal vision of a United Europe" depicted as a "systematic rejection of Mrs Thatcher's Bruges speech of exactly a year ago." Delors, "the French socialist" Thatcher depicted as fighting for every sovereign nation, while Delors depicted as fighting for "the interference of Brussels." Roots: German reunification is seen as a distraction for Germany from the cause of EEC unity Consequences: EC is moving ever closer towards political union under Commission president Jacques Delors
Telegraph p.21 31/10/89	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats	Social Chapter	'Greek with a gift for upsetting Britain' Johnson interviews Vasso Papandreou, the commissioner responsible for social charter project	Catchphrase: "Marxism" and "class struggle" to describe Social Chapter Depiction: Jacques Delors – "Down the thickly-carpeted corridor is Jacques Delors, its president, brooding on the unification of Europe." Social chapter proposal – "full of innocuous phrases, such as "self-determination" and "equal rights" that reduced the Government to apoplectic accusations of "Marxism" and "class struggle". Roots: The EC's plan to introduce a "Social Chapter" which would provide a new procedure for introducing social legislation allowing the EC to act in a wider range of "social" areas and to adopt more legislation by qualified majority voting Consequences: Britain could be forced to sign up to a social charter
Telegraph p.13 9/11/89	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Brussels fears EEC will miss deadline for single market' Growing fears that the programme for a single market could miss its 1992 deadline unless some members "particularly France" drop opposition to liberalisation of key areas"	Catchphrase: "the Brussels commission" Depiction: France depicted as protectionist and socialist – "it wants substantial progress to have been made on the "Social Charter" for workers' rights and monetary union France also depicted as anti-British – "manoeuvring to isolate Britain over monetary and political union." "French foot-dragging" and manipulation - depicted blocking attempts at liberalising travel through European airports and plans to liberalise European telecommunications

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 23/11/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Two tier union threat to Britain over EEC union' Sub: "We can't go quickly enough" challenge by Mitterrand	Exemplar: "interfering" EEC legislation such as a "common health warning on cigarette packets." Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" Depiction: Depiction of Britain standing alone against the EEC. Britain told she can go back to EFTA if she wants – if she re-joins she will "shed controversial obligations" to CAP and "the Social Contract"…"and would no longer be bound to accept such "interfering" EEC legislation Roots: "Britain was given a scarcely veiled threat yesterday of being relegated to a second-tier European trade grouping if Mrs Thatcher and her Ministers continue to stand alone against movement towards greater EEC monetary and political union." Consequences: Johnson muses that membership of a European Economic Space – which would include EEC and EFTA members - could become a "plausible alternative to the EEC"
Telegraph p.16 11/12/89	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people. CORE FRAME	Embrace Integration	'How France and Germany have married into Europe' British objections to European central bank – the sovereignty argument - starting to look "threadbare". The Bundesbank's interest rate increases/ decreases are often mirrored in London	Metaphor: Britain left on the outside "with its nose pressed against the windowpane." Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" Depiction: Is the "Franco-German axis on the rocks?" he asks. Was Britain about to "get into bed" with Germany to halt political and economic integration? Britain will continue to try to get the Germans to "jilt the French" Root: British objections to a European central bank Consequences: Predicts that by 2000 Europe will have a single currency. Britain playing a dangerous game by maintaining its objections to German unification
Telegraph 18/01/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Delors calls for East Germany to join Market' Delors wants a central EEC govt to include East Germany in the common market in order to preserve stability in the Common Market The plan would "increase the powers of the Brussels Commission", taking power from national parliaments, and would also mean an increase in EEC budget.	Catchphrase: Creation of "embryonic government of Europe" "EEC political union""the Brussels Commission""EEC central government" Depiction: Delors depicted as moving full tilt towards creating an "embryonic government of Europe" with a "federal authority in Brussels" Relationship between "Brussels and Bonn" depicted as "collusion" in creation of "United Europe" Roots: The reunification of Germany Consequences: Britain faces a loss of sovereign power and an increase in budget contributions to EEC

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.14 21/01/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC leaders baulk at £15 billion bill for wider Europe' Delors wants increase in EC budget for Eastern Europe Delors' plan.	Depiction: Delors depicted as overzealous and overambitious: "He must be out of his mind," said one participant." This unattributed comment refers to Jacques Delors plan to boost the EEC's budget by one third. "The very mention of budget revision sends a thrill of horror down the spines of British diplomats." Roots: Thatcher's wrangles over EEC budget dominated EEC affairs in the early 1980s Consequences: Power shifts from national parliaments to Brussels Commission Delors plan "dovetails perfectly with his ambition, revealed on Wednesday, to turn the 17 commissioners into a proto-type European government, based in Brussels, accountable to the European parliament rather than Westminster"
Telegraph 3/02/90	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'Europe United: an own goal in the making.' Commissioners tell UEFA to abide by EEC law "or face the terrors of the earth."	Catchphrase: "Eurocrats" Depiction: Delors - "The Great Referee of Brussels has finally blown the whistle." Depicts some of the new commission rules as nonsensical: "Free circulation of strikers and goalies is as vital, they say, as free circulation of tractor parts." Germany depicted as untrustworthy : "…everything must be put into the Euromixer before something dreadful happens, probably involving Germany and nationalism." Roots: Commission (and especially Delors) wants a say in everything. In this case it's UEFA's decision to only allow 3 foreign players per side. Consequences: Johnson suggests that behind this move is a push towards integration. Europe wants to do away with the "jingoistic anachronism" of national teams
Telegraph p.2 5/02/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'British-made Nissan cars face EEC quota battle' "France is leading other protectionist countries in demanding that cars such as Nissans, which are built in Sunderland, should be included in a new overall limit on Japanese imports to Europe."	Metaphor: Britain depicted by France and others as "a Trojan horse for Japan's assault on the EEC" Catchphrase: France, the "protectionist ring leader" Depiction: France depicted as the "protectionist" ring leader in trying to scupper British car manufacturing, despite its commitments to the free market Roots: Nissans have 80 per cent local content making them British under Community law Consequences: If "the French plan succeeds it would be a big shock to the growing Japan-owned sector of the British motor industry, as Continental exports of British Nissans and Hondas would be instantly restricted."
Telegraph p.11 15/03/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain to face rift on EEC power plan' 'Britain faces a deep schism with its EEC partners after the European Parliament yesterday supported a plan to multiply its powers at the expense of national governments.'	Catchphrase: "united Europe" Depiction: "us" v "them" theme with Britain depicted facing a "deep schism" with EEC partners. Britain is "out on a limb" European Parliament depicted as wanting "control of a more united Europe" and to "multiply its powers at the expense of national governments" Plan would "go to the jugular" of the House of Commons National governments would be "forced" to accept majority voting – Johnson notes Britain currently has right to veto proposals "especially on tax and social legislation" Roots: European Parliament plans to increase its powers Consequences: Britain may lose its veto and lose powers to the European Parliament

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 11/04/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EEC ready to defy Thatcher on unity' If this goes ahead Britain will be either forced to surrender a good deal of national sovereignty, or become a second tier member of the EEC – along with poor countries like Greece.	Catchphrase: "European cabinet" Depiction: Britain is "isolated" and will have to choose "between falling into line or becoming a member of a second tier of European countries, perhaps including Greece. Britain may lose veto over areas including taxation and social policy European community wants "full-scale political union""European cabinet" under Jacques Delors Roots: European community leaders "are to commission a blueprint…of full-scale political union in Europe" Consequences: It could mean a loss of Britain's veto and the setting up of a European cabinet under Jacques Delors
Telegraph 5/05/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Frontier Crossings' A Europe without frontiers means that Britain will find it more difficult to prevent entry of legal EEC workers or illegal immigrants from North Africa and Turkey	Exemplar: Being able to drive from London to Lisbon "without even having to flash your passport" Catchphrase: 'united states of Europe' Depiction: Depiction of immigration from north Africa and Turkey - "swollen to such an extent that it poses a real threat to a unified Europe" Free movement for terrorists, gun runners, drug smugglers and immigrants "prospect of an influx of eastern Europeans." The spectre of Turkish immigration to Britain: Depicts Britain having an immigration policy foisted upon it by countries like Italy who benefit from cheap immigrant labour . Unknown commission official – "Italy has always thought of itself as an exporter of people – waiters and ice-cream salesmen. Until last year it did not even have restrictions on entry by Turks." Roots: "An unpublished report for the European Commission claims that legal immigration in four southern European countries has leapt by 50 per cent since 1985. And there are thousands more entering illegally each month." Consequences: 25 million people "will want to move from North Africa to Europe" over the next four decades (he says UNHCR is source)
Telegraph p.13 9/05/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain	Franco-German Axis	'Dream of a united Europe turns 40'	Exemplar: Depiction of "Eurocrats" quaffing champagne in celebration Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" "Euro-sclerosis" (Johnson's term for EEC "grinding away at technical harmonisation" Depiction: Depiction of "Franco-German axis" as "the driving force of the Common Market" M Robert Schuman – "a balding French foreign Minister" Roots: 40 year anniversary of M. Robert Schuman declaration calling for a "federation of Europe" (enshrined in coal and steel community)
Telegraph p.18 20/05/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'French showing sang froid over European Unity.'	Catchphrase: The "upstart Euro-parliament" Depiction: French depicted as getting "cold feet" over granting more powers to European Parliament Root: French are saying their sovereignty must not be diluted. Issue is whether the European Parliament should be given more powers. Consequences: European Parliament may be given more powers

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.1 16/06/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'EC on parle francais, demands France' French & English have joint status as the main working language. Mitterrand sends "stiff letter" to Delors complaining that practice of taking meetings in English is "inadmissible"	Exemplar: Midday briefing in French with odd few Anglicisms thrown in Depiction: Depiction of main noon EC briefings in French with spokesmen permitting themselves "a few key Anglicisms such as 'mad cow' and 'off the record'" 2 choice quotes from Tory MPs: "The man's dotty….The French think that the sun rises to hear the French cock crow." France is portrayed as petty for insisting on meetings in French – when as Johnson points out English is the language "most commonly understood" in Europe. Roots: 'The EC Commission's 11,000 bureacrats (sic) have acquired what the French complain is a nasty habit: they are speaking English." Consequences: "unless the 'linguistic accords' are honoured, there is a real danger that German will be adopted as a third working language'
Telegraph 4/07/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'While Westminster looks on' The Single European Act is "using its right to strengthen laws prepared by the Brussels Commission". Parliament and the commission are pursuing their "vision of a federal Europe" through a free market, using powers vested in the SEA.	Exemplar: June 89 Euro parliament "foisted American-style exhaust emission controls on Europe's motorists by collaborating with the commission" Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Says SEA has been compared to Magna Carta. Euro parliament "collaborating" with the commission Delors depicted as power-hungry: "Not content with more power within the EC, Delors and his colleagues are developing foreign policy Roots: Under the 1972 European Communities Act, EC law has automatic primacy over national law. Consequences: Greater centralisation of powers in the EC Commission and Strasbourg Parliament. EC law already has automatic primacy over national law and now Delors is trying to take power of foreign policy away from national parliaments
Telegraph p.14 19/07/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Why farmers must face up to harvesting a new world' 'Boris Johnson argues that we can no longer tolerate the damage the Common Agricultural Policy inflicts on prices.' 'The Common Agricultural Policy is alive and well, and a menace to world prosperity.'	Metaphor: Thatcher "scotched the snake, but she did not kill it." [CAP is the snake] Depiction: "the scourge of farm subsidy" "The lurid world of farm subsidies" "The lunacy of CAP" "agricultural fraud" – ie, faked invoices from "non-existent Egyptian importers." How excess food produced in EU is "disgorged" onto the world market then farmers are paid "export refunds" that make up difference between world price and inflated EC price. Roots: Context is an incipient trade war between the EC and US Consequences: A trade war would inflict "grave damage" on international living standards for coming decade Appeal to Principle: "Instead of promoting this Virgilian programme with a ramshackle, iniquitous and fraudulent system of price maintenance, it wold be much better to give the farmers the money – to move to a system of social support for people, rather than for unwanted product." The government "must take fire into the enemy camp" and lead the EC to take "a cleaver to export subsidies."
Telegraph 22/07/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take	Single Currency	'Our man at the EC: One pace behind but always a step ahead.' Profile of Sir David Hannay, govt's permanent	Metaphor: Hannay has "kept the tides of federalism from swamping us." Catchphrase: British "euroenthusiasts' Depiction: Commons "won't stand for it [single currency]. Irresistable force is bearing down on immovable object" "the witch-hunters of the Bruges Group." "Who can say what drafts of Europeanism Hannay imbibed" as part of first wave of "British euroenthusiasts." Britain's position in Europe has never been more perilous' because of EC's desire for single currency and greater union

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		decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people. Core frame		representative to EC	Root: Since 1985 pace of European Union "has put Britain on the rack and rocked the Conservative party."
Telegraph 7/09/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Another mountain to climb in EC farming crisis'	Exemplar: : "beef mountain" Depiction: Depiction of "mountains" of surplus food." "swelling a new beef mountain" British taxpayers pay for wasteful CAP: "continual overproduction" of food costs EC 60 billion a year "if high consumer prices and taxpayers contributions are taken into account" Roots: "Violent" French resistance to imports of cheaper Irish and British sheep are part of a bigger crisis facing EC agriculture Consequences: Food mountains continue to grow Taxpayers continue to pay for waste
Telegraph p.21 27/09/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'The hills are alive again' Sub: 'America is accusing Europe of distorting world trade as the EC food mountains grow once more.' EC taxpayers have to foot the stg 175m p.a bill to buy up beef and stg 210 m for butter.	Exemplar: - "The food mountains that over recent years had been reduced to mere hummocks are turning once more into foothills and those foothills show every sign of growing into preposterous, edible alps." Depiction: On the food surplus: "Is it not, frankly, a little embarrassing, not to say expensive?'" "Those teetering mountains of sequestered products are there to keep prices high enough for the peasants and small landholders of Europe to make a living.'" Root: The basic structure of the CAP is at fault although EC commission blames other factors
Telegraph p.1 29/09/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'German workless Sunday 'for all EC' Germany wants to make Sunday official day of rest for 320m EC citizens – Britain alone is opposed Decision will be taken by a 'qualified majority ' - another bugbear of GB's	Exemplar: Banning Sunday trading Catchphrase: 'the Brussels Commission' Depiction: Brussels depicted as overreaching itself: "monstrous that Brussels should appropriate such a far-reaching social and cultural decision" – govt sources British officials depicted as "incensed" – this will "rub salt into wounds" Germany depicted as using the plan to stop countries like Britain "having the edge over them". The scheme could "transpose German rules against commercial activity on Sundays, even down to Sunday markets" Root: Of the 12 EC countries, 9 shut down most activity on Sunday, bar the UK, Denmark and Portugal. This plan forms part of amendment to "a highly controversial Commission directive" -part of Social Charter now being negotiated Consequences: Sunday trading may be banned. Decision will be taken by a 'qualified majority ' - another bugbear of GB's

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Telegraph p.11 8/10/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Britain to fight EC plan for vote on foreign policy' The French/German plan for a common foreign policy is for France, part of an effort "to assert ever greater political control in Europe".	Catchphrase: "the Franco-German action" Depiction: Johnson depicts the plan as "a transfer of sovereignty that would be even greater than the single currency." Germany and France "in close collaboration over the plan" Their " locomotive power" in the EC "should not be underestimated" Arrogance of the French: M Dumas quote "The British have always delayed, but they join the rest in the end." Roots: Govt to "stonewall an EC plan…which threatens its right to hold sway over British foreign policy.' Consequence: If France and Germany get their way Britain could lose control of its foreign policy.
Telegraph 11/10/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Britain locked into monetary union, says EC' 'Britain's entry into the ERM marks the end of the Government's resistance to full European Monetary Union, according to the Brussels Commission.	Catchphrase: 'the Brussels Commission' Depiction: "the cock-a-hoop mood" of the commissioners "will infuriate the British Government" Demanding Delors: "moves to monetary union should be accompanied by a "proper social dimension" – EC jargon for a big increase in Common Market laws on workers' rights, pay and working hours" "the zeal of the Commission" "eclipsed" by "the European Parliament which demanded that the proposed Euro central bank should lay down the law to governments over the size of budget deficits – giving the EC power over taxation." Root: Monetary union plans first mooted in the late 1970s. Britain has by now joined the ERM after much foot-dragging by Thatcher. Consequence: Monetary union will inevitably follow from joining ERM Britain is now "locked into an irreversible process" of monetary union
Telegraph p.118/10/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Britain's EC ally to back Bonn' Denmark, "Britain's oldest and most trusted ally against closer European union… has switched to the pro-federalist camp".	Catchphrase: "European superstate""pro-federalist camp" Depiction: The EC, led by France, Germany and the Commission, are trying to take power from national governments. Now they have another ally in Denmark. EC's "pro-federalist camp" is depicted as being led by France, Germany and "the Brussels Commission" "the grand designs for a European superstate" Germans feeling "encircled and aggressive" "unless they are bound in" Thatcher fighting "tooth and nail to bar interference by Brussels" ***Strongly anti-German sentiments Root: EMU Consequence: ConsequencesEMU will lead to the creation of a European superstate Denmark has sent a memo to Bonn "joining the chorus of EC countries seeking European monetary union with a central European bank and currency"
Telegraph p.13 19/10/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Thatcher faces new pressure on cash union' Thatcher faces pressure to sign up to creation of a central European bank after Kohl says he supports it	Exemplar: Catchphrase: "The Paris-Bonn axis" Depiction: Thatcher's resistance to signing commitment "would be ferocious" "The Paris-Bonn axis…so often the driving force in the community" is pushing Britain into a single currency. Government's "horror of the EC's target dates, such as the 1992 deadline for a single market which has produced such a transfer of sovereignty to Brussels" One official: "It is pretty loopy" "the glee of Brussels officials" Majority voting called a "destroyer of national sovereignty" Root: EMU. Thatcher faces pressure to sign up to creation of a central European bank after Kohl says he supports it Consequences: A single currency "would be imposed" only 18 months later if EC leaders back the central European bank

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Telegraph p.11 22/10/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Thatcher stands alone against might of Bonn' Article written in run-up to Rome summit.	Exemplar: "giant Euro-bank" Catchphrase: "Euro-folklore" The 'Franco-German axis' Depiction: "Officials compared it to the critical moment in Euro-folklore – the birth of the European Monetary System." 'Brussels reacted with rapture.' Root: Bonn decides to back Jan 1, 1994 as date for setting up European central bank Consequence: Britain is becoming increasingly isolated in its battle against monetary union and it looks like the single currency will go ahead.
Telegraph p.11 24/10/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'British right of veto threatened by Delors plan' 'Britain will lose its right to veto Common Market laws on tax, employment and the environment from next year under proposals by M Jacques Delors.	Catchphrase: "Federation of Europe" "superstate" "the Brussels Commission Depiction: Depiction of Federation of Europe or superstate with commission as the exec govt Commission "demands" for a military pact that "overlook" Irish neutrality and British insistence that NATO remains supreme Root: Proposed changes to the Treaty of Rome Consequence: These plans "go against the principle that the EC is an exclusively economic and social organisation" Delors wants to create a European Federation - Brussels wants powers over virtually every area of policy, paving the way for a "Federation of Europe"
Telegraph 27/10/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'It's Round One in the Roman arena' Thatcher arrives in Rome for emergency EC summit	Metaphor: This summit called 'Rome 1' – "with the predictability of a horror film"…"Rome 2 could be a nightmare for Mrs Thatcher." Catchphrase: Measures proposed amount to the creation of a European 'superstate' Depiction: "In the past, the implementation of such grandiose plans for European unity would only be attempted by force of arms." Calls majority voting "the lethal silencer of national sovereignty." Root: The EC's reach is growing into a huge range of areas – proposals include European bank, currency, basis of a European govt with single foreign & defence policy and an EC intervention force Consequence: Measures if passed will lead to creation of a superstate
Telegraph 30/10/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Why we have no friends on board.'	Exemplar: "harmonised sausages" Catchphrase: "superstate" Depiction: Treatment of Thatcher by EC leaders akin to an "ambush". ****"the rape of the pound by Europe" Britain referred to at one point as John Bull Root: EC leaders are intent on building a federal union and treated Thatcher's protests with "indifference" Consequence: What is happening is a "classic nightmare. The three great continental powers yoked together to produce a superstate, and Britain powerless to play the old game of exploiting the balance of power to keep Europe safely divided."

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Telegraph p.10 4/11/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Shy allies who won't come forward' Other countries are similarly concerned about erosion of national sovereignty – mainly smaller countries concerned about impact monetary union will have on their economies.	Catchphrase: Demands of the "Eurocreed" "the Brussels Commission Depiction: "the unexpected and frightening encirclement at Rome." Herr Genscher's (German foreign minister) "rhapsodical call for political union" "the liturgy of integration" Diplomatic source quoted speaking about "the Holy Writ of the Brussels Commission." Root: Rome represented a hostage situation for Britain with 11 other members essentially ganging up on MT. However other countries have similar reservations about pace of change Consequence: The single currency could pave the way for political union
Telegraph 9/11/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'How she could bring the news from Bruges to Brussels'. A dose of Eurosceptic Thatcher-dom would cure the EC of some of its worst excesses	Exemplar: Long lunch breaks in France Heavily subsidised German farmers with a single cow and two BMWs Catchphrase: The "heart of darkness" in Brussels Depiction: If MT won "the EC federalists would have been fatally out-generalled." "French workers would heave a sigh as their lunch hours were pared away by the 'anti-social Charter', a new raft of Brussels-generated laws on workers' rights designed to make things altogether more flexible and competitive…" "The Common Ag Policy would take a terrible mauling. Those heavily subsidised German farmers with their single cows and two BMWs would bark miserably into their carphones as EC price support was slashed: 'This frau President Thatcher! Who does she think she is?'" Root: Muses about Thatcher applying for Delors' job as commission president Consequence: Thatcher in charge of the commission would improve efficiency and get rid of the crazy excesses of CAP
Telegraph p.21 23/11/90	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests.	Single Market	'A war of attrition in Europe.' Background to Thatcher's uneasy relationship with Europe	Exemplar: Thatcher "handbagging" the 11 other foreign leaders Catchphrase: "handbagging" (to describe Thatcher's demands "I want my money back") Depiction: "budget excesses" of EC Root: How 'BBQ' or British budget question monopolised EC summits in the 80s winning Britain back £20 billion. Single European Act an "historic decision for Britain and Europe." How at Bruges "her patience snapped." Consequence: Thatcherite principles of free trade have been extended to the "greatest free trade area in the world" through the Single Market.
Telegraph 25/11/90	The loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'EC will miss its political bogeywoman'	Metaphor: Thatcher "as a scarecrow" used by Eurocrats to drive the EC forward Catchphrase: "Euro-superstate" The "fervent federalists" of Italy "Euro-bureaucracy" Depiction: Thatcher as EC's political bogeywoman Thatcher used Delors "as a totem of all that was gallic, overweening, pretentious, socialistic about the Euro-bureaucracy." Root: Thatcher's resignation Consequence: "With Mrs Thatcher gone, the clean lines of the European debate, the delicious 11-to-one simplicity, have gone with her.'

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Telegraph 26/11/90	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Catholic Ethos	'Italians urge 'have a baby' EC directive' EC wants EC wide norms for pregnancy leave and pay, a move at odds with Britain.	Catchphrase: Italy's 'have a baby' directiveDepiction: Depiction of official EC business being dictated by religious affiliations of Italians and French Europe emerges as "an economic superpower" "British officials are sceptical about whether the EC has any business encouraging such a Europe-wide "pro-baby" policy, which has long been a goal of Catholic countries such as France and Italy." Root: European divide based on religion – in this case Catholic countries of the continent versus Anglo-protestant British religious culture. Consequence: The commission is increasingly moving into areas well beyond its remit including in this case people's behaviour. The other consequence is a potential rise in immigration from North Africa for declining labour market in EC.
Telegraph 8/12/90	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Anglosphere Threat	'Europe emerges from ruins and shuns US threat' Britain is moving ever closer to its EC partners.	Depiction: Europe emerges as "an economic superpower" Root: Trade talks end with EC refusing to budge on farm subsidies Consequence: This marks a rift in the Atlantic relationship with other big trading countries saying they regard Britain as part of Europe.
Telegraph p.17 9/12/90	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Iron Carla sorts wheat from chaps'	Metaphor: Another choreographed 11-1 humiliation of the UK Government over monetary union' Depiction: Accuses EC of a "high level of deliberate obfuscation. This is where the EC is strong." Council of ministers meetings are depicted as "delectable disputations… conducted in secret….many would say the art is to connive at some new Euro-law and then lie madly to your national journalists about the tough line you have taken." Root: Failure of GATT talks Consequence: Observers note how "Britain's interests are now tied to Europe and not America"
Telegraph 12/12/90	The plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Our man in Europe, with one eye on America.' Britain was shoddily treated by the other 11 at the Rome summit in October.	Depiction: Britain was "ambushed" at the last Rome summit. Thatcher was "almost casually brushed aside" when she tried to "knock heads together at the last Rome summit." Zealousness of EC leaders: Kohl and Mitterrand spoke recently of "political union" and other "futuristic ideas." Root: The challenges Major faces on Europe Consequence: If John Major does not stand firm Kohl and Mitterrand will drive forward with political union Major may get more of a hearing on his proposal for ECU as a parallel currency. Lamont may "strike a deal on the single currency"

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Telegraph 15/12/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain	Franco-German Axis	'Men in grey without a foe'	Metaphor: On MT – "..how she bestrode their narrow world like a colossus." Exemplar: "Euro-conspirators" tucking into risotto and gnocchi Catchphrase: "Euro-conspirators" Depiction: "Euro-conspirators who set upon her in October, unleashed an unexpected communique to scrap the pound and triggered her political demise." On MT – "..how she bestrode their narrow world like a colossus." "When Signor Andreotti was musing last October on how to move the EC forward in kangaroo bounds to ever-deeper union, he knew there was only one answer: "Isolate Britain.'" France and Germany as "the EC's twin driving force." Root: Demise of Margaret Thatcher whose ghost "stalked the corridors of the Rome summit" Consequence: "Now the dynamism that flowed from the 11-one split has gone. Last night, it was clear, the EC was in sore need of someone to isolate."
Telegraph 17/12/90	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Delors holds the levers of power in Europe'	Depiction: Delors depicted as "the most powerful civil servant in the world' – the mastermind of political and economic union Root: Article raises the spectre ('there is talk') of Delors seeking a third term as commission president. Consequence: Should Delors continue at the helm of Commission political union will remain a central mission of the EC
Telegraph p.11 17/01/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'EC 'facing 800,000 immigrants a year' This is based on a report which is being "considered" by the commission – but Johnson does not say who is behind the report	Exemplar: Europe being "overwhelmed" by immigrants Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" "The Fatherland" to describe Germany Depiction: "abolition of frontiers could see migrant workers wandering unchecked from Czechoslovakia to Spain and from Algeria to London." Influx will "overwhelm" ability of nations to cope Root: Authors of report say almost all ethnic Germans from Russia and Eastern Europe will want to re-join "the Fatherland" Consequence: Europe could be overwhelmed with immigrants
Telegraph p.11 19/01/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Government faces fight over draft EC agriculture policy' The Common Agricultural Policy could become a "gigantic and costly welfare state" under new plans that would benefit countries with "legions" of small farmers – "such as Germany"	Exemplar: CAP as a "gigantic and costly welfare state' Depiction: CAP could turn into a "gigantic and costly 'welfare state' for Europe's 10 million farmers" Depiction of CAP export subsidies – "which encourage EC farmers to dump produce abroad, disrupting world market." Consequence: This new policy would reward farmers that use land less intensively "which is likely to benefit inefficient farmers in places such as Greece, Spain, Portugal and southern Germany."

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Telegraph 1/02/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Europe retreats on reforming of farm policy'. 'Gummer leads attack on 'Robin Hood' farm reforms'	Catchphrase: "Robin Hood" farm reforms Depiction: Depiction of farm reforms in socialist terms – "robin hood' farm reforms" Root: Series of articles detailing critiques of EC CAP reform paper which proposes to cut subsidies for basic farming products and compensate smaller farmers with direct assistance Consequence: Such reforms would hurt British farming more as their farms are bigger and more productive
Telegraph 13/02/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Emergency cut in farm incomes planned by EC' Sub: 'Food surpluses send budget soaring.' Plans to cut quotas and price subsidies	Exemplar: Europe's storehouses are "bulging" with record stocks of "unwanted beef" "mountains of cereals and butter" Depiction: "EC's soaring farm budget deficit" The wastefulness of CAP – which Johnson says costs nearly two thirds of the EC's budget as food mountains of beef, sheep, cereals, butter and wine grow – and how attempts to reform it are meeting stiff resistance. Root: Issues with CAP and its reform go back years. In feb 1988 "it appeared Mrs Thatcher had tamed the worst excesses of it."
Telegraph p.11 6/02/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Chancellor fights EC plan to curb public spending'	Catchphrase: 'Brussels straitjacket' Depiction: Roots Spending restraints on states as a prelude to EMU Root: "Moves to impose a Brussels straitjacket on British public spending after 1994 met stiff resistance last night from Mr Lamont" Consequence: Brussels moving to impose control on member states' public spending
Telegraph p.10 2/03/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental	Anglosphere Threat	'EC talks as banana war heads for a showdown' EC to decide if Latin American banana growers and their	Exemplar: 'the banana war' "the average European banana salad' Depiction: "The banana war, a sensitive and emotive issue relating to the European Community's single market…' Root: Preference for Commonwealth products was one of Britain's conditions for joining the EEC. (The 1975 'banana protocol' between EC and African, Caribbean and pacific countries) Consequence:

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		Europe which threatens its unique way of life.		'dollar bananas' will be allowed free to EC	After 1992 and completion of single market Britain and France's old colonial links face erosion as markets are flooded with 'dollar bananas' from South America Appeals to principle: old colonial markets (esp. in Jamaica) might perish if dollar bananas allowed to flood the market.
Telegraph p.20 7/03/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Defence: Delors and his latest battle for Europe' Delors gives speech in Britain for first time since sept 1988 at TUC	Catchphrase: 'The Beelzebub of Brussels' (Jacques Delors) Depiction: Delors ultimate aim "to construct an artificial European military superpower." His main object "is to create European institutions, like airports in some Latin American jungles long before people are ready to make use them." Root: Britain is in Western European Union and Delors' idea could extend its reach and powers Consequence: A European defence pact would strip powers over foreign and defence policy from Westminster and undermine NATO Raises spectre of EC countries committing to coming to each other's defence in the event of an attack
Telegraph p.23 27/03/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'This is how we learn about Europe'. Sub: 'They are young, talented and on to a very good thing. For five months they have a ball at the EC's expense. Boris Johnson asks why.'	Catchphrase: "Euro-brats" Depiction: The five month training period "is marked by a single-minded dedication to Bacchus and leisure." "Nepotistic system" for applicants to become stagiaires in Brussels. The 'stage' is "substantially filled" by "'Euro-brats, well-born young Italians with BMWs, chic girls in Chanel-type black and gold.' "It is a simple, Pavlovian technique of pleasure by association." European leaders recalling time as stagiaires "may be more inclined to decide in favour of deeper European integration." Consequence: The 'Euro-brats' of today are the Eurocrats of tomorrow
Telegraph p.9 11/03/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'EC tobacco subsidy going up in smoke' 'Italian and Greek tobacco farmers are cashing in on EC subsidies by growing thousands of tons of virtually unsmokable weed, which is then dumped on African and Middle East markets'	Exemplar: EC farmers growing 'tons of virtually unsmokable weed' Depiction: It's easy to defraud the commission: commission rules on tobacco were "of such complexity that no other official understood them", according to "commission officials" ministers at all night sessions of agriculture council dealing with tobacco regulations – "they just nod them through" says an "EC diplomat" EC also depicted as hypocritical – leading an anti-smoking campaign yet supports a £700 million annual tobacco subsidy system which encourages greedy farmers to over produce despite penalties. This low quality tobacco is then dumped on third world markets. Root: The commission has an obligation to pay 80% of the market price for EC-produced tobacco.

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.18 10/04/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'Enter John Major, good European' The Christian Democrats in EP whom Patten wants Tories aligned with talk about subsidiarity but behind it Tories see "the ratchet that pulls Westminster's power towards Brussels.'	Catchphrase: "budding superstate" Depiction: EC "inept" EC "club" Christian Democrats are "Roman Catholic or at least avowedly religious." motto is "social consensus" and their belief in the dread "Social Charter". They are also "closely entwined" with Catholic trade unions and are "lions for federalism" Summit devised to "give the EC the chance to salvage its pretensions as a budding superstate after its inept reaction to the invasion of Kuwait." Root: Major persuaded EC leaders to adopt plan for UN haven Christian Democrats are now deciding whether to allow Tories into their grouping in EP Consequence: Britain is now taking a more active role in EC affairs – "unthinkable" in Thatcher's time - and risks being sucked in to Christian Democrat grouping in European Parliament.
Telegraph 13/04/91	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'Tories close to a political union with Europeans'. Tories poised to get associate membership of Christian Democrats	Depiction: "The move is seen as having wide implications for conservatism and embodying rejection of Thatcherite principles" Christian Democrats depicted as ardent federalists - CDs to decide if Major govt is "sufficiently close to them over EC social policy and the aim of creating a federal Europe." Root: During Thatcher's time as PM Tories in EP were "shunned." Now Major wants to "improve the Tories' image in Europe." Consequence: Joining CDs will take Britain further down the road to a federal Europe with social policy decided by European Commission. Christian Democrats' Roman Catholic ties and views on social policy also anathema to British cultural and social interests.
Telegraph 14/04/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Major greeted with open arms by EC leaders" Tories in EP have been accepted as "allied members" of Christian Democrat grouping	Catchphrase: "European superstate" The "social market" (CD slogan) Depiction: "Right-wing Tories and anti-Federalists of all parties will be dismayed." Fears of "sell-out" on the keystones of Thatcherite policy" Tory MPs now have to adhere to the "basic tenets of European Christian Democracy" and to endorse 2 "highly federalist manifestos" one of which "amounts to a blueprint for a European superstate" – 'for a Federal Constitution for a United Europe." Root: Tories in EP have up till now been "shunned" because of their association with Mrs Thatcher. Consequence: Joining Christian Democrat grouping takes Britain further down the road towards a federal Europe.
Telegraph 28/04/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Frere Jacques digs in his heels' "mounting evidence that Jacques Delors is trying to prolong his reign until the middle of the decade."	Exemplar: Delors as "emperor" Catchphrase: "Euro superstate" Depiction: "The man who epitomises Tory fears of an EC superstate" (ie, Delors) "I am beginning to wonder if he wants to be crowned emperor" – Enoch Powell "..the prospect of endorsing a full 10 years of "Frere Jacques", with his unflagging devotion to Euro-workers' rights, Euro-currencies and other embarrassments, may cause British patience to snap." This is a largely speculative news report. The prospect of Delors extending his time as commission president is the source of damning commentary from several British sources. Root: Delors arrived in January 1985 to "kickstart the European dream" Consequence: If Delors were to remain in office the EC will continue down the road to federalism, the extension of workers' rights and "other embarrassments"
Telegraph p.10 9/05/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has	Westminster	'EC outlines scheme for superstate.' 12 national governments have received draft	Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" "superstate" Depiction: The EC depicted as wanting to encroach into many facets of British life. "…the picture has been completed of what could be a future "superstate", substantially run from Brussels. The political union ideas now on the table Thatcher previously tried to "strangle at birth".

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		no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.		monetary union amendments for the Treaty of Rome The EC wants a single European currency, a European central bank, a common EC defence policy, majority voting on major foreign policy questions and an end to Britain's right to veto some EC laws.	Several provisions giving the EC "powers over ordinary life" – have been provisionally written into Treaty of Rome covering environment, education, energy policy, and promotion of European cultural heritage. Root: Treaty of Rome establishing the EEC Consequence: These far-reaching proposals would give the EC power over many facets of life, with less veto power for the UK on foreign policy.
Telegraph p.8 10/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Italy fails to measure up on condoms' "The Italian rubber industry has fallen foul of EC rules by making undersized condoms" The EC dismisses Italian requests for a max condom width of 54 mm	Exemplar: The one-size fits-all condom Depiction: "Brussels bureaucrats have shown their legendary attention to detail by rejecting new specifications for condom dimensions proposed by the Italian government." "Italian egos smarting" Reminder that the commissioner responsible tried to abolish prawn cocktail flavour crisps Root: Under EC law "all standard weights, measures and sizes introduced at a national level must first be approved by the European Commission. All 12 member states have agreed that an unstretched condom should be 16 centimetres long."
Telegraph p.6 11/05/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain unable to block EC's tobacco ban' A new draft law soon to be unveiled will ban tobacco advertising in EC. Britain opposes the directive but will be unable to block it.	Depiction: "EC interference" Depiction of Britain as "powerless" in face of Brussels Root: The commission's previous legislation on European cigarette health warnings "angered Mrs Thatcher and blew up into a row over British 'sovereignty.'" Consequence: This is the slippery slope towards issues being decided by majority vote – which the ban on tobacco was – "leaving Britain powerless to block it." And another blow to Britain's sovereignty.

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Telegraph 14/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Britain stands alone over EC worker rights' The EC is seeking to extend control into questions of workers "basic rights" and "living and working conditions	Exemplar: New social policies "would raise costs, lose jobs, and place extra burdens on industry." Depiction: Delors described as "the French Socialist president of the European Commission" Root: Social policy "was a major part of the rhetoric of the Delors Commission since 1985. Its flagship was the Social Charter, which Mrs Thatcher alone refused to sign at Strasbourg in December 1989." Consequence: Britain, as well as being forced to sign up to the Social Charter, may lose its veto over new laws. Under proposals unanimous voting is to be replaced by qualified majority voting.
Telegraph 16/05/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC plans ban on tobacco advertising'	Depiction: Hypocrisy of Commission moving to ban tobacco advertising when it subsidises tobacco farmers to the tune of £650m a year. Stresses the "socialist" roots of commissions social affairs commissioner Vasso Papandreou and also the fact that she smokes! Root: Following on from ban on tobacco ads on tv, EC moves to ban ads in newspapers and magazines. Britain is opposed. Consequence: All EC member states will now have a uniform law on tobacco advertising The loss of unanimous voting means that this directive can be passed by qualified majority voting – "leaving Britain unable to block it on its own"
Telegraph p.14 17/05/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Federal manifesto may tie up Labour' (there is a smaller banner headline over this titled "European Socialism" Labour would have to commit to majority vote decisions on the pace of integration Labour strongly supports the EC Social Charter	Catchphrase: A "United States of Europe" The "federalist manifesto" of the pan-European socialist grouping Depiction: Labour could find itself "deeply embarrassed" by the "zeal of other EC socialists such as M Mitterrand." The EC's 12 stars symbol is depicted as "a common EC socialist design" There is a move to create "pan-European political parties" in preparation for "a United States of Europe" Labour depicted as untrustworthy on Europe. Root: EC socialist MEPs have adopted a pan-European socialist programme for a federal Europe Consequence: A Labour govt would sign up to the Social Charter and if embedded in a pan-European socialist party could be party to creation of a united states of Europelf Labour signs up to the plan Labour membership cards could feature "a common EC socialist design" on the reverse of 12 stars.
Telegraph p.1 21/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested	British Tax Payers	'Just an abnormal working day' Officials in the EC only work one full five-day week in May due to all the public holidays, and the practice of "faire le pont"	Exemplar: – stories of EC officials take excessive time off for bank holidays Catchphrase: "the patron saint of skiving" Depiction: EC officials depicted as milking the system to work four and even three day weeks by taking advantage of public holidays in Europe. They also have a practice (which Johnson calls a "traditional right") of "faire le pont" – ie, taking a Thursday and Friday off to 'bridge the gap' into a bank holiday weekend. "Yesterday the deserted Brussels streets and silent European Community headquarters testified to the solemn observance of White Monday." Root: Across Europe, nine religious or secular festivals are celebrated in May

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		interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph 30/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Irish 'butter hulks' part of soaring EC food mountain	Exemplar: – stories of butter being stored in chilled holds of ships off the coast of Ireland "butter hulks" "soaring food mountains" Depiction: "grain silos are bulging" Root: A shortage of storage has meant Irish govt has hired four ships to excess butter off-shore
Telegraph p.16 28/05/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Why the French should enlist with the rest of us' Sub: 'As a NATO rapid reaction force – which will be led by Britain – is formally unveiled today, Boris Johnson in Brussels argues that Gallic paranoia and opposition are misplaced.'	Depiction: The French are bent on "perverting" the Common Market into a defence pact to rival NATO The Allied Command in Europe Rapid Reaction Force "is not the end of the alarming evolution in European thinking on defence" What French are proposing "is even more worrying". They want the EC "to evolve into a defence union" Root: The French have "a long-standing ambition to assert collective European military might on the world stage", dating back to the 1950s Appeals to principle: "Since the collapse of GATT talks last year, European and American commercial interests have been drifting apart. It must not happen on defence as well."
Telegraph 29/05/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Art Deco mansion offered to Delors'	Exemplar: European diplomats living in mansions Depiction: Delors as "Europe's most powerful bureaucrat" "a residence to match the growing dignity of his office as EC Commission President." This speculative piece sets up the notion that Delors office is as powerful as that of any president or premier. Root: 'The Belgian government has offered to reconstruct one of the greatest monuments of Art Deco architecture, stone by stone, to be the permanent official residence of the EC's most powerful bureaucrat, M Jacques Delors."
Telegraph 30/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed	British Tax Payers	'Highly paid Eurocrats in strike threat'	Exemplar: Eurocrats who are already on up to £80,000 a year plus tax breaks want even more money Catchphrase: "Eurocrats" Depiction: Depicts EC workers as over-paid and over-privileged Blames "hardline French and Italian white-collar union officials" who "insist on having their full benefits"

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		into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			Root: The EC's 12,500 "well-paid" civil servants stand to receive rises of up to 10 per cent when a special deduction from their salaries lapses on June 30 Consequences: "A strike would jam the Community's legal machinery during Brussels talks to change its constitution."
Telegraph 31/05/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Euro headquarters to be blown up' Berlaymont to be blown up by end of the year - regarded as the safest way of demolishing it, in order to replace it because of asbestos used in its construction	Depiction: "…sappers will lay explosive charges at key points so that the structure can implode and subside gently. British sources suggested wryly that detonation could be declared a European holiday." Root: As the European Commission's HQ, the distinctive Berlaymont building is the EC's visual totem
Telegraph p.8 4/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain and France unite in opposing Delors ideas'	Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Delors "demanded a 'single juridical personality' for the community and 'a unique framework'." Stories of EC officials and govts close to Delors "speaking in apocalyptic terms" of "the end of the original EC structure", if the burgeoning areas of cooperation are not all placed under the Commission and the Council of Ministers.' Root: Delors wants to extend powers of commission over foreign policy, security and policing Consequence: Hurd says Britain will use its veto to ensure foreign policy & policing remain prerogative of national govts
Telegraph p.1 14/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Britain side-lined again in EC free-travel talks'	Exemplar: "a wave of economic migration" from eastern Europe and North Africa Depiction: Depiction of Britain being "again put on the sidelines in moves towards European unity" Britain's "fears over immigration from Europe" Root: 'Britain was again put on the sidelines in moves towards European unity yesterday when it was offered the option of joining a "second tier" of EC countries outside a free-travel zone.' Consequence: The EC is intent on pursuing "European unity", in so doing "side-lining" Britain despite its objections

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Telegraph p.8 16/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Stand by for the lancing of the boil' Sub: 'Major has said it: there is no veto. Now Boris Johnson in Brussels, wonders if the Bruges lobby will be crushed.'	Metaphor: The Bruges Group secretary Patrick Robertson is "driving the Government before him like a flock of gibbering geese." Major will be able to "slay the dragon" [of Euroscepticism]in time Major will have to "lance the boil" before Maastricht Catchphrase: The "British problem" (ie, Europe)EC diplomats think the time has come "to ask the Men of Bruges to put up, or shut up." The "Euro-integrationist dream" Uses the word 'Weltanshaung' for worldview Depiction: Fears in Brussels that Britain will be "boxed into a corner, fretful and indignant at the rape of its national sovereignty." Major could "plead for a ceasefire" (ie, that EC stalls on political & monetary union until after a British general election) The "wobbly new marriage" between tory MEPs and Christian Democrats Roots: Europe wants Britain to sign up to a set of binding conclusions at Maastricht on political and monetary union Latest eruption of anti-EC sentiment in London after Major admits he cannot veto monetary union Consequence: "If Britain failed to quash its Tory mutineers and Maastricht finally died, Germany would stand ready for the hyper-leap, fast-forward: to concertina the seven-year Maastricht timetable for monetary union into the space of a single year. At a stroke, dear Francois, one money, that is, for the real Europe, you and me, the believers, the front rank, the first tier, the advance guard: France, Germany, Benelux. The rest – spendthrift Italians, chaotic Greeks, British sovereignty junkies – let them make their own dispositions." (this account was apparently circulated through Brussels)
Telegraph 18/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Hurd clashes with Delors on EC unity' …after EC countries asked Britain to make a commitment to a 'united states of Europe"	Catchphrase: "united States of Europe" Proposals would create "a tight-knit federal system" The "Brussels Commission" "a pan-European government" Depiction: Conservative turmoil over Europe Hurd's concerns dismissed "brusquely" by Delors. Once more Delors is portrayed as the mastermind of this drive towards federalism who rudely brushes aside Britain's concerns. Mrs Thatcher is "expected to sound a nationalist blast against federalist plans being discussed in Brussels." The Germans depicted as ultra-Europeans wanting to see the "federal angle played up". Root: The word "federal" is now in new core articles of the revised treaty, and is being supported by France & Germany The articles contained in the preamble to the new treaty would carry "considerable legal importance in setting the pace and structure of European union" and contain commitments to EMU, a common foreign and security policy, a common defence policy and a commitment to "achieve any remaining federalist goals", as well as European citizenship for all EC nationals Consequence: The plans if enacted would create a federalist-style Europe. One new detail in the draft is an undertaking to call a conference by 1996 "to complete the federalist agenda"
Telegraph p.18 19/06/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain	Untrustworthy politicians	'The house that Jacques is building for France' Sub: 'As M Delors springs his plan for a united Europe, Boris Johnson, in Brussels, assesses the mind of a man whose federal ideas are designed to put his country first.'	Exemplar: Story of Delors leaving the Commission building by the express lift "and thence be ushered into a chauffeur-driven Renault 25 for the short journey home." Catchphrase: Delors plans for a "United States of Europe" The "probleme Britannique" Delors' "federalist schemes" Depiction: Delors is depicted as spending most evenings at his desk "advancing France – and himself" Once again Delors is depicted as the driving force of a federal Europe. Note it is "his plans for a "United States of Europe," with French industry benefitting from Delors inclination to "pork-barrel for la patrie." Delors lips "pouting from endless French vowels". Delors' ideology a fusion of his religious and political belief in "personalism", a "middle way' between capitalism and communism, with a strong belief in social consensus." "Everything in Delors life is subordinate to his appetite for power." On the contrary Hurd is depicted as "good-humoured" and "courteous" Root: Delors dedication to CAP rooted in his ancestry – his grandfather was a peasant farmer who scratched a living on 10 hectares. Reminds readers of Delors involvement in a theatre movement that had the approval of the "collaborationist Vichy government". When Delors became president in 1985 his "federalist schemes" required the invention of "a new personality for the Community, including the creation of a flag of 12 stars. Consequence: Delors masterplan is to create a "largely French-run Common Market to a monetary and political union in which Germany will be kept perpetually under the beady eye of Paris."

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Telegraph 21/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Blueprint for 'States of Europe' 'British hopes of banishing the word "federal" from the EC's new draft treaty were dashed last night when the Luxembourg EC presidency unveiled an even more strongly worded blueprint for a "United States of Europe"	Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Depiction of new draft treaty as blueprint for 'United States of Europe'. Root: Negotiations for amendments to the Treaty of Rome Consequence: If enacted the treaty would mean an EC defence pact, EC citizenship "and a huge range of political responsibilities for the Brussels commission".
Telegraph 23/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Dodging the ambush in Luxembourg'	Metaphor: : the text as a "hydra-headed challenge…No sooner does the Foreign Office succeed in lopping off one baleful, sibilant federalistic word from Europe's draft constitution than six more spring up in its place." Exemplar: Story of European leaders meeting for "a secret supper 'conclave" Image of Major and his aides "riffling gloomily through 130 pages of legal text" which would commit Britain to creation of "a 'federal' united states of Europe" Catchphrase: "Euro-superstate" 'federal' united states of Europe" "Brussocentric universe" The "f-word" [federalism] The "federalising mission" Depiction: Luxembourg European Council meeting is "an ambush" of Major Last chance for foreign office minister Tristan Garel-Jones to "slay the "F-word" and save Mr Major from being mugged at the EC summit. "the latest hissing monster to proceed from the pen of M Jacques Delors" – unicity, a "centralising concept" meaning EC govts should not decide on foreign or security policy and judicial cooperation "without first consulting the Brussels commission and the Euro-parliament." British "common sense" versus Brussels "ambition" "the meddling of bureaucrats" Hurd "heckled and booed by a thousand striking Eurocrats…a foretaste, doubtless, of life when power is concentrated in Brussels." Root: Plans to change the Treaty of Rome Consequence: The word "federal" was not mentioned in Friday's declaration but 6 govts believe it should be in the new EC treaty. Brussels is trying to create a federal Europe, take power from parliament, and turn an economic union into a military one.
Telegraph 25/06/91	The loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain isolated by EC deal on VAT'	Exemplar: Common minimum VAT rate across Europe Depiction: Britain depicted as standing alone against Brussels over "this issue of national sovereignty" "Britain has steadfastly refused to contemplate any EC involvement in setting taxes, which it regards as one of the supreme attributes of sovereign governments.' Root: 'Britain stood alone last night in refusing to accept a legally-binding EC minimum VAT rate of 15 per cent' Consequence: A binding EC rate of VAT could open the way for EC interference in other forms of taxation

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Telegraph p.17 28/06/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'How our side is playing the game.' Meeting today in Luxembourg "may prove a crucial stage in the European diplomatic contest."	Exemplar: Story of EC diplomats reading 'Agence Europe' every morning, which often features "anguished and denunciatory" leaders on "the perfidy of Albion to the Brussels world." Catchphrase: A "united states of Europe" "European superstate" Depiction: Depiction of Britain going up against EC countries who want to centralise more power in Brussels. Root: Proposed changes to the Treaty of Rome Consequence: The EC is moving towards a more federal structure which will be decided upon once and for all at the 2 treaty-changing conferences in December (Maastricht). The present EC treaty draft "would seem to pave the way for a European superstate." Major faces the challenge of keeping the Tory party together Appeal to Principle: Johnson warns that Major must not agree "to anything that erodes the ancient prerogatives of the House of Commons."
Telegraph 30/06/91	The loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Brussels keeps dream alive' Peace talks on Yugoslavia was a "last chance" mission "to save something – in some eyes – more precious still: federalism.	Catchphrase: "Euro-integrationists" "Euro-superstate" The "f-word" (to describe federalism) "arch Euro-federalist" Depiction: "the forces of federalism" Yugoslavia as "a federalist's nightmare" Monetary union described in terms of "scrapping national currencies" Root: EC-sponsored peace talks in Zagreb, to broker a ceasefire in Yugoslavia Consequences: EC (Jacques Delors) is trumpeting peace talks as the first success for a common foreign policy. This will bring the "Euro-superstate" closer to its realisation
Telegraph 11/07/91	The loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC agrees to joint action in 'boost for federalism'	Exemplar: officials will wear the EC's 12-star flag as an armband Depiction: "Jubilant" members of the commission Defeat for Britain's attempts "to restrict the EC's fledgling foreign policy" Root: EC foreign ministers agree to send 50 diplomatic and military personnel to monitor Yugoslav ceasefire and peace negotiations in the first such operation Consequence: This is another example of sovereign power being eroded in this case in the area of foreign policy. Greater co-operation on foreign policy may result from this move
Telegraph 19/07/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Big bananas, little bananas and a whole jungle of banana skins' The threat of "dollar bananas" grown in Central and South America to traditional "community preference" bananas grown in former colonies	Exemplar: Story of the inter-services (banana) group toiling away for five years. "I do not want to talk about it," says the EC's chief banana expert. "it is far too sensitive" Catchphrase: A special border "banana police" would "make a mockery of 1991" "their mysterious 'European Banana Regulation" The Germans "special banana protocol" attached to treaty of Rome Depiction: "members of the inter-services (banana) group, who have offered up five years of their bureaucratic careers to this one problem." The EC's "chief banana expert" "Brussels must resolve an intensifying commercial, political and ideological crisis over bananas" Root: When EC was founded in 1957 it established a common market for every agricultural product except the banana. Most EC countries import bananas that come from their former colonies – in Britain's case, the Caribbean. Consequence: Community preference bananas from former colonies make up 46% of EC imports. There are currently strict quotas on import of dollar bananas into most EC countries (bar Germany). This will change on Jan 1 1993 when European border controls are abolished. Old colonial markets (esp. in Jamaica) might perish if dollar bananas allowed to flood the market.

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Telegraph p.16 21/07/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'Delors is no shepherd to Chaplains'	Metaphor: They are being removed "with all the random senselessness of a poppy felled by a passing scythe." Exemplar: A "new Brussels law on sexual equality could mean some Oxford colleges abandoning the teaching of scripture." Depiction: Arrogance of Jacques Delors who sees himself as an equal of heads of state Delors "pouted presidentially" Depiction of Delors – "a religious man, praying so often before commission meetings that officials say 'Delors is my shepherd' The faceless bureaucracy of Brussels dooming the chaplain-tutor: "No longer will the much-loved figure shamble, gown billowing behind him, from pastoral care in chapel to biblical exegesis in his rooms." Root: The EC threatens the financial viability of some of Oxford's smaller colleges by insisting on enforcing an EC directive that means theology roles being open to women, thereby doing away with combined chaplain/theology tutor role. Consequence: Colleges may now "just abandon the teaching of scripture."
Telegraph p.17 6/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Immune system in trouble' Sub: 'A British judge has thrown out a case in deference to EC Parliamentary sovereignty. Boris Johnson sees how 23,000 people are now in a legal limbo'	Exemplar: : Story of how European parliament has become a safe haven for rogues and criminals (the Spanish MEP Maria Ruiz-Mateo's and racists (Jean Marie le Pen) Exemplar: MEPs ease of movement through airports with their dark blue passports which take them to the front of the queue. The "legendary way" they use their expense accounts – such as the story of one former Tory MEP who spent £240 on six glasses of brandy Catchphrase: The "Brussels Commission' headquarters is known as "la Maison" to employees "the European Dream" Brussels is "the revenge of the Outcasts of Europe." (anon. British official) Depiction: 'British justice has banged its nose on a new, invisible and mystifying field of force." There is "a strange and novel power in the land" There is a "growing sense" that MEPS and the 23,000 EC employees now have a "special identity". "It is as though they have soared above the fripperies of old-fashioned nationhood to become citizens of something more advanced – Europe." Euro MEPs and those who work for Europe "have become a caste apart – indeed to all intents and purposes a new and separate nation. Again depiction of EC workers as both zealous – "Though many are loyal to their national governments, many more are deep believers in the European Dream" – and pampered Root: A UK euro MP takes a case to European court over the alleged misuse of the British Labour group's campaign funds. The case was thrown out because he is a member of the European Parliament which has "its own legal privileges". European sovereignty was used (and upheld) as an argument in court. Consequence: There is a tension between national governments and the EC that will play out into the future. The Commission is in "mortal combat" with national governments over "EC sovereignty"
Telegraph p.1 7/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Row over Dutch blueprint for EC'	Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Depiction of Dutch draft treaty as a "federalist model" Root: Dutch table a draft treaty for political union which would "strengthen the power of the Brussels commission and the European parliament the expense of Westminster." Consequence: If enacted the right of veto from the 12 national govts would be transferred to the European parliament – which would have the power to overturn Council of Ministers decisions.

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Telegraph p.14 8/09/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'French whines threaten English vineyard revival' Because of over-production of wine in Europe, English wines, which do not have the EC-approved "quality wine" mark, will suffer as Brussels moves to stop vine production and the entire crop will become part of compulsory ethanol production.	Exemplar: "wine lake" Depiction: CAP is run for France's benefit. "EC Commission policy on wine – as with so much else – is the policy of France." France is inspired "by the basest protectionism" The Commission "mysteriously" has a "big down" on the grape variety grown in Britain even though it is by all accounts "a terrific grape". The "cruelty and condescension" of the French who say "*Non*" to British wine Root: This EC policy is rooted in French dislike of hybrid grape varieties and French protectionism Consequence: The EC Commission is trying to stop English wine making in its infancy by adopting a French position – as it does on most things – by decreeing it is not "quality wine", as approved by the EC. This means most of it will end up as "turpentine and lighter fuel" and the EC will "slap a ban" on further vine production
Telegraph p.16 9/09/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'A wall that must come down in the name of free trade' Sub: 'As France takes the lead in blocking East European food imports, Boris Johnson argues that the EC should work to ensure that a common market is a more open market.'	Exemplar: – Of CAP waste: the 800,000 tonnes of surplus beef "deep-frozen in the EC's intervention stores" where it will remain "until it is unfit for human consumption." Depiction: Depiction of Mitterrand – provoked "to an apogee of hypocrisy' "miserliness" of France Depiction of CAP waste Roots: Resistance based on rationale that European food imports "would burst the groaning buttresses of the present CAP" Appeal to Principle: "radical farm reform in the West must be agreed by the end of the year" if the EC "is to face the economic chaos of East Europe with a good conscience"
Telegraph 19/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Major wins concession on EC Union'	Catchphrase: "United States of Europe'" Depiction: Depiction of Dutch as ardent federalists wanting to create a "United States of Europe'" Positive depiction of Major standing firm – he "drove home his message that Britain would not surrender sovereignty over foreign affairs" Root: "Radical Dutch blueprints for a federal Europe were significantly toned down yesterday after Mr Major issued a blunt warning that Britain could not be pushed too far." Consequence: "Senior Tories have been concerned that the prospect of the EC taking greater powers over foreign and defence policies could trigger a revolt by Conservatives, including Mrs Thatcher". Political union remains on the table
Telegraph p.1 22/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over	Single Currency	'Lamont drops guard on pound' Sub: 'Britain may be among first for single currency' Says a paper tabled	Depiction: An "economic government" of Europe France as the bogeyman – they are pushing the idea of a euro bank and single currency hardest – they want an "economic government' of Europe, with control over fiscal policy" Root: Europe has been working towards monetary union since the 1970s Consequence: This could mean Britain might join the single currency by the end of 1996. The UK will lose all sovereignty over its currency if the pound is abandoned. (in actual fact, Lamont said Britain would not bind itself to a single currency, but did not rule out this could happen by Dec 31, 1996.)

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		and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.		by Lamont "in effect drops all pretence that Britain intends to 'opt out'" of EMU	
Telegraph p.21 22/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Humbug over wider Europe' Sub 'Mr Major may talk piously of a Europe that includes the East, but Boris Johnson in Brussels argues that he is being disingenuous.'	Metaphor: EMU as "a rich man's club, against whose frosty windowpanes the Easterners will press their noses for a long time." Exemplar: Directives on jam emulsifier, beer preservatives, tractor axles "and the rest." Catchphrase: "the French-run Common Market" The "welfare mentality" of Eastern Europeans "the mumbo-jumbo of 'political union'" "Euro Superstate" Depiction: EMU as "a rich man's club" France depicted as "fighting a brilliant and selfish rear-guard action to keep the Common Market the way it always was: Western, and run by France for France." Depiction of Eastern Europeans in a negative light. Says that according to pollsters they are "conservative, pessimistic, even curmudgeonly people, relishing authority and censorship, cynical, after decades of communism about whether hard work brings advancement.' Root: Rows over Europe's response to the Yugoslav crisis, and the row over European Association agreements with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia exposes the fault-lines in the European creed of unity and its hand of friendship to Eastern Europe Consequence: Every EC country – including Britain – is deluding itself about its real intentions towards Eastern Europe. Should the EC expand threats from the East include a flood of cheaper farm produce and an influx of migrants
Telegraph p.1 23/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Sterling will join Ecu front-runners' Johnson says Lamont left "little doubt" that "if Parliament approves, Britain could take its place in the first wave of countries to use a single currency."	Depiction: Depiction of Britain being 'left behind' and having a 'humiliating lack of influence' if she does not sign up to monetary union Root: "A treaty for European monetary union by the end of this year looks almost inevitable after Britain and other EC countries succeeded at the weekend in resolving crucial differences. At a meeting in the Netherlands, Mr Lamont, the Chancellor, convinced EC finance ministers that Britain was prepared to sign provided remaining difficulties can be settled at the Maastricht summit in December." Consequence: Lamont says "If appropriate policy is followed, there is no reason why Britain wouldn't be able to join by December 31, 1996." Crucially Britain can only opt in with a vote of parliament If Britain does not join she risks being "left behind"
Telegraph p.18 25/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Why going Dutch would leave Britain with the bill' Britain has to get an agreement at Maastricht or Major will be forced to make even more concessions further down the road	Metaphor: The EMU as a "delicate plant…nurtured for three years, risks being crushed." The IGC as a poker game – with Lubbers raising the stakes and "the big players eyeball to eyeball, who knows who will blink?" Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" "flight of federalist fancy" (giving MEPs more powers) Depiction: Depiction of France & Germany working together to come up with "the classic Franco-German deal that will leave Mr Major on his own." Britain being "chivvied" and "harried" by the EC "the tiresome demands of our partners for "deeper integration" - Britain is in the equivalent of a hostage situation. Failure to reach a deal and Britain would call down upon its head the "execration of almost the entire community" Root: Changes to 1957 Treaty of Rome The Dutch govt has unveiled "a blueprint for a Euro-superstate" Consequence: If the Dutch don't back down, Maastricht will be "a bloodbath" according to British officials Appeals to principle: we must fight, and if we fight we will win.

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Telegraph 26/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Euro fuel tax plan to tackle 'greenhouse' gas' Green tax will increase price of coal by 30 per cent and heating costs by 10%.	Exemplar: European green tax Depiction: Depiction of green tax as an incursion on national sovereignty – British govt would have "sovereignty problems" "paving the way for French ideas of an 'economic government' of Europe" "first tax imposed by Brussels" Root: Mounting use of fossil fuels causing a worsening of the "greenhouse effect" Consequence: Could lead to an "economic government" of Europe "EC officials immediately predicted that the British government would have 'sovereignty problems' with the idea of a uniform tax imposed by Brussels"
Telegraph 28/09/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain will seek support against federal union plan' 'Only a few – Denmark and possibly Ireland – fully share Britain's view that such moves [Dutch plan for federal European political union] would mean an unacceptable erosion of national sovereignty'	Depiction: Depiction of Dutch plan as "unacceptable erosion of national sovereignty" according to British officials Depiction of "a new EC centred for eternity on the Brussels institutions would pave the way for a federal government of Europe" Root: Dutch plan for federal European political union Consequence: If Dutch plans get approval European institutions will have more power and it will pave way for united Europe. Political union would be "hard to sell to the backbenchers"
Telegraph 29/09/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Allies line up to ditch Dutch plans' 'The crisis in the EC over Europe's federal destiny could be solved at tomorrow's meeting of foreign ministers..'	Catchphrase: "Euro-superstate" Depiction: British govt "scandalised" about Dutch "recipe for a Euro-superstate" French as arch-federalists – they "attacked the text not because it goes too far but because it does not go far enough." Root: Dutch plan for federal European political union Consequence: Britain could be left "isolated" if there is "an old-fashioned Franco-German trade-off over the two biggest changes in the way Europe works. In exchange for German assent to monetary union, the French could give way over an extension of the powers of Parliament. That would leave Britain isolated."
Telegraph p.12 3/10/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions,	British Tax Payers	'EC Commission in threat to pull out of Brussels'	Exemplar: The 13,000 staff get "cut-rate "European" taxes, often 50 per cent less" than ordinary civil servants. Yet they again went on strike demanding a 10% pay rise Catchphrase: Brussels as the hub for a "superstate" Depiction: Commission staff are overpaid and out of touch. They have "big salaries and cut-rate "European" taxes. They get tax breaks and perks and commissioners are paid £80,000 a year. Root: Rising tensions between Belgians and the commission have driven EC commission leaders to threaten to leave Brussels Also reports that Belgian govt backing down on promises to build a new HQ to replace the Belaymont Consequence: The commission may move to another EC city – so far unspecified, with unnamed "officials" saying it could be moved to the London Docklands

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		farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.94/10/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC law expert searches the dictionary to replace F-word'	Exemplar: "High in the Charlemagne building in Brussels yesterday the professor was sieving the possibilities from the dictionaries and thesauri of the nine Community languages." Catchphrase: "the dreaded 'F-word' (ie, federalism) Depiction: Depiction of British MPs caring more about national sovereignty than anyone else. Quote from an unnamed professor – they "have this feeling of belonging to a sovereign body which is threatened by the powers of the Community. They feel it much more than anyone else because Britain genuinely was sovereign until so recently." Root: A top unnamed European law expert "has been charged with a near-impossible task – to eliminate the dreaded "F-word" from the new Common Market treaty(i.e., to find a synonym for federal which appears in the first paragraph of the draft Luxembourg text Consequence: An alternative wording to federal will have to be found if Britain is to accept the draft text. The draft treaty contains a commitment to a "federal goal" and if passed would be a step further down the road to a united states of Europe.
Telegraph 7/10/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco--German Axis	'Britain pushed into a corner on defence pact' French & German foreign ministers have called EC countries "loyal to their cause" to a special meeting in Paris to discuss.	Catchphrase: "the Franco-German move" "Franco-German tactics" "superfederalists" Depiction: This is depicted as a "Franco-German move" regarded in "the British camp as a blatant attempt to restore the two nations' accustomed dominance of the European political landscape" after Britain and Italy tabled a motion for a defence pact with strong links to NATO. In so doing France & Germany have "plunged EC diplomacy into chaos." France & Germany also depicted as underhand in their decision to call a meeting of EC countries "loyal to their cause" Root: France and Germany are pushing other countries for a Europe-only defence pact and joint foreign policy. This would threaten NATO – the defence pact favoured by Britain & Washington Consequence: The move is designed to draw more powers into the EC, in this case granting the block "sweeping powers over defence." The NATO alliance could be undermined by a new European defence pact.
Telegraph p.13 9/10/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Boycott throws EC 'super-federalist' meeting into doubt' 'French and German plans to meet to establish a faction of EC "super-federalists" this Friday in Paris were thrown into doubt yesterday after a majority of Community countries indicated they would not attend."	Catchphrase: "super-federalists" Depiction: Depiction of Germans and French as wanting to dominate Europe – Germany through Euro-parliament and France through joint foreign policy & defence pact - "EC's traditional dominant axis" "super-federalists" to describe faction that French and Germans want to create Depiction from Dutch viewpoint that this is "a naked attempt by the EC's traditional dominant axis to usurp the leadership of the current inter-governmental negotiations." Anonymous British sources – move is "outrageous" Johnson – this is "a colossal insult to the way the Netherlands has conducted the presidency" Root: France wants to establish a joint EC foreign policy and Europe-only defence pact Other aspect of story is German push to "make the Germans the largest single national group in the increasingly powerful Strasbourg Euro-parliament."
Telegraph p.20 13/10/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect	Franco-German Axis	'It's all water off a foreign minister's back' In this column Johnson tells the story of France & Germany jockeying	Metaphor: "With Maastricht looming the main players are bickering like dogs on hot afternoon." Exemplar: Story of the German foreign minister unable to rise from his deep medieval-style bath in Holland Story of Genscher's "bullet-proof Mercedes" forcing the Dutch foreign minister's car into a ditch as they both rushed to get to journalists first. Catchphrase: "superfederalists" that the French surround themselves with Depiction: Depiction of both Germany and France as controlling and untrustworthy Depicts the EC as a club riven by rivalries, backstabbing and scheming. Stories abound – repeated here - that do not cast the German foreign minister Genscher in the most

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		their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.		for position as top dogs in Europe	flattering light. Root: The EC bureaucracy is part of the "old system of controlling Germany". But now "after 30 years of uninterrupted French colonial rule" things are changing. As tensions rise in the run up to Maastricht, France and Germany are bickering over who emerges as the strongest player in Europe
Telegraph p.10 14/10/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	EC plot to end great power of Brittan' 'A plot involving M Jacques Delors, French EC Commission President, to strip Sir Leon Brittan of his enormous powers over European competition policy has been unveiled in Brussels.'	Depiction: Depiction of Brittan's 'excessively Thatcherite free-market instincts" 'plot' / 'trap' / 'conspirators' to describe efforts to destabilise Brittan Root: Brittan's decision to block takeover of De Havilland, the ailing Canadian aircraft manufacturer, by a French consortium led by Aerospatiale of France and Alenia of Italy 'Sir Leon's opponents yesterday said it was the only way to curb what they see as his excessively Thatcherite free-market instincts"
Telegraph 19/10/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Take three St Peter's-full of wheat…And cover Sicily with slices of toast' The growing wheat surplus in Europe	Exemplar: "titanic wheat surplus" St Peter's in Rome, "the world's largest ecclesiastical building" would accommodate less than a third of the surplus of wheat. Depiction: Depiction of failures of the Common Agricultural Policy that have led to massive food surpluses. In this case 30 million tonnes of wheat have accumulated in silos and granaries across Europe. Even the "Brussels bureaucrats" who helped create the surplus "are at a loss for words". This is at a time when the Soviet Union "faces a winter of near starvation" – the stock would produce 67.5 billion loaves of bread "or 1.75 trillion slices of toast" Root: The export subsidy system of the Common Agricultural Policy Consequence: The GATT world trade talks will remain stalled until the EC stops dumping produce on the world market
Telegraph 24/10/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Eight challenge Britain over EC policy veto.' Britain was challenged by 8 EC members to give up its sovereignty on foreign policy. France sees this as a test of other country's willingness to be bound "by the will of Europe."	Catchphrase: "superstate" "the will of Europe" Depiction: Depiction of Britain standing alone in its belief that the EC "is not yet ready to think and act as a single power on the world stage." There is a sense that Britain is being bullied by other European powers "Delors…has joined a growing chorus demanding British acquiescence" He also writes of Portugal – once an ally of the UK's – now "defecting to the federalists" France depicted as seeing this decision as a symbol of other countries willingness "to be bound by the will of Europe" Root: In the past Britain has blocked EC foreign policy decisions, such as sanctions against South Africa and sending troops to Yugoslavia. Changes to the Treaty of Rome involving the loss of the veto will make this harder. Consequence: Maastricht will herald in a new era of majority voting, meaning countries will lose their vetoes over areas such as foreign policy. A concession on majority voting "will be seen as the first step on the road to a superstate"

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Telegraph 27/10/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Angry Jacques stops his boys having a brawl' Delors fears commissioner in-fighting could derail the Maastricht summit	Metaphor: : "Like children surprised by authority during a pillow fight, the commissioners are springing guiltily apart after unprecedented bureaucratic rowdiness." Exemplar: Bangemann tried to ban the prawn cocktail crisp. Catchphrase: "corporatist ruse" Depiction: Depiction of German commissioner Martin Bangemann "launching a coup" against Leon Brittan. "Herr Bulky" to describe Bangemann "The Bangemann Plotters" going "one by one with crocodile grins to Sir Leon, protesting that there was a an error or at least a serious misunderstanding." Depiction of plot – "It is about the Common Market's very being, its point and philosophy. It is an attempt by Mr Bangemann to strip Sir Leon of some of his awesome power over competition, and share it out among those a little less dry and Thatcherite." Root: Sir Leon blocking the De Havilland takeover "which went against France and state-backed monopolism" Consequence: This is "a corporatist ruse to give the EC an 'industrial policy' – with all the dread meaning that phrase has for free marketeers."
Telegraph p.18 29/10/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Give them an inch and they will take a kilometre' Sub: 'As EC foreign ministers meet in Brussels, Boris Johnson warns that national sovereignty will be undermined if Britain agrees to majority voting on foreign policy Foreign policy divisions 'divide Mr Major and Britain from the rest of Europe'	Metaphor: :Delors has found the 'magic potion' to give the EC assertiveness in foreign policy. "Nine EC countries now clutch their prescriptions." It is "Qualified Majority Voting in Foreign Policy" Metaphor: "Majority voting is the dry rot in the timbers of sovereignty. It spreads." Catchphrase: 'United States of Europe' 'The Franco-German proposal' Depiction: "Britain is an island with an imperial past, a large standing army, and emotional ties and commitments around the world." Milosevic and other Serb leaders "mock the community with their lies" Majority voting "in foreign policy is at attempt, by gimcrack constitutionalising, to build a unity where none really exist" and is based on "delusive French hopes" that it will stop Germany "striking out on its own." Root: Changes to the Treaty of Rome, due to be finalised a the upcoming Maastricht summit Consequence: Conceding majority voting on FP would mean "ending this nation's right, at all times, to choose its own friends and foes; to settle its own destiny on the world stage. It means a concerted EC foreign policy in which, on any given issue, three or four countries would allow themselves to be voted down." As one unnamed Italian diplomat acknowledges: "We don't want much this time around. But if we establish the idea of majority voting now, we can go for the whole thing later on, perhaps at the next treaty revision in 1996."
Telegraph 31/10/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Britain firm in rejection of social plan'	Exemplar: Harmonised social security policy and European standards for workers' rights Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: EC depicted trying to "force" govt to accept "European standards for workers' rights." Britain depicted as being isolated on this issue Depiction of the plan as a "harmonised" social security policy – with EC social security systems forced to pay benefit at the rate of 40% of average income. Root: 'British representatives were last night standing firm against intensifying EC demands to force the Government to accept European standards for workers' rights." Consequence: If plans under discussion were to go ahead it "would mean British industry could be forced to set up 'workers' councils' which would have to be consulted on all business decision. "The Brussels Commission" would also have "the right to set out draft law on social security and rights of foreign workers in Britain."

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Telegraph p.26 3/11/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Spanish steps put Thatcher legacy at risk' The "BBQ" or British Budget Question is set to dominate European politics by the summer as "the EC is broke".	Catchphrase: "budgetary shenanigans" Depiction: The EC budget "is already, in essence, a soak-the-rich scheme, by which Germany and Britain pay in rather more than they get out…" this is so poorer regions can be "pump-primed from a central kitty." Spain "with the connivance of most other EC countries" will call an emergency summit "to discuss robbing Britain of its single historic gain" (ie, its budget rebate) Root: The British budget rebate was won by Margaret Thatcher. Every year since 1988 Britain has received a rebate. But that is due to end Consequence: Britain already pays far too much of EC budget and now faces having its contribution doubled – "according to whispers from those near Jacques Delors"
Telegraph p.13 11/11/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'How to spend a billion – Euro-style' Sub: "Mania for 'desirable residences' 'The European parliament is spending more than £1,000 million on desirable residents across the Continent and two new palaces" in Brussels and Strasbourg.	Exemplar: "The mania to build" includes £166m "of EC money being ploughed into an enormous construction" for Council of ministers meetings. Catchphrase: "the Euro-circus" Depiction: Depiction of this as a chronic case of EC waste. In this case EC taxpayers will have to foot the bill for "building Europe". "palaces" to describe the new Euro buildings. "One parliamentary official" says it's a "total disaster from a financial, architectural and budgetary point of view." Depiction of petty squabbling between Brussels and Strasbourg over which city will house new Euro parliament. Boris argues that based on plans "of the two vast edifices" both "will be white elephants" Root: Old rivalries amongst European cities to house European institutions which traditionally bring money and prestige to a city.
Telegraph p.16 17/11/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'So who sold sovereignty by the seashore?' "Only now has it been possible, with the help of eyewitnesses, to piece together the full story of a sell-out."	Metaphor: Douglas Hurd and Tristan Garel Jones, Britain's chief negotiations, "were even now bartering away 700 years of the British parliamentary system like so many buttons" Catchphrase: "sell-out" to describe Britain's agreement to give additional powers to European parliament Depiction: "bartering away" and "sell-out" of Britain's parliamentary democracy Britain's "retreat" "conclave" of foreign ministers Journalists "overpowered by sleep when attempting to absorb the latest 135-page Dutch draft treaty on 'political union' Root: Dutch treaty draft gives European Parliament the right in some limited areas "to veto decisions of governments" Consequence: European parliament will get more power

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.12 20/11/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain backs down on foreign policy' Britain will "almost certainly abandon the national right of veto" over future European join action on foreign policy Britain is ready to yield on the principle of majority voting, thereby eroding Britain's national sovereignty	Exemplar: European foreign policy Depiction: This will pave the way for a "united EC foreign policy" Britain's apparent "climbdown" Root: Revisions to the Treaty of Rome which will be finalised at Maastricht in December. Consequence: These changes if enacted would mean Britain would lose its veto over future European foreign policy decisions. Further federalist changes are also mooted.
Telegraph p.16 24/11/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Europe will not go beyond the whinge' What Johnson calls "the prawn cocktail crisp syndrome", ie, "a surge of whipped-up popular resentment against nannyish foreign bureaucracy", is not unique to Britain.	Exemplar: The one-size fits all condom / "prawn-cocktail crisp" syndrome / "prissy directives on pasteurisation" on some of France's best-loved cheeses/ the banning of the tilde "the twiddle on manana, because it contravened the specifications of some new Euro-typewriter." Catchphrase: "the imperium of Brussels" The "Euro-Tebbits" Depiction: The European Commission as being excessively interfering: "…the nannyish foreign bureaucracy.""prissy directives on pasteurisation" Consequence: Eurosceptics could organise across Europe to mobilise an apathetic public against excessive EC interference. If checked they could find "a vein of public anti-EC sentiment to be exploited." Appeals to principle: Britain is not alone in decrying excessive EC interference, but Britain alone has mainstream politicians of the calibre of Thatcher, Tebbit, and Benn who speak out against the EC. But the public in Europe could easily be turned in an anti-EC direction, if "Euro-Tebbits" took the initiative.
Telegraph p.12 29/11/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Who wants what at Maastricht'	Exemplar: British money being used to bail out "ailing French giants" Catchphrase: "Franco-German 'Euro-army'" "super-federalists" Depiction: Depiction of the French wanting "what is good for the French" which includes monetary union which would help them gain back power of monetary policy from Bundesbank. BJ identifies four groups of 'players' in the EC in the final two weeks of negotiations ahead of the Maastricht summit – the Federalists (incl. Germany & Holland), The French, The Sceptics (Britain & Denmark) & The Money Grabbers (Ireland, Portugal, Spain & Greece French industrial and social policy would mean "Brussels squandering cash on ailing French giants" "socialism by the back door" Poor countries wanting "rich countries" to pay for infrastructure improvements etc. Consequence: If France gets its way with a European "industrial" and "social" policy it will mean "socialism by the back door", monetary union, and the union of France & Germany – "ancient rivals in a political marriage." There are few positives or gains for Britain in Maastricht. It does not want most of what is on the negotiating table.
Telegraph p.11 4/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the	Single Currency	'Britain may protest but in the end she will sign'	Metaphor: : Britain as a reluctant bride: "Britain may be dragged protesting to the altar but in the end, after much delay, it will plight its troth with every appearance of docility." Catchphrase: "The Brussels Commission" Monetary union will lead to a "United States of Europe" Depiction: Major govt's complicity "in bringing about its birth" (monetary union) Depiction of monetary union being "hatched in the Brussels Commission." The whole EMU plan was hatched by France to "rescue their monetary sovereignty" from Germany Root: of monetary union go back to the 1970 Werner plan "hatched in the Brussels Commission". In the late 1980s an idea of a single European bank and currency resurfaced. the SEA committed countries to achieving monetary union.

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		interests of the British people.			Consequence: Britain stands on the brink of giving up the pound – "Britain will be among the front-runners" in EMU. This will lead to "an effective economic government of Europe, with each country's fiscal and budgetary policies, to a greater or lesser extent, supervised, managed, or controlled from Brussels."
Telegraph p.11 4/12/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Germany puts weight behind French plan to redraft treaty' French trying to "make it impossible for any single country to halt the move to a single European currency."	Depiction: "radical French-led attempts" to "impose" single currency "forced upon Mr Major" Britain "increasingly lonely" Root: "Britain was last night increasingly lonely in fighting off radical French-led attempts to redraft crucial parts of the EMU treaty with only days to spare before the summit." Consequence: If the French plan goes ahead no single country could stop the moves towards a single currency. The French "refinement" to the treaty "would permit even a small handful of EC countries to go ahead, even without the consent of individual countries"
Telegraph 5/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Germany seen as Eldorado for the bogus asylum seekers' 60% of all "asylum seekers" in Europe were in Germany in 1990	Metaphor: : Giving EC control is "the thin end of the wedge" according to Britain. Catchphrase: "Federalist maw" "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: "Fraudulent 'asylum seekers' "pour in" to Germany. "the huddled masses on the EC rim, as they stare in at the glistering wonders of the single market Depiction of the Home Office losing control – it "would no longer have the final say over deportations" Root: This is a WWII legacy: Germans resist discrimination on race grounds. The 'Brussels Commission' wants to control immigration. Germany in particular is pushing for centralised control and for an immigration clause – giving EC the right to settle questions relating to short term visas for non-EC nationals - to be written into Maastricht. This means Britain would lose control of its borders. Consequences: "….once Brussels has got its teeth into the subject it will never let go, gradually dragging the rest, asylum included into the federalist maw."
Telegraph p.11 6/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Kohl holds the key to Strasbourg solution'	Exemplar: "…the antics of Europe's representatives have provided a rich spectacle: champagne waiters vying to replenish glasses in the chandeliered restaurants of the Alsatian city; Euro-MPs sunning themselves during mysterious "group meetings" in exotic destinations from Crete to the Dutch Antilles: the whole tribe somehow 'losing £12 million of taxpayers' money on their personal expense forms." Catchphrase: "the mother-in-law of parliaments" Depiction: Westminster as the mother and Strasbourg as "the mother-in-law of parliaments – ridiculed, resented, and with an increasing tendency to butt in." Thatcher called Strasbourg "not a serious parliament" Euro- parliament as a "second-rate political creature" Root: Should the 518 MEPs get more powers under Maastricht? Germany wants Euro-MPs to get more power in return for a deal on monetary union Consequence: Britain might concede final right of veto to European Parliament over other areas of legislation – including social policy
Telegraph p.11 6/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the	Westminster	'Britain heads for showdown as new clause enters treaty'	Catchphrase: Draft treaty as "conveyor-belt" to European federalism Depiction: Irreversible nature of the final EC treaty text Major facing "unavoidable and head-on confrontation" with other EC leaders "dismay" of British diplomats Clause on irreversibility has "mysteriously appeared in the opening paragraphs" saying "power must be gradually centred on the Brussels institutions" Root: The final EC treaty text at Maastricht next week will lead "irreversibly" to a Europe that is federal in all but name, M Jacques Delors, Commission president, predicted last night. Consequence: If agreed upon the new clause would mean "future developments of Europe should eventually be brought under the remit of the federal EC institutions – the Commission, Euro-parliament and the Court of Justice."

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		interests of the British people.			
Telegraph p.6 6/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'D-Day on Europe: ECONOMY' "Europe is at a historic watershed, faced with a choice between two different destinies."	Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" Thatcher's image of a "conveyor belt" to federalism Depiction: Europe as a trap: Britain "has become ensnared in a process that will lead to the end of the pound" Maastricht will decide whether Europe "remains a community of nation states…or whether it embarks on an evolution towards a single country, with sovereignty eventually invested in supra-national institutions" CAP – "the mountainous and controversial system of farm subsidies" Depiction of EMU – if it goes ahead "the pound will just become a sentimental name for what is really the Ecu." Root: Maastricht represents the second big revision to the Treaty of Rome, signed in 1957 (the first revision was the SEA in 1986) Consequence: Britain faces losing the pound and being ensnared in a United States of Europe There is much at stake for Britain in Maastricht negotiations including the creation of a "single country" – Europe and being sucked into the single currency.
Telegraph p.16 8/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Terms of the Sport' Johnson's dictionary of EC terms.	Exemplar: Europol as Kohl's "euro-police force" Catchphrase: "F-word" (for federal) "Superstate" Depiction: Federal is the appropriate word to describe the current "Brussels-based EC system" which has a "nape-crawling effect on backbenchers" QMV as "the assassin of sovereignty" Opt-out protocol described as "A splendid piece of legislation allowing Britain to keep the pound" but says it is "Practically worthless but an important piece of theatre for Mr Major's backbenchers." Cohesion described as "lashings of money payable by Germany and rich northerners to help the southern weaklings achieve convergence." Root: This takes an unflattering view of some of Europe's sacred cows, including federalism – the 'F-word' and QMV – "the assassin of sovereignty"Consequence: ConsequencesMaastricht will mean that Europe will become a superstate with powers shifting from national parliaments to European institutions.
Telegraph p.2 11/12/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Eyes pop as victorious Major pulls off a plum deal' Major has stood fast and succeeded in getting an opt out from the hated social chapter, a scheme dreamed up to placate German trade unions and assure them economic union would be done "on their terms."	Metaphor: "Britain has slain the dragon of the social chapter." Catchphrase: German "mittbestimmung", or worker participation "Social Europe" "The Brussels Commission" Depiction: KEY QUOTE: "a copybook triumph for Mr Major" Major's "firmness and resolution" The Social Chapter as German plot: Germany has been "burdened" with high benefits costs and they want rest of EC to labour under "equality of misery". However it is a "real disaster" that there is now a new European community with "exclusive competence for social policy." The EC's Social Action programme "a piece of hypocrisy which Britain has been right to condemn." It was born of need to persuade German TUs that economic union "would be done on their terms." Delors pushed it "as a sop to his critics in the French unions." At its heart Social Charter is part of EC's project of "self-aggrandisement" Root: Social Chapter emanates from the Social Action Programme – "hatched by Jacques Delors" in 1989. Consequence: "Britain will be able to go its own sweet way, plucking from the pudding of Euro-law o workers' rights those plums it likes, turning up its nose at the costly and restrictive." Britain will be a magnet for investment. On the downside the "Brussels Commission" will now frame the draft legislation and the European Court of Justice will enforce it. A new set of laws will be passed over which "Britain will have no influence."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.2 13/12/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'EC engines at full blast, says Delors'	Depiction: Delors as "the architect of European federalism" and "the bête noir of the Conservative party" Root: 'M Jacques Delors, EC Commission president, last night joined the list of European leaders to claim a decisive personal victory at the Maastricht summit.' Consequence: Delors "left no doubt that he expected Britain to give way on social policy to the gravitational pull of the rest.'
Telegraph 14/12/91	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Clash looms on EC funding' 'A lengthy row between Britain and the EC is looming over the Brussels commission's attempt to double its spending on the Community's poorer regions.'	Catchphrase: 'the Brussels Commission' Depiction: "demand" for more money "will be fiercely resisted by Britain which will almost certainly end up a greater net loser than before." The funding is for the EC's "ambitious schemes" Root: Long-running controversy about Britain's budget rebate, resolved by Mrs Thatcher in the 1980s but it continues to crop up as an issue Consequence: Britain gets a "veiled warning" from Commission that unless it "softened its hostility to a budget increase, the cash that it received from the community could be squeezed."
Telegraph p.12 15/12/91	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Britain crawls on the track laid by Jacques' Was getting the social chapter opt-out really the triumph it appears on the surface?	Exemplar: The diplomatic corps of Brussels as zombies staggering from restaurant to restaurant. "I don't know what I'm going to do with myself" – a British official waving a 500-franc note at the bar. The official who came up with a new technique for evaluating every successive draft treaty by putting it on the scales. Depiction: The "pestilential interference" of the Social Chapter, banning work on Sundays and newspaper rounds Maastricht was "a triumph for Europe, and especially John Major." It has transformed Europe. "…the federalist majority crack their knuckles with glee." Consequence: The Social Chapter opt-out means Britain won't have a say over legislation in this area and now gives federalists the means to get around British objections in other areas of policy. Federalists now have a new means of getting around British objections. The next issue they will push is to make immigration a full Community competence
Telegraph p.8 19/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Euro-court set to challenge UK road building.'	Depiction: "unwarranted meddling" of Signor Ripa di Meana, the environment commissioner Imposition of laws from Brussels: Britain would have "no choice but to order the contractors to stop" should ruling go against them Root: "The EC commission will not hesitate to try to suspend even major British developments, including work on the M11, M3…environmental sources said last night." Consequence: The British govt might become involved in a lengthy legal battle with commission if this issue is referred to the ECJ. "Even if the hearing took years, the Luxembourg Court could take immediate pre-emptive measures obliging the Government to halt work pending an outcome."

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Telegraph p.14 29/12/91	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Brussels to ring in 1992 – not with a bang but a whimper'	Metaphor: : "Like some great clockwork machine…painstakingly wound up by craftsmen in Brussels, a new and better European Community will, the public assumes, shudder into life this Wednesday, January 1, 1992. Won't it? Er, no." Exemplar: "does your cactus need a visa for Portugal?" Catchphrase: "Euro propaganda' Depiction: 1992 awareness at last encroaching on people's "invincible apathy" of Europe Portrayal of Commission and EC institutions as excessively interfering - "does your cactus need a visa for Portugal?" Root: There is another year of talks before single market is fully complete. Trade ministers still have to "haggle over the toughest questions of all: phytosanitary legislation (does your cactus need a visa for Portugal?)
Telegraph p.13 12/01/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Free trade receives a kick in its false teeth' Lichtenstein, a member of EFTA, is Europe's biggest exporter of false teeth. Meanwhile the EC is "drifting to disaster" by clinging on to failed CAP which is jeopardising world trade talks.	Exemplar : Success of Lichtenstein where "truck-loads of artificial gnashers roll out to adorn the gums of Europe." Catchphrase: "Euro-federalists" "Stalinism" of CAP "surplus 'mountains" Depiction: "Suddenly economic protection, managed trade and industry, "social protection", and all the bizarre and discredited nostrums of another age are seeping back into the consciousness of policy makers". EFTA depicted as Britain's "what might have been" – "a prosperous free trade area without the Stalinism" of CAP "Euro-federalists" deride EFTA as "a pathetic simulacrum of the Community", yet in the 1980s annual growth was higher in EFTA countries CAP depicted as socialism gone mad: "Stalinism of Common Agricultural Policy which is as damaging to world markets as it is to the EC's budget" with its "sinful waste and protectionism". "Marxists" in Brussels depicted in delighting in failure of GATT talks and consequent world slump – leading to fall in capitalism. Dubious sourcing – "according to one old fellow traveller" Roots: the 108-nation GATT free trade deal has been negotiated for five years, stalled because of EC refusal to cut 22 billion annual subsidies to its nine million farmers. Appeals to principle: Britain would be richer out of the EU – in this case as a member of EFTA
Telegraph p.9 14/01/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Britain and France in rift over aid for regime'	Depiction: "Britain believes the French and Italians were craftily using EC money for their own national ends." Mitterrand depicted as conniving - Mitterrand "bounced" Major and other EC leaders into approving the loan – FCO. Mitterrand's "fast footwork" "massive aid handouts" Root: EC has sent aid package to Algeria worth £175m as part of loan agreement. British officials want the remaining £105m frozen as loan conditions have not been met. Britain believes it was "bounced" by Mitterrand into agreeing the loan Consequence: Italy and France say their policy of "pay them to stay at home" with EC money is the only thing stopping a "a further influx of migrants from North Africa".
Telegraph p.6 16/01/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests	Social Chapter	'EC unveils curbs on young workers'	Exemplar: Newspaper boys and baby-sitters may be impacted – the new directive protects young people at work Depiction: Depiction of "uneasy truce" between Britain and Brussels over SC British officials : "This is very difficult for us" Root: 'The uneasy truce between Britain and Brussels over the EC "social charter" was broken last night when the Commission unveiled proposals to ban children and young people from many types of work they can normally perform in the UK." Consequence: The new directive "would overturn labour market liberalising measures passed by Mrs Thatcher's government in 1989."

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		are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.14 19/01/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'View from the drink tank'	Exemplar: : Ernest and Harry, Tory MEPs, one sipping a cremant, Alsace's sparkling white wine, in proof of his "Euro-federalism", and the other knocking back large vodkas, in the members bar at Strasbourg Catchphrase: The 'Euro-parliament' 'Euro-federalism' 'Pope Delors' Depiction: Depiction of tory party schism should they lose in '92 – with party becoming "an alliance of three groups" – "young Turks" ie, the newly elected "tough eggs" like Whitemailed, 2, "the oiks, the estate agents who really don't like the EC…3. "the remnant of the Little Englanders, Teddy Taylor." Thatcher's "pig-headedness" over Europe is to blame for Labour now having coherent policy on Europe Root: Imagined conversation between two tory MEPs 'Ernest' and 'Harry', over likely fate of Tory party over Europe should they lose '92 general election Consequence: The two characters muse about the Tory party should it lose the 92 general election– "everyone starts saying ERM was a catastrophe… and "She was the greatest post-war prime minister we had. She was right all along. And we betrayed her."
Telegraph p.7 20/01/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Britain heads for row over EC budget rise' Funds for poorer counties to be doubled	Exemplar: Threat of "unstoppable immigration" from eastern Europe and north Africa Depiction: Depiction of funds for "industrial policy" as "dubious" "one expert" quoted as saying "How do you justify an increase in the Community budget when national budgets are being squeezed?" Root: 'The EC Commission is expected to propose a massive increase in the Common Market budget for the next five years, inevitably setting Britain on a collision course with other countries over its own contribution." Consequence: If the commission gets its way funds for poorer regions will be doubled to as much as £84 billion over five years, and the rebate will be in jeopardy.
Telegraph p.10 21/01/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'EC membership boost for Turkey' Commissioner says "My view is that an EC without Turkey is inconceivable."	Exemplar: Turkey with a pop of 60 m Anatolian peasants, "most of them Muslim." Depiction: "surprise" in Brussels to his remarks "where the tacit understanding is that it would be unthinkable to admit the Turks, with a population of 60 million, largely consisting of Anatolian peasants." Officials question "whether public opinion in EC countries would tolerate so many potential immigrants, most of them Muslim." Root: 'Turkish hopes of joining the European Community rose unexpectedly yesterday after the vice-president of the EC Commission, Herr Martin Bangemann, told an audience in Istanbul that the country was "on the threshold" of membership." Consequence: Potential migration of millions of Turkish peasants to EC should Turkey join. Issues too for the "fragile" CAP – questions about how it "could adapt to Turkey's vast agrarian produce."
Telegraph 23/01/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers	Single Market	'Ups and downs of 20 years within Europe' Johnson weighs up the pros and cons The Jan 22 anniversary of Britain's accession	Exemplar: : British sausage Prawn cocktail flavour crisps "embarrassed" British officials admitting they had forgotten the anniversary "of this turning point in our island history." A "youthful Eurocrat, stroking his expensive tie" Catchphrase: Eurocrat "the undemocratic Brussels machine, full of faceless busybodies."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.		raises barely a peep but on the whole, despite the disadvantages, membership has been to Britain's advantage.	Depiction: Britain entering third decade of Common Market membership "with less of a bang than a muffled yelp of surprise" Contrast of arrogant and insulting "youthful Eurocrat, stroking his expensive tie" with sturdiness of British character (he is quoted as saying "It has been a major dent in the parochialism of the British people" "CAP is running amok" CAP has prolonged antiquated and inefficient peasant farming on the continent. Does include quote however from govt official saying British farming has done v well from CAP. Brussels busybodies inserting themselves "into the nooks and crannies of our national life" Root: Edward Heath signed the Act of Accession on Jan 22, 1972, confirming Britain's membership of EEC
Telegraph p.16 26/01/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'MEPs prepare ambush for the men in the Gucci shoes' Lobbyists may have to register and get accreditation under a new system. They have multiplied tenfold in the past three years. Concerns that MEPs do not reveal their interests. The register of members interests can only be seen by appointment in Luxembourg	Exemplar: "…the great herd of Euro-lobbyists browses in the pastures of Brussels and Strasbourg" "In the restaurants heads rise cautiously from the filet de sole" "the Gucci-shod, smoothie-chops men and bright, Chanel-clad women" Catchphrase: "peddlers of influence" Depiction: MEPs depicted as freeloaders heading for "ever more exotic destinations on 'freebies'" Depiction of "some unscrupulous lobbyists" sneaking into meeting rooms and stealing documents Root: of the lobbying boom trace back to advent of Single European Act in 1989 and increase in European Parliament's powers.
Telegraph 27/01/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Domesday book' of Europe's farms' Mast: 'Every field to be numbered and every cow counted in	Exemplar: "Domesday book-style survey" The EC grain mountain European "spy satellites" Catchphrase: 'European Big Brother policing" Depiction: Comparing it to the great Norman census of the 11th century Depiction of Commission intrusiveness – "Big Brother policing every acre of arable land from the upper atmosphere"; "the unpublished consulting paper which effectively proposes an effort that will perhaps be matched for detail only by the great Norman census of the 11th century." Britain standing alone in opposition – it is likely to be "fiercely resisted" by John Gummer, Agriculture secretary Root: EC Commission's reform proposals." In its efforts to prevent fraud the Commission wants to switch from price support to direct compensation of £7bn a year, to be allocated according to size of land and flock. This will involve setting up a 'common integrated administration and control system'. Consequence: Farm commissioner has said there will be deep and painful price cuts if ministers delay taking action on reform. These mandatory price cuts would "be indiscriminate on the pain they would cause – especially for small British daily farmers." Britain does not want direct cash support for farmers
Telegraph p.1 30/01/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'EC anger at British stand on frontiers'	Exemplar: Terrorists, drugs, illegal immigrants and rabid dogs Depiction: Depiction of the advantages of "being an island which makes it easier to control drugs, terrorists, illegal immigrants and rabid dogs." Depiction of immigration as a "key political issue amid fears that the rest of the European Community could soon be swamped from eastern Europe and north Africa." Root: 'The EC commission is on a collision course with Britain over its refusal to agree to the abolition of immigration and customs checks by the end of the year for travellers arriving from other EC countries.' Consequence: Britain will "almost certainly face action in the European Court next year unless changes are made at Heathrow, Dover and elsewhere.'

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Telegraph p.2 2/02/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Germany seeks to snatch Brussels crown.'	Depiction: Depiction of the EC "falling under the sway of a united Germany' "Such transfers could not fail to create the impression that major EC political and economic decisions were flowing directly from Germany, rather than being filtered through Brussels." British, French and Belgian govts "likely to be alarmed at the prospect" Root: "Germany is seeking to consolidate its new dominance by moving key European Community institutions from Brussels to Bonn." The buildings are being vacated when Germany moves its capital from Bonn to Berlin. Consequence: "With Frankfurt seemingly certain to be the home of the European Central Bank, any move to Bonn from Brussels would intensify fears of the EC falling under the sway of a united Germany."
Telegraph p.2 8/02/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Final Act remains open to interpretation'	Depiction: Depiction of Delors "jubilation" "who congratulated participants on an achievement in building a federal Europe" Root: Johnson witnesses Hurd signing the Maastricht Treaty on European Union Consequence: We are heading towards a federal Europe – despite UK govt denials As Hurd "was forced to admit" the UK govt is already preparing for the next treaty changes in 1996. France and Germany will push "for yet more" powers for European parliament
Telegraph 12/02/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Britain on collision course with Brussels over budget rise.' The Commission is demanding a big increase in the EC's budget, from £44.2 bn a year to £60 bn.	Catchphrase: "give back Britain's money" (Thatcher) Depiction: Depiction of Britain doing battle with Delors and Germany Root: Since Thatcher persuaded other leaders to "give back Britain's money" at Fontainebleau in Feb 1988, Britain has recouped £12bn in rebates from EC – this is in recognition of Britain's low receipts under the CAP Consequence: The UK's budget rebate is under threat due to combined forces of Delors and Germany – which wants some of the rebate cash to help Germany with the costs of reunification
Telegraph p.18 12/02/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Anglosphere Threat	'Don't let the peasants split the West' Sub: 'NATO could be wrecked by EC intransigence over cuts in farm subsidies, says our Brussels correspondent Boris Johnson. Britain should make sure it	Metaphor: : American sentiment towards Europe "is a delicate plant, and it risks being crushed by EC intransigence over farm policy" Catchphrase: "the Garden of Eden of the French socialist" Depiction: "Cold War turns to trade war" Depiction of Europe without America as the worst aspects of France - "neo-Gaullist, bloody-minded and protectionist", "the Garden of Eden of the French socialist: a place where tobacco advertising is banned by Brussels; where each worker has his minimum wage and maximum hours of work; where only a small number of American soap operas may be broadcast on television; where industry works in partnership with the Commission to foist unwanted products on consumers; where Britons pay to fund Mediterranean peasants to do virtually nothing; and where American troops are about as welcome as Japanese cars. In short, a museum." Root: Stalled world trade talks. EC Commission's reform proposals." In its efforts to prevent fraud the Commission wants to switch from price support to direct compensation of £7bn a year, to be allocated according to size of land and flock. This will involve setting up a "common integrated administration and control system".

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
				does not happen.'	Consequence: (see depictions) Appeal to Principle: Britain needs to save Atlantic relations by accepting GATT proposals of a 35 % cut in farm subsidies
Telegraph p.16 16/02/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Woodworms gnaw into case for animal rights'	Exemplar: The quote from EC legal expert: "It means you've got to consult a chicken before you kill it. You've got to hold a sort of cow plebiscite about abattoirs." Resolution calls for "Brussels money to be spent on promoting vegetarianism and vegan foods." Depiction: European parliament is depicted as meddling, moralising and lacking in common sense – "It is the cutting edge, the California of environmental and moral legislation." However Johnson also concedes the good Europe has done for animal welfare including the banning of imports of seal products in 1983, and Britain's insistence that all EC legislation must respect animal rights. Root: A report by the European parliament will ask for animals to be legally re-classified as "sentient beings". MEPs are debating how far animal rights should go.
Telegraph p.1 25/02/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC hand reaches out to the grave'	Exemplar: The Euro-coffin Depiction: Britain will have to comply with "a European way of death" Standard rules will be brought in – or "the outlines of a Euro-coffin" Root: "Corpses, coffins and embalming techniques will be subject to statutory requirements under forthcoming Brussels legislation for a European way of death." Consequence: Once frontier controls are abolished on Jan 1, 1993, it will no longer be possible for customs to check that bodies and coffins meet national specifications. "The rules effectively ban standard British chipboard and veneer coffins."
Telegraph 26/02/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Open borders may bring identity cards'	Catchphrase: "The Brussels Commission" Depiction: Depiction of us (Britain) v Them (Brussels Commission) with Commission insisting on Britain dropping its border controls Root: The completion of the Single Market by Jan 1, 1993, means that all frontier controls must go. EC wants Britain to drop border controls from Jan 1, 1993, and hints at that Britons would have to carry identity cards Consequence: Britain could be flooded with immigrants from former Eastern European bloc and North Africa. If Britain refuses border controls then the Commission could force other controls such as identity cards (Commission denied this)
Telegraph p.20 1/03/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	CAP	'Tin slum dwellers look to Delors for British hand-out'	Exemplar: Portugal on "an intravenous drip running back to Brussels – and thence to the German, French and British taxpayer." Catchphrase: "European empire" The EC as "a unitary state" Depiction: Depiction of some of the slum dwellers as drug addicts and criminals Brussels as "the centre of a new European empire" Root: Delors wants to "double the cash" available to Portugal and other poor EC countries from £13 billion in 1992 to £20 billion by 1997 Consequence: Britain may be forced to pay more into the EC budget for regional funds which will go to EC and non-EC slum dwellers – some of whom are drug addicts and criminals. Britain may also lose its rebate

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.11 4/03/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'EC 'nepotism' row over hotel booking' The hotel is called the "Dominican Fiesta"	Exemplar: Euro MPs booked for week -long EC conference at Dominican Republic hotel Depiction: "It adds a new whiff of financial nepotism to the EC-ACP meetings, already famed for their exotic locations and expense." Discussions ranged from "human rights to bananas" Root: "An inquiry was under way in Brussels last night to discover how 200 Euro-MPs, their wives, interpreters and hangers-on were 'coincidentally' booked for a week-long EC conference in the Dominican Republic in a £63-a-night hotel owned by Senor Abel Matutes, one of the 17 EC commissioners."
Telegraph p.215/03/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Pascal's tricky assignment' 'Incidents such as the great French cheese rumpus provoked by Prince Charles this week have upset Jacques Delors, who wants to stop the bungling of bureaucrats. Boris Johnson in Brussels reports on Pascal Lamy who is now in charge of troubleshooting.'	Exemplar: The "blank, beige edifices" of Brussels' EC buildings within which "hundreds of senior civil servants from 12 countries throb and pant to produce the raw material for the estimated 18,000 annual EC commission decisions: the rulings, recommendation, directives and regulations that now seem to govern every aspect of our European life." The EC measures which would have quadrupled the cost of cider in Britain by deeming it "wine" "forcing West country presses out of business Brussels plan to abolish prawn cocktail flavour crisps "the Euro-condom" Eccles cakes must be made in Eccles Catchphrase: "infernal cheese-banning EC busybodies"; "Euro-lunacy"(ie, any EC issue that the tabloids could spin as such) Depiction: Depiction of Lamy as "the grim-visaged, bullet-headed, cerebral French mandarin and chief fixer of Jacques Delors" "EC pettifoggery""egregious goofs" to describe EC measures like banning prawn cocktail flavour crisps "the EC threat" to "the microbes in brie and vacherin" The "meddlesomeness" of the commission. Directives are "thoroughly protectionist and interventionist" , pushed for by French cheese-makers and Italian ham-curers "idiocy" of directives The Commission's "awesome legislative arsenal" Root: The Prince of Wales "launched his drole little salvo in Paris against the "bacteriological police" thus whipping the British tabloids into a frenzy of outrage. Consequence: National parliaments have still to ratify the Maastricht treaty, and anti- EC coverage could sour public opinion, not just in Britain.
Telegraph p.14 18/03/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	British Tax Payers	'Brussels recruits sniffers to ensure that Euro-manure smells the same'	Exemplar: "anti-pong laws" "smell-factor laws" Depiction: Facelessness of brussels bureaucracy: "Technical Committee 264 of the Committee for Standardisation has been formed to set "emission standards" Root: "Expert olfactometrists (smell measurers) …described how teams of eight to ten human sniffers are being commissioned to test two sets of air samples."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.2 25/03/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Britain in EC immigrant row'	Metaphor: An unfavourable ruling "would rub salt into British wounds over Europe" Depiction: Depiction of "sham marriages" to gain British citizenship Root: "Britain's ban on entry for immigrants who make use of bogus marriages is under serious threat from EC laws, Government lawyers have told the European Court of Justice." Consequence: If the case goes against the govt "it could mean that thousands of would-be immigrants could secure rapid and unchallengeable citizenship by marrying a British spouse in any of the other 11 Community countries." EC legal experts say it could "drive a coach and horses through British immigration laws"
Telegraph p.11 27/03/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Dubious Danes threaten to kill off EC treaty in referendum'	Catchphrase: "EC superstate" "conveyer belt to EC union" Depiction: Maastricht depicted as treaty that will "let loose forces in Europe" that cannot be controlled What is at stake if Maastricht is passed is the transfer of more sovereign powers to Brussels. Germany depicted as using Danish no vote as opportunity to get more concessions for themselves. Root: Poll shows 40% of Danes "baulk at the further transfers of sovereignty to Brussels". Consequence: Should Danes reject the treaty it would have to be renegotiated. The Germans "would seize the opportunity" to demand further conditions for giving up the Deutschmark in favour of a single currency The next British govt would be forced back to the negotiating table "with the threat of a serious mutiny by anti-European backbenchers"
Telegraph 29/03/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC threat to arms industry' 'The historic right of the Government to "buy British" for the Army, Navy and Air Force…is under threat from Brussels". EC Commission wants to "forcibly open up defence procurement to Europe-wide competition"	Exemplar: The Westland helicopter affair – when Heseltine fought for European defence collaboration over helicopters. Depiction: The EC's plans to restructure the defence industry is depicted as a potential "ramp for French protectionism" Depiction of British arms procurement in nostalgic terms – this would "end the centuries-old tradition whereby no British naval vessel has been built outside the British Isles." British troops may now end up being armed by "more efficient foreign manufacturers, notably the Germans and French". Root: Under article 223 of the Treaty of Rome defence is excluded from the EC's remit. Consequence: "one expert" says Commission wants a "unified European military-industrial complex" "Defence analysts" say this would have immediate and "devastating" impact on British defence procurement – 90 % of which currently comes from British factories. The closing of British naval dockyards and weapons factories could result Johnson warns this "confidential report" from the commission will "cause consternation to Tory MPs defending marginal seats".
Telegraph p.12 5/04/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The	CAP	'Beef about Vatican blowout'	Exemplar: Vatican's "medieval levels of personal consumption" - 9lb of patisseries, 2lb of butter, 1lb o cocoa beans,13 lbs of sugar and 1.8 litres of liquor and wine Catchphrase: "the great binge" – to describe food consumption at Vatican Depiction: Depiction of exports to the Vatican as "fraudulent" (export refunds are claimed) Root: 10 per cent of the EC's annual budget of approx. £3bn is being lost in fraud at a time when Britain is being asked to pay an extra £1bn into EC coffers Consequence: Calls for a crackdown on EC agricultural fraud

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.16 8/04/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Tories get close to their cousins on the continent' The merger between the 32 Tory Euro-MPs and the European People's Party "fulfils a key prime ministerial objective in placing Britain "at the heart of Europe."	Exemplar: "anathemised pieces of social law as a European minimum working wage and maximum working week" Catchphrase: "Euro-federalism" Depiction: Suspicions among Eurosceptics that Tory MEPS "have sold out to a new brand of Euro-federalism." Anti-Europeans like Tebbit "choking" on Christian Democrats commitment to "Euro-federalism" Depiction of merger placing Tories "at the heart of Europe", as John Major once pledged. Tory ideology will be "subsumed" according to "one official", by the centrist Christian Democrats. Root: CDs voted 66 to 28 to accept the Tories as "allied members" from May 1 after months of negotiations. Consequences: The Tories have made a major strategic mistake in joining the EPP. They will be subsumed by the pro-federalist Christian Democrat block within the EPP, which is strongly pro-federalist.
Telegraph p.14 19/04/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain	German Thirst for Expansion	Vexed Vikings sail into Maastricht Maelstrom' Danish doubts about Maastricht ahead of referendum are shared by other EC countries. Danes know it could lead to even greater German dominance of EC.	Catchphrase: "Eurofederalism" "the tribe of Euro-federalists" Depiction: Depiction of Maastricht: "blueprints for a federal Europe" European union "intensifies German dominance" Root: The signing of the Maastricht Treaty Consequence: Should the Danes say no Eurosceptics in Tory party could rebel against Maastricht Raises possibility of Danish rejection of "the embarrassments of monetary and political union" being "too much for the anti-Europeans on the right of the Tory party
Telegraph p.1 23/04/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Cheese cheats make millions from EC's food export subsidies' Two well-known French and Belgian dairy companies "cheated European Community taxpayers out of £11 million in a year by consistently lying about their exports of cheese" – EC Court of Auditors	Exemplar: "excessively moist cheddar" Catchphrase: "cheese cheats" Depiction: Depiction of CAP failures - subsidy scheme acts as an "inducement to European farmers to dump produce aboard" depiction of EC incompetence - one French firm that claimed £315,000 export refund on consignment on cheese for Poland which was found to be unfit for human consumption, another firm that claimed about £7.7 million for "excessively moist cheddar" Export subsidy fraud is "seriously underestimated by the Brussels bureaucrats" Root: The Common Agricultural Policy's export subsidy scheme Consequence: If such schemes are allowed continue then CAP will continue to "distort world agricultural trade, forcing down prices and giving the EC an unfair share of the market." GATT trade talks are now in their fifth year.

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.10 28/04/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Draft EC law gives food for thought'	Depiction: "a nightmare" – how one "British source" described the system of awarding a kind of EC copyright to local specialities "the proposal – drafted with the assistance of the French government, involves a two-tier system of protection of local delicacies." Root: 'The draft EC law that may allow Roquefort cheese only to be made in Roquefort and Parma ham only in Parma will be the subject of a fierce scrap between Britain and other countries at a meeting of farm ministers today. France and Italy are likely to push hardest for tight links between geography and eponymous specialities.'
Telegraph p.1 3/05/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Delors plan to rule Europe'	Metaphor: : News of the plan "spread like wildfire" at an informal EC meeting in Portugal. Catchphrase: "European government" "Euro-federalist stance" (the Germans) Depiction: Depiction of Delors ideas as "absurd" (by the Danes) Depiction of Delors plotting to scrap EC members holding the EC presidency in favour of "centralising power in Brussels"; and "abolishing remaining national rights of veto." Root: "European Community foreign ministers were stunned yesterday to learn of a plan by Jacques Delors to transform the Brussels Commission into a "European government" The sourcing is "close aides" to Mr Delors Consequence: If the Danes vote no the whole treaty could be dropped across Europe. France and Germany support the Delors plan which would see Delors or his successor styling themselves "President of the European Community" with executive powers.
Telegraph p.10 5/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Euro-President' plan under fire' 'Plans for a "Cabinet government for Europe" complete with an elected President, put forward by M Jacques Delors, the European Commission president, can expect fierce opposition within the Brussels Commission itself.'	Exemplar: Delors as the new "President of the EC" or "elected ruler" Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Delors ideas "essentially mean strengthening the Brussels Commission at the expense of national governments"…."a shameless attempt to centralise more power in Brussels" "…potentially inflammatory notions" Depiction of EC Commission president turning into "an elected ruler" Root: The reforms are rooted in the EC's plans to expand to up to 20 or even 30 member states Consequence: The Commission would be strengthened "at the expense of national governments". The new "ruler" would chair meetings currently organised by the rotating presidency of national governments.
Telegraph p.9 7/05/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the	Franco German Axis	'Germany in call to scrap Britain's £1.8 billion rebate from EC.' 'Appeals to scrap or amend Britain's £1.8 billion budget rebate from Europe are being considered by	Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Depiction of "imminent clash of interests between Britain and Germany" Depiction of increase to pay for Delors' "ambitious plan" to increase EC spending Root: The rebate is paid in part because of disparity between Britain's gross payment of £6.4bn p.a "to EC coffers" and receipts of about £2.4bn in farm subsidies and other payments. Mrs Thatcher "won the rebate" in 1988 Consequence: "Government officials privately warned the Commission yesterday that such action would infuriate Conservative backbenchers and perhaps jeopardise Britain's ratification of the Maastricht Treaty." "…the Treasury would have to pay at least an annual £350 million extra to Brussels by 1997."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		interests of Britain.		the Brussels Commission. The proposals…led by Germany would precipitate a showdown with Mr Major.."	
Telegraph p.18 7/05/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Federal fever succumbs to a chill wind of doubt'	Metaphor: "Is there perhaps a metaphor here? After 18 years of promoting a "United Germany in a United Europe" only one of Herr Genscher's objectives has been achieved, and the other cause is fast growing cold." Maastricht negotiations were a case of "shutting the stable door after the horse, a united Germany, had bolted, tossing its mane after a generation of stall-fed frustration, sniffing new pastures in the East, never to be caught again." "Maastricht will tie us to Germany like dinghies to a super-tanker." Catchphrase: "United Germany in a United States of Europe" Delors' "federalist nirvana" Delors' "super-federalist manifesto" Depiction: "Viking bloody-mindedness" of Danes "who have always regarded European integration as a ramp allowing Germans to buy up their beaches" Danes doubt "that federalism would somehow dilute German dominance; for them, it can only be intensified" Continent "in ferment against federalism". There is a "common unease about what Maastricht means." Germany depicted as a wild, untethered horse, "sniffing new pastures." Root: "Since Maastricht the EC unity bandwagon has jarred to a halt. Boris Johnson explains why only the eternally optimistic Jacques Delors is sure his view will prevail.' Consequence: German dominance of a federal EC with all national vetoes abolished and Delors transformed into a "European president' in charge of a greatly strengthened EC Commission."
Telegraph p.1 8/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Control Immigration	'End travel checks, EC tells Britain' 'Britain faces isolation at the Lisbon summit on June 26 over the Government's continuing and lone objections to removing passport controls for European travellers arriving in the country next year, the beginning of the single market.'	Catchphrase: "Brussels broadside" Depiction: Depiction of changes – "needlessly erode the country's defences against illegal immigrants, drugs and terrorism." Depiction of changes opening door to "vast numbers of eastern European migrants" Root: Single European act signed by Thatcher calls for "an area without frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured in accordance with the provisions of this treaty." Consequence: commissioners "explicitly threatened legal action against Britain before the European Court of Justice if passengers arriving from Europe continued to be challenged by passport control."
Telegraph 10/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Wall of silence guards Delors' scheme for EC'	Catchphrase: "super-president" Depiction: "power would be sucked from national governments" "We know that it is a draft report on the enlargement of the Community… We also know that, if Jacques Delors get his way, it will he hot stuff: turning the EC Commission into a political executive, run from Brussels by a kind of super-president, a man or woman equipped only with the democratic fig leaf of approval by the European Parliament." Root: Plans for enlargement of EC Consequence: "Power would be sucked from national governments which currently take it in turn to preside over EC business, and concentrated in the buff Brussels Commission building where Mr Avery now sits in purdah, doodling on his blueprints."
Telegraph p.1 12/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to	Control Immigration	'Britain defies Brussels in passport row' 'The Government last	Depiction: "EC demands" Depiction of Britain being bullied by Brussels to abandon passport checks – "give way quietly" "demands" "insists" Root: "M Delors architect of the Single European Act which is due to destroy Europe's borders from midnight on Dec 31…"

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.		night brushed aside EC Commission demands that it should abandon border controls next year and insisted on the right to check whether travellers are entitled to enter the country."	Consequence: "Brussels is confident that it could eventually win a legal battle with the Government over the issue in the European Court of Justice, but would prefer Britain to give way quietly."
Telegraph p.1 13/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Delors scraps his blueprint reform'	Depiction: "cabinet government for Europe" Delors "back-pedalled at speed last night over his controversial plans to create a more overtly political Brussels bureaucracy, little short of a "cabinet government for Europe." Root: "The volte-face follows a sudden surge of Danish popular indignation against EC aggrandisement, with a referendum on the Maastricht treaty due on June 2." Consequence: "With less than three weeks until the Maastricht referendum, it seems more possible than ever that the Danes could reject the treaty for monetary and political union."
Telegraph p.7 22/05/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Battle for reform is won, now the real tests begin'	Metaphor: CAP experts say reforms are no more than"the first hard wrench on the rudder of the supertanker" Exemplar: "food mountains" Depiction: CAP intervention stores "modelled on Hitler's Germany"..now "the butt of jokes and the cause of despair, a by-word for excess, detested by north American grain farmers.." "the EC's lavish system of compensation for farmers" Root: Agreement reached on "the first profound reform of the Common Agricultural Policy in its 30-year history" Consequence: Johnson acknowledges benefits of CAP reforms – e.g., lower food prices, reduction in food mountains, keeping farmers on the land – however the cuts to subsidies will not be enough "to remove the export refund system altogether"
Telegraph p.18 24/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Brussels brokers keep grip on power'	Metaphor: "the Irishman handing out favours like Vito Corleone on his daughter's wedding day – sheep cattle premia for you, raspberry subsidies for you, VAT exemptions, milk quota..." Exemplar: Catchphrase: "the Brussels Commission" Depiction: Ray McSharry, farm commissioner "in his Gucci loafers" Farm commissioner depicted as mafia don – "handing out favours like Vito Corleone on his daughter's wedding day" EC "general activity" is "firmly in the hands of the awesome technocrats of the Brussels Commission." Root: Maastricht Treaty's new pillar structure of intergovernmental cooperation Consequence: "The Government has sold Maastricht to worried backbenchers as a new model Europe where, it says, the power of the Commission is reined back, and the ability of national governments to cooperate freely between themselves in enhanced. This proposition cannot be refuted with too much vehemence. Ideally, one should be able to use expletives to describe the Government's disingenuousness"… "The pillar system does not, in the remotest sense, remove the Commission from its central position."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 29/05/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Danes rock against European Union' 'Four million Danes go to the polls next Tuesday to vote on ratification of the Maastricht EC treaty with 'yes' and 'no' voters neck-and-neck.'	Metaphor: "If the Danes vote 'no' to Maastricht next week, it will be David's sling-shot that felled Goliath." Depiction: Depiction of Maastricht's "prototype EC foreign policy and army." WEU as "the future mailed fist of the Community… ..which may be dominated by Germany" Parts of the Tory party associated with "the bluff prejudice against foreign rule" Root: Danish referendum called to ratify the Maastricht Treaty Consequence: If the Danes vote no 'The Treaty for monetary and political union of Europe, the fruit of 12 months' wrangling between EC governments, will be dead." or at best "it will have to be renegotiated." He warns: "Yesterday's anti-European revellers cannot, therefore, be dismissed."
Telegraph p.2 3/06/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	"Danes create community 'a la carte'" 'What for the last eight years seemed to be the unstoppable locomotive of European union was spectacularly derailed by 50,000 Danes… the Danish decision has exploded the most potent myth of European integration: that it was somehow an inevitable, historic process.'	Metaphor: "the unstoppable locomotive of European union." 'M Jacques Delors, who set the train in its recent accelerating motion when he arrived at the EC Commission.." Catchphrase: "Europe 'a la carte'" Depiction: Danes driven by "deep, gut emotion that European union, of the kind Maastricht seemed to mean, was not right for Denmark." The "myth of European integration" Root: Danish referendum to ratify the Maastricht treaty Consequence: Danish demands for change would mean reconvening the intergovernmental conference which could "jeopardise the entire agreement…" Alternative is for Denmark to become a "reduced member" excluded from single currency, foreign and defence force.
Telegraph p.17 7/06/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'A Treaty too far' 'Boris Johnson in Brussels assesses the effects of the spanner the Danes have thrown into the EC's works by rejecting Maastricht.' 'Oh, the indignity, the shame! For the politicians and diplomats who authored Maastricht, this taut skein of compromise, this hymn to ambiguity and sleight of hand, what a nightmare it has been to watch their treaty, one glorious June day in	Metaphor: "Maastricht is not dead, not yet. But there is blood in the water and the sharks are closing in. One more determined attack and it will be over." Danes as "the little child in The Emperor's New Clothes" French voting against Maastricht "would be like the Americans voting against the automobile." Exemplar: 'Hippies from Christiana, tattooed supertanker bosuns, pig-famers from Jutland, shop-girls, prostitutes, pastry-chefs, probably tipsy on aquavit and singing Nordic shanties, armed with their 3.2 million ballots and their jabbing pencils, blindly butchering a masterpiece." Catchphrase: "diplomatic argy-bargy""superstate""Franco-German axis" "federalist excrescences" of Maastricht treaty "the yoke of Brussels" "Danish Euro-disaster" Depiction: Depiction of Maastricht: 'this taut skein of compromise, this hymn to ambiguity and sleight of hand.." EC officials depicted as anti-democratic The Danes "spoke with their heart…Where the technocrats saw the richness and subtlety of the plans for Economic and Monetary Union, the artifice of the "three-pillar" structure, the Danes saw the shadow of German domination." Maastricht "was essentially designed to suit their [French] needs" Delors "wants a federal tightly-integrated, Little Europe, based on France and Germany, Benelux and Italy." Root: Ratification of the Maastricht Treaty and Denmark's rejection of it in a referendum Consequence: "If Maastricht falls, European integration will have been robbed of its forward momentum, sinking into the apathy that followed the French veto in 1966, the 12 disintegrating into clots, clumps and axes, never a glad and confident superstate again." A new, twin-track Europe will emerge from ruins. The government will "face the choice of being in the federalist core or relegated to the outside lane with Denmark." Tory Eurosceptics will demand the latter.

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
				Denmark, at the mercy of people who, quite frankly, were just not competent to pronounce upon it. Really! Who are these Danes, the Brussels hierarchy asks.'	
Telegraph p.1 8/06/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Brussels may sacrifice power to save the Maastricht treaty' 'Senior European Commission officials are preparing to make the ultimate sacrifice – devolving some of the EC's awesome powers back to national governments in the hope of resolving the Maastricht crisis.'	Depiction: The EC's "awesome powers" EC officials "brooding… on possible ways of extricating the Community from the chaos caused by last Tuesday's Danish 'no' vote." Delors and colleagues: "their image as remote, unelected puppeteers" Government trying to "hush the rebellious cries for a national referendum" Consequence: POSITIVE - These actions would mean a restoration of power to national govts. Various options being "canvassed" in Brussels "is to prune the bureaucracy – at least cosmetically – to reassure voters in Denmark and other countries that Brussels is in principle wiling, if the 12 EC governments approve, to return power to local and national authorities."
Telegraph p.10 11/06/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Delors accepts power curb'	Exemplar: Commission has been "locked in conflict over issues ranging from the banning of certain types of crisps to the imposition of a maximum 48-hour week." Catchphrase: "Euro-meddling" Depiction: 'the sprawling EC bureaucracy" Delors as "Emperor of Europe" Root: 'M Jacques Delors set the European Commission on a new course of legislative self-control yesterday in his first public attempt to resolve the deepening crisis over the Maastricht Treaty.' Consequence: Delors now seems willing "to hand back some of the powers acquired over the past 35 years."
Telegraph p.12 3/06/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	Single Market	'EC air deal will lead to lower fares' 'A Common Market agreement on European air fares was hailed as "historic" by Mr McGregor, the Transport Secretary last night.	Exemplar: Single market means cheaper air fares Depiction: Deal means "new era of cheaper and more flexible air fares' Root: Signing of SEA which created single market Consequence: Cheaper airfares for consumers – 'The new era of cheaper and more flexible air fares should begin next year after EC transport ministers agreed yesterday to the final measures for the 1993 single market in air transport.'

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.16 29/06/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Greatness for the Danes, so why have a replay?' Sub: 'Major hoped for a new referendum leading to a 'yes' vote. Friday saw the goalposts oved and Europe's giant-killers are now doubly sure they voted right, says Boris Johnson'	Exemplar: "outrageous EU directives" – "from VAT to sausages to hot water boilers.' Catchphrase: "Euro-perestroika" Depiction: The 48-hour working week as "the most typical Brussels atrocity" "all the most outrageous directives" are foisted on EC by France "from VAT to sausages to hot water boilers" Directives originate "not just in the bath-time reveries of Brussels bureaucrats, though some of them do, but in the tyranny of the EC majority." Root: Danes voting no to Maastricht Treaty Consequence: 'So long as the Brussels system exists in its present form, so long as a majority of governments, using the Commission as cover, can force their will on the odd man out, subsidiarity will be meaningless."
Telegraph p.9 7/07/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Crisis may trigger failure of EC treaty.' "European Commission officials watching the crisis in France were yesterday contemplating the unmentionable: that it may bring President Mitterrand's government to its knees, casting serious doubt on the future of the Maastricht Treaty."	Catchphrase: Defeat could be Mitterrand's "political coup de grace" Depiction: Depiction of Maastricht Treaty: "Maastricht was largely conceived for the benefit of the French government; a monetary and political union with Germany, enabling the French and others to keep their feet under the table when big decisions were made in Bonn and Frankfurt affecting the whole of Europe, and over which they would otherwise have no control." Root: Mitterrand's call the day after the Danes voted "no" for a French referendum on Maastricht – September 20, 1992 Consequence: If defeated in France Maastricht would be dead in the water
Telegraph 28/07/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain yields power to EC on VAT rate"	Depiction: Depiction of change as "surrender of what Mrs Thatcher regarded as a point of national sovereignty." Root: Mr Lamont, Chancellor of the Exchequer went further than ever before last night in giving the European Community permanent new powers over indirect taxation. Common Market finance ministers agreed that the community, not national governments, should set legally-binding minimum VAT rates. … Consequence: "The decision has the potential to inflame Tory backbench fears about loss of economic sovereignty."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.1 18/09/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Maastricht 'is dead': two-speed Europe in prospect' 'The Maastricht Treaty for Monetary and Political Union is dead, some senior EC sources said last night ..the vision of a single European currency was being replaced by the spectre of a two-speed Europe, with Britain in the slow lane."	Metaphor: "The monetary earthquake has shaken the foundations of our Maastricht house" (EC official) Depiction: Monetary union depicted as 'fanciful' by anonymous source Root: Meeting of EC's monetary committee meeting in wake of 'Black Wednesday' ; "France and the 'Deutschemark zone' would maintain their currency values, while the pound and the lira would float." Consequence: "It marks the appearance of a natural fault-line in the EC economies which Mr Major's Government, by tying the pound to the German mark, has battled to prevent."
Telegraph p.619/09/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Why a little British vision is needed to hold Europe together'	Depiction: Germans "whose self-centred economic policies are largely to blame for the collapse of the Exchange Rate Mechanism" Major: "he is young, widely liked, skilled in finding consensus … He should be ideally suited to the role of saviour." Root: Britain holds the EC presidency - 'For the first time since Britain joined the Community in 1973, Britain has a chance to steer Europe away from the rocks." Consequence: Johnson says Maastricht is doomed – "the almost certain collapse of the Maastricht Treaty in its present form". A "bloc" centred around Germany "will attempt a 'Maastricht Two' from which Britain is excluded. How much better, therefore, while the rubble is still lying fresh around us, that Britain should lead the way in piecing together those bits we can tolerate. …it would have the dual merit of keeping Britain on the inside, and keeping Europe moving forward."
Telegraph p.3 21/09/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Future for Europe lies in hands of Danes and Britain' 'Yes means yes. The pulse is faint, but there. No matter how narrow the outcome last night, Maastricht is clinically alive. Or at least, to use a metaphor appropriate to a treaty which has already had one stake plunged through its heart, undead'	Metaphor: "Maastricht is clinically alive. Or at least, to use a metaphor appropriate to a treaty which has already had one stake plunged through its heart, undead." Depiction: "over-mighty Brussels bureaucrats" "aggrandising tendencies of Brussels" Root: Ratification of Maastricht and French 'yes' vote Consequence: "Major's chances of getting the Bill through the Commons must be at best 50-50."
Telegraph p.1 22/09/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests,	Franco-German Axis	'Germany and France plan to turn screw' 'Chancellor Kohl flies to Paris today to meet President Mitterrand, in what was described as an effort to 'restart the	Catchphrase: 'the Franco-German motor' of European Union Depiction: "European Community governments were last night preparing once again to back Britain into a corner at next month's emergency EC summit." Root: Ratification of the Maastricht Treaty

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		rather than the interests of Britain.		Franco-German motor' of European Union	
Telegraph 27/09/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Europe's major players relish Britain on the sidelines' 'With the Bundesbank bristling over British insults, Boris Johnson, in Brussels, sees 'first tier' Europe accelerating as Britain brakes.'	Metaphor: Meeting of Kohl and others ended with "the diplomatic equivalent of a V2 bomb from the Continent" "Jaundiced, waxen Mitterrand, like something from a Capuchin catacomb" Catchphrase: "the British problem" "the raspberry blowing of Germany" "the Franco-Germany axis" Depiction: "spendthrift Italians" "chaotic Greeks" "British sovereignty junkies" Mitterrand & kohl depicted as scheming to relegate UK: "Helmut, he is supposed to have pleaded…we can no longer guillotine the speculators as we did in the Revolution. So let us cheat them forever; let us fuse our ancient currencies, the franc, the mark, into the de facto currency of Europe." "Would the federalist countries dare, after years of trying to keep Britain abroad, finally chuck her off?" Germany as a bully: "Germany and the rest have decreed that the Bundesbank was blameless for the immolation of sterling ten days ago; that the pound must be devalued if Mr Major wants to re-join the Exchange Rate Mechanism; and that there is no question of reforming the system in the way the Government wants." Consequence: "If Britain failed to quash its Tory mutineers and Maastricht finally died, Germany would stand ready for the hyper-leap, fast-forward: to concertina the seven-year Maastricht timetable for monetary union into the space of a single year. At a stroke, dear Francois, one money, that is, for the real Europe, you and me, the believers, the front rank, the first tier, the advance guard: France, Germany, Benelux. The rest – spendthrift Italians, chaotic Greeks, British sovereignty junkies – let them make their own dispositions." (this account was apparently circulated through Brussels)
Telegraph p.2 30/09/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Kohl tells Britain to do its homework'	Catchphrase: "Franco-German plans" "Anglo-German entente" Depiction: Helmut Kohl's "hectoring tone" Root: Ratification of the Maastricht Treaty - 'The war of words between Germany and Britain showed no sign of abating yesterday as Chancellor Kohl called on Britain to "do its homework" and ratify the Maastricht Treaty unamended."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.7 4/10/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Spectre holds few fears for Britain' 'A nightmare vision of life in the slow lane has been evoked for the British. But, Boris Johnson in Brussels asks, would that be so disastrous?'	Metaphor: The Germany monetary Gulliver must be lashed down' (this is an argument in favour of a single currency) Exemplar: "Let other nations run the risk of rabies from Siberian wolfhounds crossing the Eurasian land mass" "male pregnancy leaves" Catchphrase: "Euro-zealots" Depiction: "Within, the five or six-nation keep, a happy, well-fed continental population, protected by high social and environmental norms, trading with their inflation poor "Euro-mark" or "Ecu". Without, on our narrow, windswept island, a slothful nation using the debauched pound sterling, with a defunct manufacturing base, cheated and tyrannised by a few stripe-suited financiers. That was the threat, more or less, leaked by Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand, and the rest of the "fast-trackers"." "Europe is multi-speed by nature, because it is criss-crossed with "fault lines", not just in the ERM or between the Federalists and the Eurosceptics: but also between the sunlit-shame cultures of the south and the fogbound-guilt cultures of the north; those who cook with olive oil and those who cook with fat; the milk drinker and the wine drinkers." France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece as "Club Med'.. pressing for a generous understanding and pump-primed industry. On the other stands the puritanism of the north, led by Britain and Germany." Maastricht as "a monument of two-speedery" Root: Ratification of Maastricht Treaty Appeal to Principle: Johnson surmises that Britain would be better off in a two-speed EC. "British industry, in fact, might be more competitive. Let others shackle their management with 48-hour weeks, work fewer Sundays, male pregnancy leaves and Mittbestimmung…. And not least, argue the sceptics, a two-speed EC would allow Britain to keep the pound sterling."
Telegraph 14/10/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Threat to British pink sausages'	Exemplar: Threat to the British pink breakfast sausage Catchphrase: "The Brussels Commission" Depiction: British sausage "imperilled" "British MEPs says "subsidiarity", or minimum interference, should allow Britons to eat the sausages to which they have always been accustomed.' Root: "The pinkness of the uncooked British breakfast sausage was once again imperilled yesterday after a row between British and Danish MEPs over artificial colourants."
Telegraph p.13 21/10/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	CAP	'Satellites spot huge farm fraud in Italy'	Exemplar: "In one case, the Italians claimed to have 4.2 million acres growing durum wheat, used to make spaghetti. Satellite images showed only 1.9 million acres in production." Italians receiving subsidies for olive oil twice, once when harvested and once when crushed Depiction: "agriculture fraud on an imperial scale" Greece & Italy "seriously misleading Brussels authorities" Root: "Agricultural fraud on an imperial scale has been uncovered by satellite photography over Italy and Greece, with national authorities seriously misleading Brussels officials about how much land is genuinely under cultivation." Consequence: "Euro-MPs and commission officials believe the findings are a disastrous augury for next year's reform of the Common Agricultural Policy, when subsidy payments will be made per hectare rather than as price support. Even under the present price support system, fraud costs the EC hundreds of millions of pounds per year."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.2 24/10/92	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'EC errors have cost taxpayers millions, says cash watchdog' 'A litany of misjudgements by the EC has cost European taxpayers hundreds of millions of pounds, says the EC financial watchdog, the Court of Auditors'	Exemplar: EC lost £5.8 million "on a botched delivery of sugar to Romania" "million-ton beef mountain" "millions are squandered on olive oil subsidies, even though there is no proof that half of the olive oil producers exist" Depiction: "A litany of misjudgements by the EC" "millions are squandered" Consequence: Johnson surmises that "anti-Europeans in the Commons" will use it "as evidence that the EC cannot be trusted with its £45 billion budget" – "The 735-page document will be seized upon by anti-Europeans in the Commons as evidence that the EC cannot be trusted with its £45 billion budget – let alone a 30 per cent increase demanded by Delors."
Telegraph p.21 4/11/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'What the row is all about' 'The fury of the argument leading to today's debate has obscured the main issues. Boris Johnson explains the Maastricht Treaty'	Catchphrase: Maastricht as a "time bomb" Depiction: Maastricht means "a 'multi-speed Europe, and Britain could be faced with a choice about which group to join" New competences "give the EC a formidable arsenal for interference" "treaty articles would be a time bomb, waiting to be invoked by a bolder commission" "most important and inflammatory change is that EC nationals living in another Community country would be able both to vote and stand in municipal and European elections" Maastricht "breaking the taboo against majority voting in foreign policy decisions" "foreshadows a European defence pact" Social policy opt-out "a British triumph and, for Tory ministers, an invincible point in favour of the treaty" Root: Ratification of the Maastricht treaty Consequence: "deeper integration is inevitable." Possible creation of two-speed Europe. More Brussels interference in foreign and defence policy.
Telegraph p.18 24/11/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	How an Edinburgh funeral can be turned into festival' 'As Britain nears the end of a bleak EC presidency, Boris Johnson in Brussels says only a tough line on GATT at the coming summit can save something from the wreckage.'	Catchphrase: "Little Europeanism" of Jacques Delors Depiction: 'concerted burst of vilification' from the EC on Britain's stewardship of the presidency "For the tribe of Brussels officials and diplomats, attacks on Britain have achieved the status of background music, almost too trite to be worth remarking on." "There is a natural propensity among foreign politicians to snipe at Britain. One cannot get away with saying this too loudly in Brussels, but it still rankle deep down, throughout the political classes of the other 11 EC countries, that Britain was the only Community member to have "won" the Second World War; and so there are few sights more likely to gladden the hearts of our partners than the spectacle of ministers and Whitehall mandarins having their aloof, ineffable noses ground in the mud." Consequence: "Now Spain and others are likely to ensure there is no new accession until they have their "cohesion" cash, and that means that both the Delors budget and the Maastricht Treaty will have to be settled."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.7 14/12/92	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'The summit doomed to succeed.'	Metaphor: "Instead of defeated Gauls lashed to the chariots, there was the paper on subsidiarity' 'For captured slaves, there were the deals on expanding the EC…' 'the laurel spray on the victorious Prime Minister's temples' Catchphrase: 'Franco-German pact" Depiction: 'To the applause of Europe, the British presidency wagons rolled past on Saturday night, laden with booty." Maastricht as "a talisman of better days, something for Europe to cling on to and remind itself of its old ambitions." Root: Edinburgh summit: 'For Mr Major it was a triumph on a Roman scale. Instead of defeated Gauls lashed to the chariots, there was the paper on subsidiarity. For captured slaves, there were the deals on expanding the EC to include new members and the EC budget." Consequence: "The EC is still in the hands of the Danes. Their second referendum is still precarious…" Johnson predicts (incorrectly) that "in the current climate…Europe's evolution is frozen." Once the European economy recovers "then, certainly, the Prime Minister will have to face up to the challenge of deeper union, of renewed trouble from Tory backbenchers, and a new split on Europe."
Telegraph p.1 23/12/92	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Delors forms cabinet for federal EC' 'M Jacques Delors, European Commission president, took a step towards creating a European cabinet with an announcement yesterday of a major shake-up of his 17-man team of Brussels commissioners. From next month- well before ratification of the Maastricht Treaty on European union – there will be commissioners in charge of foreign affairs, immigration and police and justice co-operation.'	Catchphrase: Delors' "empire building" Depiction: "creating a European cabinet" "British fears" over appointment on commissioner for industrial affairs "which could mark the beginning of a new Brussels-based "industrial strategy" 'Lazy Italian' stereotype: 'More worrying still for Euro-sceptics is the appointment of a little known Italian…to enforce the myriad new pieces of European law that will make up the single market…. It is feared that the former diplomat may bring a distinctly Latin approach to his job.' Root: Ratification of the Maastricht Treaty Consequences: "It will be the first time that these policy areas have been brought within the power of the commissioners and their 13,000 civil servants – a move that will delight federalists and dismay British Euro-sceptics."
Telegraph p.9 6/02/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'France ready for monetary union'	Depiction: "It would represent the darkest nightmare of the British foreign office." Creation of "a giant European monetary block" excluding UK "senior French officials were yesterday painstakingly reviving the prospect of a "two-speed" Europe, with Britain in the slow lane." Root: 'France and Germany will leap ahead to full-scale monetary union almost immediately if the European Monetary System collapses in the coming weeks, or even days, French government sources predicted last night' Consequence: "Were such a move to happen, the pound would be excluded from a giant European currency bloc, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have no say in the monetary management of the new currency."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.19 7/02/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Britain made scapegoat for European turmoil'	Catchphrase: "vice Anglaise" Depiction: "It was Euro-brotherhood week, all right. As the turmoil intensified in the European Monetary System and the Irish punt was at last brought low by the speculators, the French blamed the Germans, the Germans blamed the French, the Bundesbank blamed inflation – and everybody blamed the Brits." "Suddenly, one glimpsed the full extent of continental paranoia…British social policies were now contrived to undercut its EC brethren, it seemed, as Hoover's decision to transfer 400 workers from Dijon to Glasgow continued to be received in Paris as the wickedest act of piracy since Drake." "M Delors and the French government raved about "social dumpling" Root: Britain's interest rate cut (which had a knock-on effect on currency speculation which brought Irish punt low)
Telegraph p.18 15/02/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Why John gets the blame when Helmut upsets Francois' 'Germany triggered the problems of the ERM, yet France rails against Britain because it is afraid to criticise the real culprit, argues EC Correspondent Boris Johnson.'	Metaphor: "France is like a lover who knows her beloved is faithless, or is about to be, but dare not mention it for fear of provoking just the rupture she most dreads." Catchphrase: 'Albion Perfide' (slogan in Paris) Depiction: Johnson accuses France of "Anglophobic demagoguery". It "is cheap, popular and probably harmless. To speak ill of Germany is an altogether different matter. It has a frisson, an echo, which France has tried to hush since the end of the Second World War." '..it was the German method of unification which was the great act of egotism." 'Behind the expostulations there is a French hysteria, a conscious avoidance of reality.' 'French politicians vent their spleen on Britain because they are frightened to vent it on Germany.' Root: Johnson claims roots of economic turbulence lie in Kohl's decision "to ensure the political success of German unification, by imposing a one-for-one exchange rate between the Deutschemark and the comparatively worthless Ostmark.' This has ruled out interest rates cuts "for which France, and much of the rest of the EC, yearn. It is Germany, not Britain, whose economic self-interest precludes a European growth initiative.' Consequence: "Even if – and the contingency is remote – a fast-track monetary union were to come about, it would be a union on German terms.'
Telegraph p.11 19/02/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Euro-coffin rises from the dead' 'A directive on a standardised Euro-coffin and common rules for moving corpses has risen from the grave two months after it was thought to have died at the Edinburgh summit."	Exemplar: Euro-coffins Depiction: "But countries cannot agree whether dead human beings constitute goods or services. 'On the whole, we don't think they are goods,' said a British source." Root: "The directive, on the "trans-frontier shipment of human remains," was on the hit list of pieces of Brussels legislation to be dropped in the name of subsidiarity."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.10 24/02/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'United States of Europe plan strikes a chord in Brussels' 'A constitution for a United States of Europe, going way beyond Maastricht, was unveiled in the Euro-parliament last night as self-confidence returns to the Brussels federalists.'	Exemplar: Tax raising powers for European Parliament Catchphrase: "the Euro-parliament" Depiction: 'the Brussels federalists.' '..a new draft 'Constitution for a European Union' would place massive powers in the hands of the Commission president and even award the Euro-parliament the right to raise taxes in Britain and other EC countries.' "…it makes a dramatic leap towards a centralised federal structure in Brussels." Root: A Spanish MEP drew up the draft plan. Consequence: Raises spectre of "Euro-parliament' raising taxes in Britain "At least some elements of Sen Oreja's prescription are therefore likely to be taken up by the next reform of the EC institutions, which Maastricht demands must happen by 1996."
Telegraph p.19 28/02/93	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Catholic Ethos	'Faithful urged to lead Euro crusade' Delors advisers "believe there is now a spiritual void in Britain and other EEC countries and that Mr Delors should fill that void by subtly turning European federalism into a semi-religious crusade." Two commission reports say that "religious differences…are at the heart of the conflict besetting Maastricht"…"and religion – or at least some kind of peculiar new Euro-spirituality inspired by Brussels – is the answer."	Exemplar: The Catholic Socialist Delors praying before commission meetings Catchphrase: 'Euro-federalism' "Euro-spirituality" Depiction: Compares enthusiasm for federalism to religious zealotry – or as he calls it, "Euro-spirituality". 'We knew that Jacques Delors was religious. We knew he was a Christian Socialist. We knew he prayed before each Wednesday's meeting of the 17 EEC commissioners, prompting inevitable quips on the lines of 'Delors is my shepherd'. Few though, imagined there could be any connection between the Commission president's enthusiasm for religion and his Euro-federalism' The commission reports "are written I the baffling style, replete with diagrams, of a French seminarian." Consequence: Cultural differences throughout Europe stemming from religion can be overcome. "The exact recipe, frankly, is vague. It seems to involve more of the Social Chapter, less materialism, more feminism, less nationalism."
Telegraph p.10 2/03/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests	Protectionism	'Brussels blocks imports of apples' 'A million tons of cheap apples from the southern hemisphere have been denied entry to European Community markets by Brussels."	Exemplar: Germany blocking imports of bananas from Latin America to protect markets in former Caribbean colonies Depiction: 'The decision is the latest of a series of measures which point to a growing protectionist tendency in Brussels." "While British officials have participated in all such decisions, Government sources admitted they were anxious about the trend." Root: The EC's decision to keep imports out is due to "the two-million-ton glut left over from the 10 million-ton harvest in Europe last autumn."

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		are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.21 14/03/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Election to end love affair" 'In little more than a week France will go through a political upheaval. The Socialist government's love-affair with Brussels will be brutally ended." Right wing Gaullist expected to take French presidency, potentially upsetting the "Paris-Bonn axis"	Metaphor: "the historic locomotive force of the European Community – the France-German relationship." Catchphrase: "the Paris-Bonn axis" Depiction: "the French establishment has launched a campaign to assert the residual core of France's EEC policy, the Paris-Bonn axis." "the many Francocentric officials in Brussels" "one official merely inserts a forefinger into a bulging cheek, expelling the air in disdain for Britain's gauche attempts to make it a ménage a trois.' Root: "The French are candid about what they believe constitutes the essence of this relationship. It is shame. "It is powerful, this shame. It works." Says one official. But for how long? Not matter how appalling Germany's crimes towards France, 50 years is a long time to feel so beholden to one's victim."
Telegraph p.19 28/03/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'One man's meat is another man's poison' 'Surplus beef in Europe is more abundant than ever before; individual cattle are, on average, bigger than ever before; and many of them, especially in Belgium, are illegally pumped up with dangerous drugs.'	Exemplar: the EC beef mountain clenbuterol-corrupted beef Depiction: It is "part of a phenomenon which has helped to leave 1.183 million tons of frozen beef in EEC intervention storage." "The glut…has reached this pitch of absurdity for a very simple reason: the sheer size of the cattle being brought in." The EC official who says "I don't eat beef anymore. This stuff is not just clenbuterol – it's very dangerous." Root: The switch to beef production since the EEC-wide milk quota cuts of 1984, heavier breeds of cattle and the influence of growth promoting drugs. Consequence: Clenbuterol has caused 2 deaths in Spain in last six months and put 350 people in hospital, 1 dead in France and 800 hospitalised with liver disorders associated with contaminated meat.
Telegraph p.11 30/03/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests	CAP	'Growing concern over beefy cows' 'Europe's cows have been swelling dramatically in size in the past seven years as farmers race to maximise Brussels subsidies per pound of flesh, sometimes with the use of illegal hormones.'	Catchphrase: The "Brussels Commission" Depiction: Brussels denial: "Brussels sources last night strenuously denied that this phenomenal weight gain, which has taken place in all EC beef-producing countries, was caused by the use of banned growth-promoting drugs such as clenbuterol, or "angel dust". "Some MEPs have accused the Commission of hushing up a report…into the use of hormones." Root: "The Brussels Commission, which pays out generous subsidies for farmers for meat which cannot find a market in the shops, said last night that the more likely causes were diet, breeding, and a general improvement in husbandry as young famers took over livestock"

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		are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph 4/04/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Europe's new good guy image fails to gather in the glittering prizes.'	Exemplar: (of fraud): Potemkin greenhouses and olive groves designed to fool spotter planes One-eared cows Hairy cheese Non-existent sheep Depiction: "Since the days of Mrs Thatcher and before, "fraud" has been emblazoned on the Euro-cynic's armour." "the EEC's simmering cultural clash is coming to a head: between the straitlaced northerner and the man who tends to be small, dark, and proud unto death." Root: Commission official's death by suicide (following discovery of his links to a tobacco scandal) 'Everyone has always known that Commission officials, with their lonely offices and vast budgets, were vulnerable to corruption."
Telegraph 7/04/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Back door' Social Chapter' 'John Major's achievement in opting out of the Maastricht social chapter was in jeopardy yesterday after several EC countries said they would consider creating they would consider creating mandatory works councils for multinational firms and imposing them on Britain by the "back door."'	Exemplar: "Euro-works councils" Depiction: 'Under the opt-out, Britain would be exempt from such a ruling but last night diplomats agreed a move by the 11 would inevitable force British firms into line.' Root: Social Chapter Consequences: "It would oblige multinationals established in more than one country to set up works councils who would have to be consulted about big decisions such as closures, mergers and moves." "Britain said it would impose extra costs of up to £1 million per company."
Telegraph p.6 8/05/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the	Westminster	'Europe doubles the size of its rulebook'	Exemplar: "dozens of directives on car windscreens, tyre pressure and exhaust fumes to rules on the "marketing of rodents". "strict controls are laid down for wine cork quality…' 'the three historic directives on lawnmower noise….Among their amazing stipulations is that "lawn-mowers with a cutting width exceeding 47.2 inches shall indicate the sound-pressure level in decibels per pound at the operator's position." Catchphrase: "Brussels bureaucrats" Depiction: "The five-volume blockbuster takes the reader on a tour of human existence." "British government officials defended the riot of law-making yesterday." Root:

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		interests of the British people.			'Brussels bureaucrats have almost doubled the 280 Euro-laws they said were needed to make this year's "1992" single European market work. The Commission published details of 460 separate pieces of legislation- each of which must be implemented in full in Britain.'
Telegraph p.20 9/05/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Our Man tries to keep the lid on openness."	Exemplar: The commission as "a reporter's Aladdin's cave." Depiction: "…the Government is rattled about the imminent transfer of yet more sovereignty to the Community institutions." Root: Semi-official leaks are common in Brussels: "the commission is a reporter's Aladdin's Cave." Consequence: "When the treaty is ratified, a new breed of decision will be taken by gatherings in the Belgian capital, on issues which the Sir Humphreys had hoped to keep very much to themselves."
Telegraph p.16 19/05/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Danes have set us on the road to a showdown.' 'Britain will go on having its own way in Europe for now, thinks BORIS JOHNSON. But after a while the old centralising pressures will be back with a vengeance.'	Metaphor: When Maastricht is ratified "Will joyful federalists in Brussels pop out of their foxholes, like in the Tet offensive?" Depiction: "the DeLorean vision of 'Little Europe'" The Danish 'No' vote as "the Apple of Discord" Root: The ratification of Maastricht Consequence: 'In the end the will of the political classes will prevail. Mr Bill Cash and his colleagues will lose their guerrilla war in the Commons.' Sooner or later the issue of re-entering the ERM will resurface for Britain, "with its divisive effect on the Tory Party." Enlargement will mean "more majority voting, and further erosions of sovereignty. It will entail new efforts to build up the Western European Union as a potential replacement for NATO."
Telegraph 2/06/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain going to court over 48-hour week' Mast: 'French hail eleven-to-one EC vote 'that will eliminate job poaching'	Catchphrase: "the Euro-law" Depiction: "The result underlined the fact that Britain remains powerless to stop much EC social policy, despite Mr Major's opt-out from the Maastricht Social Chapter.' Root: The EC's 48-hour working week directive : 'Britain took its fight against the EC 48-hour week to the European Court last night after the Government's three-year-long opposition was overwhelmed at a meeting of Community ministers. In the face of demands from the 11 other member countries, Mr Hunt, Employment Secretary, was forced to abstain from voting and allow the EC to introduce detailed legislation on working hours and holidays." Consequence: "EC sources said an unsuccessful court case by Britain would "engrave in stone" the commission's right to bring forward yet more law on working hours as health and safety provisions"

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Telegraph 18/06/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Major set for boost on Social Charter' 'Mr Major is poised to snatch an important propaganda victory on Monday's Copenhagen summit as Europe's deepening recession forces a re-appraisal of the "Social Charter" once so dear to M Jacques Delors."	Exemplar: "Social legislation such as the 48-hour week continues to grind through the mills of Brussels." Depiction: "Senior British officials expect a new "realism" from M Delors" "the cooling towards rigorous Brussels social norms" Depiction of Britain standing alone against Social Charter Root: The EC's declining competitiveness and massive unemployment Consequence: This "will inevitably help to improve the Prime Minister's standing at home, and vindicate his lone stand against the Maastricht Social Chapter, other officials said."
Telegraph p.23 20/06/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Europe and Delors both seek a miracle cure' 'This week's Copenhagen summit is going to face some difficult questions, says Boris Johnson.'	Metaphor: 'As a metaphor of the total paralysis of the Community's nervous system, Mr Delors' affliction was irresistible.' 'Europe's economy belches smoke, with the German locomotive straining before the clattering old cattle-trucks of the eastern Laender." Catchphrase: "the Euro-train' Depiction: Delors issuing bulletins from sick bed "as though from the bed-side of a stricken pontiff" "Mr Delors' dream of the late 1980s, of Europe as an oasis of high social protection, of high wages and high technology, a Europe a la Grande Vitesse, has been vaporised. "British common sense" Root: "The worst recession on mainland Europe for 40 years. Twenty million people are set to be out of work…by the middle of next year." Consequence: Britain flourishes as Europe flounders "…the British economic recovery, now undeniable to judge by figures such as sales of new cars, is a daily affront to the Delorean vision of a united EEC.'
Telegraph p.20 24/06/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Britain gets it right: but let's not count our chickens' 'Recession has reconciled much of the EC to Britain's point of view – but if Brussels can reform, warns Boris Johnson, economic recovery could bring back the federalists.'	Exemplar: Metaphor/exemplar "subsidiarity's pruning hook is at work in the commission" "for 35 years, the federalist tide has ebbed and flowed with economic confidence" "the high old days of a super-confident bureaucracy dreaming up new pan-European legislation in their baths has gone. The torrent of directives has dried to a trickle." Catchphrase: "the European dream" "the federalist tide" Depiction: 'France's President Mitterrand once again repudiated the logic of free trade." "..Mitterrand, Kohl and Delors, have been dominant on these occasions for too long." "Others might say they have squandered public confidence, so high in the late 1980s, in the European dream." "Caution and general Britishness have been vindicated" Root: "The deepening European recession has indeed forced governments to re-examine wage and non-wage costs." Consequence: Johnson gleefully predicts a culling of Brussels powers. However: "…one day Europe's economy will recover, and so too will the European dream."

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Telegraph p.13 1/07/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'United Europe draws near as frontiers open' 'Moves towards a united Europe accelerated last night after nine continental countries agreed to allow visitors to move freely across their common borders from December	Exemplar: "flood" of illegal immigrants Depiction: Establishment of Schengen group will accelerate moves to a "United Europe" "…French fears of a flood of illegal immigration and drug smuggling." Consequence: 'The so-called 'Schengen Group' has once again thrown down the gauntlet to Mr Major to join in the frontier-free Europe, originally intended for the end of last year, and which Britain has always rejected."
Telegraph p.4 2/07/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Belgians put Delors back in the driving seat.' Mast: 'Europe's most zealous federalists take over the Community's presidency and throw down fresh challenge to Westminster'	Exemplar: Brussels directive on worker consultation. Catchphrase: "federalist vigour' Depiction: "With the Community once again in the hands of Europe's most fervent federalists.." (Jean-Luc Dehaene & Delors) After presidencies of Britain & Denmark "pent-up federalist vigour is now bursting out in Belgium." Root: 'Belgium and M Jacques Delors issued a joint challenge to Britain last night to accept new moves to a federal Europe – with the EC Commission as the "driving force" – after the Belgians took over the EC presidency." Consequence: "…despite all their federalist fervour, it is not clear what the Belgians can actually achieve. It is taboo to mention the subject in Brussels, but neither the Germans nor the British have yet ratified Maastricht."
Telegraph p.12 15/07/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Belgians launch big push for EC union"	Exemplar: European Court ruling on bathing water quality Catchphrase: "the Euro-parliament" Depiction: "the Brussels programme for a border-free EC." "vexatious EC directives" 'The Belgian programme clashes head-on with British objectives in Europe." "British officials retorted that they had 'objections of substance' to removing border checks against drug smugglers, terrorists and illegal immigrants." M Claes, "a Socialist" Root: "Belgium launched the programme of its European Community presidency yesterday with a passionate appeal for faster European union."
Telegraph 20/07/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'EC rejects attempt to ease cost of sewage law' '	Exemplar: "the notorious EC directives on bathing beaches and drinking water" Depiction: "an expensive directive on sewage' "..far more expensive even than the notorious EC directives on bathing beaches and drinking water." "The rebuff comes as Britain prepares for a guerrilla war with the Commission over changing EC directives in the drive for "subsidiarity". Root: 'Brussels officials dismissed yesterday Government hopes of allowing big cuts in household water bills next year by softening EC environment law.' Consequence: "…bills would rise on average by £31 because of the EC sewage law.'

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Telegraph p.2 21/07/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Britain loses £250m in EC aid share-out' 'Northern Ireland and other poor parts of the United Kingdom were stripped of £250 million in EC aid yesterday after M Jacques Delors seized control of negotiations in Brussels.'	Depiction: Delors 'seized control of negotiations" to "strip' UK of funding "Irish officials were jubilant' about the 7.8 billion they got Root: £76 billion 'Objective One' funding for poorest EC regions Consequence: 'Britain is left with £2 billion to be divided between Northern Ireland and the newly-designated poor areas of Merseyside and the Highlands and Islands…" Ireland to receive 70% more EC money per capita than NI
Telegraph p.15 24/07/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'How the move to union will push us further apart' 'Boris Johnson in Brussels looks at the consequences for Europe.'	Metaphor: "..the Commission is used to bending like a reed in adversity, while the roots of federalism run strong and deep." Catchphrase: "the Euro-nomenklatura of Brussels""some Euro-blueprint" Depiction: "Is the kingdom of Delors instantly established on earth? Hardly." "Britain, remember, never positively wanted any of Maastricht. We would have been happy…without a single revision to the Treaty of Rome… So why go ahead with the pain of ratifying a vacuous, if tendentiously worded, programme?" "Europe" as "the close-knit federal construct of Monnet, Schuman, Spaak, de Gasperi, Adenaur and Delors.' "Far from bringing harmony, driving Europe together by treaty has fostered nationalism and separatism." "What it does not impede…is the steady build-up of powers of the Euro-nomenklatura in Brussels, whether EC officials or diplomats, attending the same cocktail parties and with the same assumptions about the development of the EC. Maastricht brings Brussels no closer to the people." "Britain will need to be able to argue against that [a new intergovt conference in 1996] from strength, from inside." "After 20 years in the EC, Britain has not noticeably shaped events. The Common Agricultural Policy lives on; and monetary union will be just as hard to slay." Root: Ratification of the Maastricht Treaty Consequence: "Even if the franc survives, nobody now believes that monetary union will be achieved by the Maastricht recipe, still less according to the timetables, with their gimcrack deadlines and procedures.""Maastricht may appear irrelevant now. But its themes will come back, and the consequences for Tory party unity are incalculable."
Telegraph p.19 12/09/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Social Chapter	'Delors' dream in tatters as dole bill soars' 'EEC job flexibility is the key to winning the fight against the 'German disease', writes Boris Johnson.'	Exemplar: The Social Charter's "works councils" Depiction: 'While Mrs Thatcher raged form the sidelines, the former French Christian trades union official offered to regulate the labour market that she loosened; to set, from Brussels, Europe-wide norms for hours, pay, conditions; to protect workers from employers and the savagery of the market.' 'Now that project, like monetary union, lies in ruins.' "…the real fight in the commission is over whether it will admit that the "Social Action Programme" has helped to throw good jobs on to the scrap heap and boost the dole bill across Europe." Root: "It is an appalling crisis..[high EEC unemployment]… What no one dare say openly, but what no official denies, is that is it the policies of Jacques Delors and his brainchild, the Social Charter, which have made it worse." Consequence: A new commission white paper "can be expected, in time-honoured Delorsian fashion, to dwell much on the need for training and investment. It will propose, to the disgust of the British government, that more money should be spend on high-definition widgets and fibre-optic sprockets, mainly built in France, to encourage job creation."
Telegraph p.2 30/09/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers	British Tax Payers	'Euro MPs take first look at big white elephant' 'Boris Johnson in Brussels experiences a sense of déjà vu at	Exemplar: "the new common banana policy" Depiction: 'At the cost of £840 million, most of it to be met by the EC taxpayer, the glass and steel palace has risen like some freakish Wurlitzer organ above the houses of Quartier Leopold." "big white elephant" (new Euro-parliament building) "Given that the Euro-MPs will use it fully for only a token ten days each year, one official said yesterday, it was the EC white elephant to end them all." Root: "Under the agreement brokered by Mr Major at last December's Edinburgh summit, France ended a 30-year deadlock and won the right for Strasbourg to be named the permanent host of the Euro-parliament, with its lucrative gravy-train of interpreters, lobbyists and other followers."

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		British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.		the new Euro-parliament building'	Consequence: "..the Strasbourg building will not be big enough to hold the new MEPs as the EC expands. So, in Strasbourg, work has already begun on a £280million rival palace, a futuristic affair resembling a glass gasometer.."".Britain would have to foot its share of the bill, in the form of rent payable to the town of Strasbourg."
Telegraph p.11 13/10/93	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco German Axis	'United we stand, but divided we rule." "The Maastricht Treaty lies slumped over the finishing line – broken, spent, and quite possibly dead."	Metaphor: The Maastricht Treaty as "a monster, devouring its own tail." Catchphrase: "the federalist dragon" Depiction: "..in the 22 months since it was agreed, Maastricht has succeeded in fomenting the very nationalist emotions it was meant to leave behind." "Maastricht is simply a bad word. Hardly a leader across the EC has escaped its guttural curse." On lack of public trust: "How could one believe the protestations.. that Maastricht was trivial? How could one trust them after the massive transfers of sovereignty to Brussels under the apparently inconsequential 1986 Single European Act? Root: The damage done to public sentiment on the EC during the ratification process of the Maastricht Treaty. "A large measure of blame must go to the authors, especially Messrs Mitterrand, Kohl and Delors." Consequence: "Maastricht is now seen as the ingenious, schematic and flawed answer of French intellectuals and war-guilt ridden German diplomats to the problems of German reunification and the end of the Cold War. Politically, it has been all but eviscerated by the recession and Euro-scepticism."
Telegraph p.20 17/10/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Maastricht's mill grinds on"	Exemplar: New euro-employment law on adolescents that will 'probably reduce job chances for school leavers' Catchphrase: Delors as "the Beelzebub of Brussels" "Euro-federalism" Depiction: "Never underestimate the strength of the determination of the European political classes to forge a European Union. It will comeback, though perhaps not until the German recession has ended." Says Britain's opt-out from Social chapter will not make much difference: "The others are quite capable of outvoting us on the existing Treaty rules, which will continue to apply. Britain was forced on Tuesday to accept new employment law on adolescent workers, probably reducing job chances for school leavers." Root: 'Last week's judgement in Germany means the Treaty proceeds but, says Boris Johnson, EEC correspondent, there are unanswered questions." Consequence: "…the other 11 leaders will isolate Britain, in ritual fashion, over the time-table for the single Euro-currency.." "Euro-federalism has taken a beating" but "There will be pressure to centralise more power in Brussels.'
Telegraph p.1923/10/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests	British Tax Payers	'Stop this crazy circus'	Exemplar: "In Strasbourg, one does not stand colleagues a round of beer; one sips champagne or at least a cremant d'Alsace." Catchphrase: "the Great EC Paper trail' Depiction: "the most crack-brained Euro-custom of them all'"Indignation, when one contemplates the wastage and expense of the European Parliament's three "home" cities, its endless waltzing movement, is alloyed by a sort of weariness. Invective is exhausted. What adjectives are there left? Only: crazy." Root: 'As lorryloads of documents roll into Strasbourg from Brussels this weekend, the lunacy of the European Parliament's two homes becomes only too clear. Next week this cycle of wastefulness will be perpetuated.' Consequence: EC leaders "will condemn MEPs to an eternal caravanserai which is to cost you and other EC taxpayers £500 million over the next five years, in transport costs alone, to say nothing of new buildings." Appeal to Principle: "Britain would win friends across Europe if it had the courage to call a halt to this travelling circus."

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		are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph 24/10/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Treaty small print traps Major'	Depiction: "With the Treaty due to come into force on November 1, senior Commission officials yesterday revealed a strategy to extract every ounce of pressure from the Treaty's far-reaching language. It appears to set up an immediate economic government of Europe." 'Small print that has gone virtually unnoticed in the Maastricht Treaty is to be used by Jacques Delors and EEC governments to impose the will of Brussels on Britain's key national economic policies.' "As "guidelines", they would not be legally constraining, but Mr Delors believes they will be a valuable tool in shaming Mr Major and Mr Clarke into toeing the EEC line." "At the least, it will reawaken fears among Tory Euro-sceptics that crucial British economic decisions could be taken with an eye to European harmony rather than exclusively to the national interest." Root: Article 103 "negotiated in 1991 by Mr Lamont, the former Chancellor.. says that from the Treaty's implementation, finance ministers will take a majority vote establishing "guidelines" for economic policy across the EEC." Consequence: "Article 103 on monetary union could allow the Government to be outvoted on vital issues such as public debt, interest rates and exchange rates." "Kenneth Clarke…now stands to be voted down on proposals – made by Mr Delors and his officials – setting fairly precise targets for borrowing, inflation and interest rates, in the name of economic convergence."
Telegraph 24/10/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain threatened by EEC power shift' Britain's vote at council of ministers is worth 10 points out of 76. But enlargement could jeopardise it.	Depiction: "Britain's relative clout stands to be significantly diminished." "smaller EEC countries are already vastly over-represented in Brussels." Background to this is Major's article in the Economist: "They hated it…They wanted to crumple it up and stuff its glib assertions – for instance that monetary union is a "rain dance" – down the British throat. That is not because they necessarily think Mr Major is wrong, of course, but because they desperately fear he may be right. And it is in that mood that the federalists are at their most dangerous." "But now one issue is shooting up from the depths to rock the boat and damage Britain where it hurts. It is the question of the balance of power in Europe. It is hard to exaggerate its importance." Root: Since 1973 when Britain joined it has had a "hefty vote, as big as that of France, Germany and Italy. Wielded with bluff, discretion and a couple of good-sized allies, it can block the wilder EEC proposals and cause the Commission to back down. The "blocking minority" needed to halt a proposal is 23." Consequence: "Bear in mind…we enter the era of Maastricht, when majority voting becomes the rule rather than the exception, on everything from the environment to broad economic policy."
Telegraph p.24 28/10/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	"Kohl and Mitterrand challenge Major to speed pace of union.' 'Chancellor Kohl of Germany and President Mitterrand of France challenged Mr Major last night to speed moves to European union on the eve of the Brussels summit to celebrate Maastricht."	Catchphrase: 'Franco-German axis" "Franco-German position" Depiction: 'Herr Kohl and M Mitterrand revived fears of a Franco-German axis driving EC integration as the treaty comes into effect on Nov 1.' Kohl and Mitterrand seeking to "exploit the treaty to create a joint EC policy on immigration and build "Europol", the prototype EC police force." Article 103 economic guidelines not legally binding but Delors "believes the guidelines will make countries such as Britain toe the line." Root: Letter from Kohl and Mitterrand to Belgian PM saying: "We are now forging a common destiny…in recent years we have been suffering from too little European integration, not too much." Consequence: Potentially greater European integration.

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.11 1/11/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Foggy dawn to the age of Maastricht' 'Boris Johnson, EC Correspondent, greets a new era in Brussels.'	Metaphor: Maastricht as a "rich quarry for those who hope to build a Euro-superstate" Catchphrase: Euro-superstate Euro-law Depiction: 'The main EC expenditure, the Common Ag Policy, will continue unchecked, while the treaty promises more money from Britain and others to the poor southern half of the EC. And the bevy of new Maastricht institutions...will have to be funded by the taxpayer." Root: The Maastricht Treaty has been ratified and the European Union has come into being Consequence: Lists the "potentially dangerous clauses which the Government would prefer to ignore" including "from 1996, Britain can be outvoted over which nationals need visas to enter the EC; From today, Britain can be outvoted over non-binding "guidelines" for its economic policy…. For the first time, the European Court today has new and binding competence over human rights questions."
Telegraph p.13 2/11/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Maastricht's offspring left in limbo' 'The plump institutions of Maastricht were still in limbo last night, the day the treaty came into force. Britain had just nominated its 48 members of the Committee of the Regions, set to cost the European Community taxpayer £11.2 million a year. But officials were unsure where it would meet or what it would do."	Depiction: Maastricht's "plump institutions" "It is a phantom institution," said one official, noting that it was too big to meet in the present headquarters of the Economic and Social Committee – another magnificently inconsequential body." Root: "It was only 40 years ago that a mere handful of officials established the "High Authority" of the European Coal and Steel Community in Brussels. Now the EC Commission has swollen to 13,000 and fills 36 buildings across Brussels."
Telegraph p.11 22/11/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	British Tax Payers	'Tower of Euro-Babel is faced with a collapse into cacophony' 'A thousand senior civil servants spend all day translating millions of pages of documents from one of the EC's nine languages to the next.'	Exemplar: Thousands of Brussels interpreters costing millions per year Catchphrase: 'Euro-tower of Babel' Depiction: '…the wastage, delay and expense involved.' '750 oral interpreters already costing £49 million per year..' '…the Brussels language game will continue to grow' Root: The EC's nine languages must be translated and interpreted Consequence: Enlargement means the bill for translations will only grow

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.2712/12/93	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Major in EC dilemma as veto power is diluted' 'John Major was backed into a corner yesterday as 10 other European leaders supported crucial amendments to the EC constitution that would reduce Britain's power to say "No" in almost all Brussels meetings.'	Exemplar: "..in just one example of the Brussels steamroller, Britain vainly attempted to block a Spanish proposal to spend EC money on the processing of oranges, mandarins, satsumas and clementines." Catchphrase: "the Brussels steamroller"Depiction: '..the Prime Minister found himself standing all but alone against plans to circumvent Britain's historic power of veto in the "council of ministers".' "...EC officials gleefully pointed out that Mr Major was impaled on a dilemma.' Root: Belgian PM Jean-Luc Dehaene has proposed the measures to make it much easier to pass EC decisions by QMV. Changes made necessary by enlargement. Plans to increase blocking minority from 23 votes to 27. Consequence: 'Tory backbenchers are likely to be appalled at the plan, which would greatly increase the chances of Government policy being overturned in Brussels.'
Telegraph p.19 17/12/93	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'How we lost out to Herr Rexrodt' 'As more UK steel workers lose their jobs, the EC has a chance today to redress the gross unfairness in the subsidy game. But will they dare?'	Exemplar: '..fatuous laws on cigarette advertisements' Depiction: '..the current mayhem in the European steel industry' Italian "knavery" "...the EC nations plump for selfishness and short-sightedness." Root: 'continental subsidies, aimed at undercutting foreign rivals, are jeopardising the future of British Steel'. These subsidies favour inefficient plants in Germany, Italy and Spain Consequence: British Steel "cannot reap the benefits of the enormous changes it has made, cutting its 250,000 workforce of the 1970s to about 40,000 because the market is not working." "...on the Continent, the weakest are not going to the wall." Appeal to Principle: "If the EC can manage the steel crisis no better than this, the British delegation in Brussels might as well furl its tents and depart." **First 'Leave' article?**
Telegraph p.13 18/01/94	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Single market has been a singular disappointment' 'Just a year after Europe's Single Market was launched with fireworks in Brussels, and all barriers to trade were supposed to have been removed, consumers and businessmen are still hugely frustrated.'	Metaphor: Single market "as buoyant as a lead balloon" Exemplar The British businessman who can't sell his aluminium propane fuel tanks in Germany 'For sheer bug-eyed irritation, there is little to beat the discrepancies among Europe's telephone jacks and electricity plugs.' Depiction: 'Technical peculiarities and disguised protectionism mean the Single Market is about as buoyant as a lead balloon.' 'The European Commission, supposed guardian of the Single Market, has said it can do nothing.' '...there is no sign of the five million jobs it was supposed to create, nor is the EC anything approaching a single commercial unit.' 'The red tape is endless.' Root: Advent of Single Market in 1992

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Telegraph p.10 3/02/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Britain balks at German plans for a 'Brussels FBI' 'The Government faces a renewed struggle with Germany today over Chancellor Kohl's plans to create a full-fledged EC police force, able to mount operations anywhere in Britain and the rest of the Community.'	Exemplar: 'A Brussels FBI' Depiction: "a Brussels FBI" "..as the new, powerful and secretive K4 committee of national interior ministry officials meets in Brussels, Britain is preparing to enter vehement reservations.' 'British sources last night said they did not want "people in uniforms" being attached to Europol, let alone sent on missions' Root: The first stage of Maastricht's 'Europol', which is due to be formally opened in the Hague on Feb 16 Consequence: "The prospect of 'federal agents' from Germany or France being deployed in Britain is likely to cause uproar among Tory Eurosceptics.'
Telegraph 16/02/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Europe faces split over immigrant workers'	Catchphrase: "the Euro-parliament" Depiction: The plan "appears to make a nonsense of the Government's constant claim that Maastricht's "pillar" structure has served to decentralise decision-taking in Brussels.' Root: 'The EC commission is heading for a clash with Britain over plans to allow the nine million legally-established immigrants within Europe the right to move and work freely across the continent.' Consequence: Legal immigrants would have the right to seek employment in Britain even if they do not have an EC passport. Plan "is likely to appal Tory backbenchers.'
Telegraph p.4 24/02/94	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Britons to pay millions for space-age French palace'	Depiction: 'the Strasbourg palace' French threatening to "renege on the agreement on the number of Euro-MPs" Root: 'British taxpayers will pay millions more for a new space-age European parliament building in France which most Euro-MPs regard as a pointless extravagance, the parliament's budget committee said yesterday' Consequence: Tory "Euro MPs" have threatened parliament president with vote of no confidence if he signed a contract to occupy the "planned Strasbourg palace". If he doesn't France will not ratify agreement to increase overall no of MEPs
Telegraph 27/02/94	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to	CAP	'Delors muzzles plan to end EC farm waste' 'Jacques Delors is set to be plunged into fresh controversy this week following claims that the European Commission president's close	Catchphrase: "the Brussels bureaucracy' Depiction: "…the report's findings, which undermine the very foundations of the Brussels bureaucracy, are being ruthlessly squashed." "Officials from the [Commission] French-led agriculture department have forbidden its publication." Root: According to Johnson Delors wants the EC report calling for scrapping of CAP suppressed because it could hurt his chances of becoming French president in '95 Consequence: Reports findings – that scrapping CAP and getting national govts to pay direct subsidies "could save each British family at least £530 a year in high food prices and farm subsidies

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		European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.		aides have been trying to suppress a key EC report calling for the scrapping of the Common Agricultural Policy.'	
Telegraph p.12 5/03/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people. Core frame	Westminster	'Goodbye, Brussels' 'Welcome Austria, Finland, Sweden, fresh-faced EC new boys reaching for their cheque-books. *article is accompanied by cartoon depicting Delors as the witch in Hansel & Gretel, with Finland, Austria and Sweden as the children	Metaphor: Sovereignty as "a cake carved up between London and Brussels, with Westminster's share diminishing as the EC's slice inexorably expands" OR as Brussels advocates would put it, a "Brussels super-cake" with sovereignty "pooled" or "shared" with other EC countries "It was about five years ago, coincidentally when I arrived here, that the engines of Brussels broke into a roar." Exemplar: The banning of prawn cocktail flavour crispsLaw on the transport of calf embryos/ on equipment required by Greek fishmongers/ dumping duties on Egyptian artichokes. "Since May 1989, the community has passed 2,794 directives, regulations and other legislative acts, all of which must be incorporated into UK law and which are enforceable by the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg." Catchphrase: "The Brussels machine" Depiction: "[Brussels power] emanates, not from the barrel of a gun, but from the Mont Blanc fountain pens of officials." "neo-Stalinist farm subsidies, which for years prevented Britain from striking a free trade deal with America and the rest of the world""Britain's natural negotiating stance was warped by France and her farmers." 'As they ante up perhaps £1 billion in entry fees, Brussels will sternly oversee the initiation rituals, the bonfire of national prerogatives. No more control of borders, they have been told; no more right to keep out foreign lorries or chalet-buyers, a binding commitment to scrap national currencies, a shared foreign policy, trade policy, environment policy…one could go on.' "The growth of EC power over five years in terms of new, plum jobs" "[Brussels power] emanates, not from the barrel of a gun, but from the Mont Blanc fountain pens of officials." Plus side – "British business benefits from majority voting procedures, if they scythe down protectionist devices across Europe. Negative – "But it is hard to see the advantage of "pooled" sovereignty on foreign policy, for instance, if it means being strong-armed by Germany in prematurely recognising Croatia." Depictions Root: Five years earlier Johnson was appointed EC correspondent Consequence: "There's the rub. It all happens in Brussels. However one weighs up the costs and benefits of "pooling" sovereignty, the EC is run from the Belgian capital. Never mind that decisions are partly British – although Britain's influence will become more diluted, as the EC expands from 12 to 15 members – the geographical location of power is not trivial. The fact that decisions are taken in a foreign city will matter increasingly in the imaginations of British people. Some of this may have logic. But unless the architects of the united Europe are aware of their projects' political limitations, I foresee trouble ahead."
Telegraph p.22 22/03/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'It's hard to get even, when you're the odd man out'	Exemplar: "…more taxpayers' money being poured into satsuma farms in Spain." 48-hour working week Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" Depiction: "..the Franco-German axis, which seems to set the EC agenda.' "..the neon-lit humiliations, such as that over the 48-hour week: anyone who studies the EC voting record will see that Britain is routinely overruled." France and Germany "are adept at ensuring Brussels is run to suit their domestic needs…France can count on a solid band of supporters to push its line over agriculture, for instance, or social policy." Root: The expansion of the EC to include Austria, Finland, Sweden and Norway means a proposal to increase the "blocking minority' from 23 to 27 votes Consequence: "The German question' is an inevitable cliff-hanger for 1996" – German unification means 25 million more German citizens and Germany demanding "a bigger say" in Europe.

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Telegraph p.14 3/04/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Must Britain's misery go on and on?' SUB: Boris Johnson reflects on the lessons of five years spent observing Brussels.	Exemplar: "one cannot use a British television in France" "it is cheaper to phone from Greece to Belgium via New York" Catchphrase: "this Euro-Jerusalem""Euro-superstate""the Teutonic beast" (Germany)"the Franco-German monetary axis" Depiction: Sum up of the EU: "This was a cloak for efforts, led by France, to throw a bridle on the Teutonic beast, to create a European superstructure, called Maastricht, in which to enmesh the Germans." Johnson is scornful of two-speed Europe threat: "It seems to me that Mr Major could have called the bluff of Paris and Bonn, scrapped Maastricht and been safe for years." Monetary union, even if Britain joins, will not last. "The Franco-German monetary axis will be smashed." Europe will start over and "Step one, of course, will be to find some issue on which to isolate Britain and force it into abject capitulation." "…the poor prime minister…faces another diplomatic ambush; and the fury of his backbenches as more power is transferred to Brussels, in the throes of a general election. Will this British misery never end? Will the federalist assaults never let up? Or will they go on until Jacques Delors' successors have at last built their Euro-Jerusalem here in this cobbled city of fine restaurants and ornamental parks?" "Our narrative, so far, has had plenty of British humiliations, but no punchline." "Germany is the new European superpower" "For the swelling band of Euro-sceptics in London, Paris, Copenhagen and elsewhere, the cranes that towered over Brussels's 30-acre building sites were building a Babel." On Single Market: "Businessmen and consumers across Europe are unanimous in their disappointment." Root: 'the voting rights debacle''Paris will now back Germany in calling for Maastricht to be revised to pass "much more power" to the Euro-parliament.' Consequences: "…the Maastricht programme for a European superstate might founder" due to enlargement and unease in Germany over monetary union. ** "And yet my hunch is that, sometime in the next 10 or 15 years, there will be an attempt to go ahead with full union; though not by 1997, the supposed "deadline". Perhaps around 2004, France will lasso the Germans, and the lessons of the past two years will be forgotten. The Frankfurt Euro-bank will begin to issue the Ecu. Perhaps even Britain…will join in…Europe will be a single currency zone, with German monetary policy imposed on the entire continent. And then, just as in 1992, the strains will start to show." Johnson predicts inflation, lengthening dole queues, rising deficits.
Telegraph p.23 29/04/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Embrace Integration	'Should we stay, should we go?' 'I'll pull out of Europe,' John Major is supposed to have said. Boris Johnson argues that while there is ample justification for leaving the EC – there is one overriding reason for not doing so.'	Exemplar: Agricultural surpluses that "tower to heaven" Metaphor:Eurosceptics want Major to say that "any further incursions upon national sovereignty would cause Britain to uproot the tent-pegs in Brussels and depart.' "the doomsday weapon" (threat of withdrawal) Catchphrase: "the incubus of Brussels" Depiction: "It would be intoxicating to cast off the incubus of Brussels. It would end the wearisome arguments about sovereignty, the confusion about who governs Britain.Root: Major's reputed "I'll pull out of Europe" – emanate from a clique which has the support of some senior members of the Government and widening section of the parliamentary party.' Appeal to Principle: Britain should threaten to withdraw – in order to be taken seriously. This argument was used by 2016 Vote Leave campaign: "We could fund our own roads, schools, and hospitals ourselves and plough back, moreover, the billions that we contribute to the EC budget." He (wrongly) predicts that 1996 intergovt conference and enlargement will mean "the end of the old all-or-nothing EC compact. For the first time, Britain will be able to choose from a menu of options." To the question "Why not get out?" Johnson says on balance no – "We are better off making trouble from the inside". The EC would flourish and enlarge, and "with half our exports going to the Community, British firms would have no choice but to conform" with EC standards. "Excluded from the corridors of power, Britain would be unable to safeguard her interests." However "in reality, withdrawal presents few practical difficulties. This reads like an opening argument for leaving: "After so many humiliations, the mood in Westminster is light-headed, nihilistic. Exasperated by detail, befuddled by its defeats, parts of the Government, or at least the Tory party, are prepared to debate the question of Europe from first principles. They are right to do so."

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Telegraph p.20 10/05/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'If the Tory party cannot decide, let the people.' 'A grand gesture is required for unity's sake; let us have a referendum on Europe.'	Metaphor: 'The Conservative Party seethes; it boils like the contents of a great cauldron. Beneath it roar the tormenting flames of the European issue. Is there no masterstroke that could lift the lid and release them from this bubbling agony?" A referendum "would be the crack of bone on whip which for many of us have longed." Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" Depiction: 'Those politicians who support a referendum on 1996, such as Mr Bill Cash, have a clear and honourable objective. They wish to pre-empt any further moves towards a United States of Europe, any further cession of sovereignty." 1996: "..the mantraps lie in wait." French and German moves "towards a federal Europe. The Germans have their hearts set on giving more powers to the European Parliament – powers to brush aside the will of sovereign governments." Root: Growing powers of the European parliament and the "streamlining" of EC voting procedures "making it easier for Britain to be outvoted." Appeal to Principle: "A grand gesture is required, for unity's sake; a gesture is at hand. The governing party of Britain, despairing of its own ability to present a coherent European policy, is being urged to appeal to the common sense of the masses. Let the people speak. Let them have a referendum on "Europe", as soon as may be conveniently arranged." ******FIRST CALL FOR REFERENDUM – on the single currency. If Major doesn't accede to this the question Eurosceptics would push is "Are you in favour of a federal Europe?" This would be "a British referendum veto on the 'political union'. "If Britain insists on strangling the development of EC institutions, they would say, Britain might feel it was simpler to leave the EC altogether. To avoid this scenario: "I think that Mr Major should act now, before he is forced to act by the pressure of events." Holding a referendum on monetary union would head this off. "Since a referendum on the single currency is both desirable and inevitable, it should be offered without delay.
Telegraph p.18 23/05/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Euro-gulf is between people and politicians' Contrasts apathy of people with "the obsession of the political classes with "Europe"	Metaphor: 'Once again, like a returning tide, "Europe" is about to crash in over our heads…but wait: this time, just before the wave breaks in a roar of Tory schism and federalist plots, let us reflect on what stillness, what awesome tranquillity, this issue inspires in the hearts of voters." "Public apathy is the goddess of the federalists. Like some Homeric divinity, she cloaks Mr Jacques Delors and her other favourites in mist while they go about their work." Depiction: "The Bruges Group…resembles, in tone if not in substance, a meeting of the Society of Aquarius, or flat earthers. Looking around the room...one was conscious that this is to some extent fringe politics. But the truth is that the Bruges Group is right in its prejudice, and closer to a real understanding of what is going on in Europe." Root: The Euro-elections and a Bruges Group meeting addressed by Enoch Powell: "They had come to hear his extraordinary delivery, with its moral urgency as he explained his decision to leave the Tory Party after our entry into the EC." Appeal to Principle: 'Our laws may be set aside by the European Court of Justice. Our Government has shown itself consistently unable to assert itself in Brussels. This ancient polity is taking on the status of Texas or Vavria, a mere component of a federal superstate….If what the audience in the Reform Club heard is true…then why do the British people not rise up as one and cast off the oppressor? What prevents the Brugeistas from fanning out, like apostles, and bringing their message to the country as a whole?' "Ignorance is the handmaiden of apathy. But if the present progress towards federalism continues, there will come a moment when the public can no longer roll its eyes at the mention of Brussels and leave it to the Bruges Group and the politicians. Enoch Powell, who might be defined by sociologists as a would-be nationalist 'awakener", thought the moment was 1972. He was wrong. Perhaps it is not now, perhaps not even in five years' time. But the moment of decision will come."
Telegraph p.22 8/06/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Germany: The ghost at the D-Day anniversary'	Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" Depiction: "The future of Europe is again so manifestly in German hands…" "For today's German politicians, D-Day was the first step on the path to a federal European union…. From the British point of view it is also a union built, for good or ill, on German terms.' While Johnson says it is a "gross and formulistic analogy" to compare "Hitlerian ambitions for Europe" and "the present-day Common Market which seemingly intensifies Germany's economic preponderance" he says: "And yet German influence is again strong enough to give one pause… It is clear where power lies." Root: Commemoration of the D-Day landings – "it felt surprising and good to remember a time when the British were not a nation mocked for being out on a limb, not marginalised, but heroes." Consequence: "Britain will work with the new Germany, to the advantage of both countries."

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Telegraph p.19 12/06/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Social chapter slips in the back door' 'Boris Johnson finds that Britain, despite its opt-puts, is still reeling under the torrent of rulings form Euro court'	Metaphor: For social chapter – Major "damned the trickle but not the torrent. He shut the front door, not the back." "the juggernaut" of EC law Catchphrase: "the encroachment of Euro-norms" Depiction: "As the president [of the ECJ] clears his throat to announce the denouement of a case that has lasted years and cost hundreds of thousands of pounds, they know the form: another judgement addling millions, if not billions, to the social costs of British industry, and which makes a mockery of Tory boasts about "opting out" of European social policy." "burdensome EC labour law" "The trade unions rejoice" "It is penalising the Government and the taxpayer." "the great conglomerate of EC law" Root: "Last week's judgement on contracting out and large-scale redundancies means the Government could be peppered with new demands for compensation from workers who believe they should have been consulted under EC law. It comes as the [MoD] is still reeling from preposterous awards to Servicewomen sacked for being pregnant."
Telegraph p.18 27/06/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Mr Major's lone stand is good for Europe as a whole' "Mr Major's veto of Jean Luc Dehaene was not damaging for the Community. It was healthy… He has begun to tackle a historic problem."	Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" "the great Brussels bazaar" Depiction: "Unlike Italy, Britain is not dependent on France and Germany to back its illegal claim for more milk quotas. Unlike Spain, it does not receive transfusions of EC cash." "the arrogance of the Franco-German duumvirate" "Franco-German bullying" "The cheers that will greet John Major when he rises in the Commons tomorrow will be echoed across Europe…where people are fed up with the Community being treated as the hereditary fief of Paris and Bonn." Root: Britain vetoes Jean Luc Dehaene as next EU Commission President (French and German pick) Appeal to Principle: 'Mr Major has much more to win, abroad as well as at home, by showing that he will not be pushed around." "Someone needs to stand up to Franco-German bullying"
Telegraph p.20 11/07/94	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'It's no good crying'	Exemplar: British milk, 'the champagne of milk' European milk 'like some radioactive isotope' Catchphrase: "Euro-milk" Depiction: "British milk, the champagne of milk" Brussels foisting inferior European milk on Britain "Surely it is the way the British milk market is about to be turned on its head, after 50 years of successful operation, that is enough to make a reasonable citizen rattle the teacup and blow bubbles of indignation in the cornflakes." "It is Brussels which presses this stuff upon us… With one hand, Brussels doles out market-distorting subsidies. With the other, it boosts prices by restricting output." Root: Replacement of milk marketing board with Milk Marquee will mean milk will be less fresh and there will be pressure to bring in supplies from Europe." Consequence: This will mean milk will be less fresh and there will be pressure to bring in supplies from Europe: 'This means stuff that comes in little foil-sealed capsules… Processed, boiled, centrifuged, it can remain inert and stable in the fridge for months, and then, like some radioactive isotope, decay with frightening speed… It is Brussels which presses this stuff upon us."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.19 1/08/94	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'The silence of the cows' 'Fraud is costing the EC billions a year, but even when the culprits are known they are rarely prosecuted. Why? Boris Johnson explains a cover-up.'	Exemplar: "the £27 million olive oil rip-off, the £15 million meat carousel, the fetid wheat, the non-exported milk." "The Commission spent £17.5 milion on a fake training programme for Italian airline staff." Catchphrase: subsidiarity as "the handmaiden of fraud." Depiction: "In Brussels, there is a virtual conspiracy; if not to muffle the debate, then to silence it." The EC budget as 'Bribe money' "The more interesting question is why the public does not rise up as one in pop-eyed fury.' Root: An analysis by the House of Lords Select Ctte on European Communities. "Appalling sums are pilfered, the Lords say.' "With their vocation to build a true European union, the officials are aware of the damage done by the EC's image of scandal. So they are inclined to soft-pedal." Consequence: "The main reason why it will be allowed to continue is because of the hidden understanding of what the EC budget is all about. It is bribe money."
Telegraph p.22 2/10/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'No-one will stop the Germans dominating us' 'America has the weight to match Germany in Europe, but Clinton lacks the will, says Boris Johnson	Depiction: "..the Germans are some way removed from the old boot-clicking. But already Bonn is arguing for control of NATO's future combined joint task forces." Root: The ban on German deployment of troops overseas has ended. America is increasingly turning towards Germany as its major ally in Europe, esp. with regard to NATO Consequence: 'There can be no question of Britain ever playing a subordinate role to Germany. Can't there? Do not be so sure.
Telegraph p.27 14/10/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Are we really ready to sit here?' 'Yet again, underlying divisions over Europe have surfaced at the Tory Party Conference. Boris Johnson offers one solution to John Major's dilemma.'	Catchphrase: Brussels' "salami-slicing of national sovereignty." Depiction: "Euro-scepticism surges from the chasm at the heart of the party.' "The European question for the Tories…is so deadly and so unpredictable because the agenda is not in their hands. It is set by foreign countries, principally France and Germany.' "The profound truth is this: any further integration by the Continental countries – regardless of whether Britain joins in – is likely to damage the party and, one might argue, British interests.' Root: Divisions over Europe emerge at Tory party conferenceConsequence: "There is every chance that Mr Hurd and Mr Major will have to accept that Maastricht was not the highest tide." Appeal to Principle: Says a referendum is "politically essential" to ask voters following 1996 IGC "whether they approve the changes made." However "a 'No' would not mean withdrawal from the European Union. It would mean disentangling Britain from the extra provisions."
Telegraph p.22 31/10/94	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Major, the non-combatant in the battle of Brittan.'	Depiction: The Commission "is nothing like the UN. It proposes laws, an avalanche of laws, with direct effect on Britain…As 1996 approaches, the real issue for London is not the division of responsibilities between the commissioners but what steps, if any, can be taken to check the concentration of powers in the hands of unelected bureaucrats." Root: Divvy up of Commissioner portfolios sees UK's Leon Britten demoted – or "unfairly robbed of the East Europe dossier." Consequence: 'If one thing is certain about the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference, it is that it will give more powers to the Commission, even over defence."

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Telegraph p.22 14/11/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Britain enlists in Europe as Clinton beats retreat'	Depiction: The WEU as "the authentic mailed fist of the European Union.' 'The world has changed since Maastricht in 1991, when London insisted that, whatever happened, the WEU would not be the cat's-paw of Brussels. Slowly, surely a Euro alliance is being born." Root: Clinton withdrawing from arms embargo in Bosnia Consequence: a senior ministerial source quoted as saying "Germany has been delayed for 100 years from realising its true potential because of the blunders of the Kaiser and Hitler." "There is again a German question…It is just that, in the nicest possible way, the Germans look rather imposing, what with 80 million of them in the heart of Europe." Appeal to Principle: 'If you have rage, Mr Bill Cash and colleagues, prepare to vent it now. I can reveal that Britain is planning a concession: allowing the French to claim the Western European Union as the authentic mailed fist of the European Union.'
Telegraph p.18 12/12/94	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Deutschland uber alles – and we are part of alles'	Catchphrase: 'Vorsprung durch federalism' (to describe German plans) Depiction: "If other European countries are awed by the Germans, the Germans profess to be frightened of themselves…The wider Germany becomes, the greater Germany's weight within it." "For other EU countries, the question becomes more urgent. In Paris, they have recognised with sorrow that the balance of Europe has tilted. The Essen summit dwelt on admitting on admitting not just eastern Europe, but even the Baltic states and Slovenia: all Germany's ancient economic outlands….' Root: "France used to perform an intimate two-step with Germany, the economic giant but political pygmy. That was why de Gaulle said "Non" to Britain in 1963…Now the French feel a disequilibrium." Consequence: "When it comes, the single currency will demolish the Conservative Party. For the French, monetary union is the only way to tie down the Germans. For the Germans, it is Vorsprung durch federalism. For the Tory Party, it will be the end."
Telegraph p.21 20/01/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	"Why this moment may prove crucial' "The statements made yesterday by eight Eurosceptic MPs confirms the growing split in the Tory party. Boris Johnson asks whether the wound is now too deep to heal."	Exemplar: "Spanish trawlermen plundering British fish in the Irish box." Depiction: [the Eurosceptics] "have taken a stance which strikes a deep chord with middle England' "Angry Tories will say the Sceptic Eight are threatening the functioning, even the existence, of the Government. And yet there are just as many Tories who simply do not understand how it is that Britain can be forced by Europe to do things which its elected MPs, and indeed the government, oppose." Root: Eight euro rebels fail to support govt over EU fisheries policy and publish a "separate charter of aims" including scrapping monetary union, abolition of CAP and CFP, hobbling of European Court and Parliament. Consequence: "For now, the auguries are alarming for the Tories. If they lose the next election, this manifesto has greatly increased the likelihood that the split will be permanent."
Telegraph p.21 14/02/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'The Great Contradiction' "The principle at stake is whether or not it is legally permissible, under the rules of the European Union, for Britain to continue to use its natural frontiers at ports and airports as a means of controlling immigration."	Metaphor: Immigration issue as "this time bomb" Depiction: "Mr Wardle has a point. He is right when he says that the high priests of the European Commission have never abandoned their dream: to see a bonfire of frontier barriers and customs posts throughout the European Union." "The public is unlikely to understand how the arbiters of Britain's right to protect its frontiers should be the scarlet-clad justices of Luxembourg, of whom I doubt they could name a single one." 'The European Parliament, a fanatic campaigner for free movement…" Root: Charles Wardle's resignation from govt over the right to national self-determination/ conflict between article 7a in SEA over free movement of people and a declaration appended to SEA stating Britain could continue to take measures it considered necessary for controlling immigration. Consequence: "A collision lies ahead, between national sovereignty and European writ. Sooner or later, perhaps even by the end of the year, Britain's desire to police its frontiers will fall foul of the European Court of Justice."

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Telegraph p.18 1/05/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Beware the smile on the face of the tiger'	Exemplar: Brussels denying Britain the right to ban the export of live animals Catchphrase: "arresting the federal ratchet" Depiction: "the 'federal government' in Brussels "unelected busybodies" in Brussels "the EU's cockeyed surpluses" "Britain's ideas are mainly wheezing veterans front he ignominious Maastricht campaign… Nothing in this negotiating posture would amount to a recouping of sovereignty. In no way would London's demands erode the conglomerate of EU powers." Root: Appointment of committed federalist Elizabeth Guigou, MEP, to prepare the 1996 IGC – wants crime, justice and immigration folded into community competence Consequence: Johnson warns that Brussels denying Britain right to ban live export of animals "is the kind of issue that could lead to violence against the "federal government" in Brussels." "It is not pure science fiction, moreover, to see how the anger of the Oklahoma militias with federal laws could, one day, find parallels in Europe." Appeal to Principle: Johnson's remedies: proposes that the commission "should no longer have the right initiate legislation. That would do much to remove the impression of interference by unelected busybodies." Secondly scrap the CAP and replace with direct financial support to farmers.
Telegraph p.193/07/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	"Wanted: A man of vision" "John Major has spent too long being all things to all men: what the Tory party now needs, says Boris Johnson, is a leader with a sense of purpose"	Depiction: "..it is not xenophobic to be against the single currency, not after the miserable experience of locked parities in 1992". "This Euro-scepticism does not mean tediously exalting all that is British above continental art and cuisine; bragging that Britten is better than Beethoven, or that Cornish pasty beats fois gras. It is possible to be Euro-sceptic, and a devoted admirer of French cheese and German poetry. It is possible to be Euro-sceptic and a believer in the Common Market, a place of free movement of goods, people and services." On Euroscepticism:"This agenda simply involves scepticism about whether the additional forms of supranational government being created in Brussels are right for this or any European country." Root: The Tory leadership race between Major, Redwood and Heseltine Consequences "…without such a vision, an idea around which to unite, the Tories will carry neither conviction nor the country."
Telegraph p.18 7/12/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Why Major won't promise to keep the pound in your pocket'	Metaphor: The single currency as "the dodo" ('authoritative British source') Depiction: '…why will Mr Major be so acquiescent in this folly? Because if he takes an active interest in the debate, his backbench Euro-sceptics will accuse him of collaboration and surrender." John Major's "epic funambulism" Root: Madrid EU summit – leaders meet to discuss name for new euro-currency Appeal to Principle: 'Now is the time for we conservatives to assert an objection of principle. Sir James Goldsmith is poised to outflank us with his referendum party and steal our thunder as the party of Euro-scepticism. Now is the moment to strike out for clear blue water. Why not make a manifesto commitment that a Tory government will not scrap the pound?"
Telegraph p.12 15/12/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Beware the ideas of marchers, you new emperors of Europe' Protests across Europe over Maastricht's deflationary discipline	Metaphor: "Not since Marie Antoinette told the Paris mob to eat cake has the elite shown such disdain for the will of the masses." Exemplar: "irritating rules about sausage meat" Catchphrase: "the Maastricht straitjacket" Depiction: "And yet today the 15 heads of state and government will luxuriate in the christening of the very thing that millions believe is the cause of their woes: the single currency." Root: Protests linked to "the quest for monetary union, and the anti-inflationary discipline entailed, that is at least partly responsible for their economic hardship." Consequence: "If the recession deepens, public anger against the Treaty may be uncontrollable."

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Telegraph p.2 20/12/95	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Fish battle takes Tories into the valley of death'	Metaphor: "…the Tory front bench looked on like a bunch of stunned mullets" Depiction: "Bill Cash, demon king of the Euro-sceptics, earned the unprintable wrath of the whips for voting against the Government. But then Mr Cash has form as a principled objector on Europe." "the rapacious Spanish" "..the reality is that this debate on fish in the House of Commons has not the slightest bearing on reality. Not only is Mr Hogg obliged merely to "take note" of the will of parliament. No one in Brussels gives a fish finger for the opinion of our MPs about the Total Allowable Catch of mackerel, the price of cod or indeed anything else." Root: Debate on fish at the house of commons Consequence: "…the EU will go ahead, by a qualified majority vote, to decide next year's quotas, and in deciding how many foreign trawlers will prowl its waters Britain will be more or less powerless."
Telegraph p.164/01/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'The men who think that we are all full of funk'	Metaphor: On tory rifts: "The glue is cracking. The Sellotape is yellow. The Band-Aids are running low…neither Mr Major nor any mortal will be able to straddle the party's two divergent horses.' Depiction: "The Euros [ie, pro-Europeans] have various arguments, all of them bad." On joining EMU: "The economic consequences would be disastrous. Politically, they might destroy 40 years of European integration." Root: Commission launches a £40 m information campaign "on the wonders of monetary union" Consequence: 'Sometime in the next five years…the havering mass of agnostic Tory MPs will have to decide which beast to back. The time may be coming, indeed, when all of us, will have to make up our minds.' Appeal to Principle: "The question at the core of EMU is not whether the Queen's head remains on the pound. It is whether we are prepared to have confidence in our own politicians and central bankers, and give the British constitution another chance, or whether we think it safer to hand operations over to a federated government which will lead us from the path of temptation."
Telegraph p.4 5/02/96	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Munich meeting wakens bulldog in Soames'	Metaphor: Europe as "the vital fig-leaf over their returning virility." Catchphrase: "the jolly old Hun" (the Germans) Depiction: The Germans see solution as "give up the national veto…abandon this futile pretence of national sovereignty." : "To the Germans, at once guilt-ridden and arrogant, "Europe" is the vital fig-leaf over their returning virility. It is the cover for Germany's strength. It gives legitimacy to Germany's recrudescent ambitions. To attack "Europe" is to attack Germany. That is what makes Herr Kohl's language so apocalyptic." Germany "bullying the rest of Europe" to follow lead on Croatia Root: Meeting in Munich "which amounted to the opening shots of the 'Maastricht Two' negotiations' Consequence: "If Germany wins [argument to strengthen WEU], Europe will have taken renewed strides towards a single political structure."
Telegraph p.12 19/03/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Ministers walk naked towards an ambush'	Depiction: 'They blew it. In just 10 days, Mr Major and Mr Rifkind fly to Turin for the beginning of the EU intergovernmental conference. Once again the forces of federalism are mustering in ambush. Once again, backbench MPs have hardly a clue what constitutional changes, what new powers for Brussels, ministers will accept in the name of the British people." Root: New white paper on Europe. Turin IGC begins Consequence: Johnson warns: "..by forswearing the veto in advance, Mr Major and Mr Rifkind are going naked into the conference chamber." '…the Foreign Secretary admitted the dreadful reality: that there was no issue of the OGC upon which Britain would now promise to wield the veto."

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Telegraph p.37 31/03/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'This beef victory is no big deal' Boris Johnson in Turin wonders why Britain needs to take the role of supplicant	Exemplar: The "insanity" of "killing millions of healthy cows to shore up a system that buys beef into intervention storage and keeps it there for up to seven years, and then exports it to sub-Saharan Africa where it destroys the local cattle markets." Depiction: Britain as "supplicant" to Europe "the intrinsic insanity of the Common Agricultural Policy" "if there is one conclusion that stands out from the Turin summit it is how far Britain has become a mere satrapy of the European empire." "He [govt's chief vet officer] was out-voted, silenced, crushed: QMV'd – this now seems likely to enter East End criminal jargon." "veterinary stooges in Brussels" British beef "is probably the least contaminated meat in Europe, as anyone will tell you who has been to the farms of Flanders as I have, and watched them shovel angel dust into the mash." – "they forced John Major to plead for some of our own money for be in no doubt that the Germans and others will now try to subtract this financial assistance from the British rebate – for what is fundamentally an irrational cull." Root: EU ban on British beef imports (links to CJD disease) Cull protects "the fraudulent apparatus of the European beef industry, already subsidised to the tune of £4 billion." Consequence: "We need the Community's money to undo the damage caused very largely by the Community."
Telegraph p.28 21/04/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The wrong question' Boris Johnson on the muddled thinking of Goldsmith's Referendum Party Profile of Goldsmith who "seems to want more European integration, not less."	Depiction: Goldsmith's referendum party "seems exceedingly muddled." "The greatest erosions of British sovereignty are not caused by Maastricht (at least not until there is a single currency). The damage has been done by the Treaty of Rome – the Treaty used to ban British beef worldwide – and supremacy of EEC law as interpreted by the European Court, and by the extension of majority voting under the Single European Act." Root: James Goldsmith's pledge to run referendum party candidates in 1997 general election Consequence: On an In/Out referendum: "If that question were put to the electorate, I think the Eurosceptics would find themselves cruelly disappointed. A great national funk would descend, a fear of freedom, a fear of losing business and markets and of being left out. It is not clear that withdrawal from the EU is what Sir James wants. I am not sure it is what I want. The risk, from the sceptic point of view, is that an In-Out referendum would produce a vote in favour of staying in, apparently validate Britain's commitment to integration, and retard Euroscepticism for a generation."
Telegraph p.20 15/05/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'There's no point fighting Labour swaddled in steak"	Catchphrase: "not so much a Khaki election as a Beef Election with the Tories not so much wrapped in the flag but swaddled in steaks." Catchphrase for electioneering Tories: "Who governs Britain? London or Brussels?" Brilliant, eh? If only…" Depiction: "the single currency is a transparent racket for achieving political union." "the infamous behaviour of the foreigners" – Argentina over Falklands and Europe over beef ban Tony Blair as "the poodle of Brussels" Root: EU ban on import of British beef: "This ban has so far cost Britain £1 billion and 10,000 jobs…and has no scientific or medical justification." Appeal to Principle: Major should call an election on "the issue of Europe. As with the Falkands, the issue would be sovereignty; indeed, Mr Major has already specifically compared the beef ban to the Falklands."

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Telegraph p.24 22/05/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Cry havoc, and let slip the cows of war."	Metaphor: Britain as "the moth-eaten lion" Depiction: "our false friends in Europe" "the foreigners intend the ban to remain in place for months, if not years. Their ban will be just as infamous, as selfish and sinister as before. Their ban will continue to be devoid of the slightest scientific or medical justification." "The moth-eaten lion roars. Britannia shakes her rusty trident. Atavistic emotions surge in the Tory breast. With a retort that could be heard throughout the chancelleries of Europe, John Major's patience has finally snapped. After all these years of being pushed around and having its milk money stolen in the playground of Europe, the Government has blinked, straightened its spectacles and put up its fists." Root: EU beef ban. Major threatens intransigence at IGC until there is agreement on lifting the beef ban Consequence: The risk for Major in taking an anti-EU stance is that is "will simply excite the hopes of the Tory Right that the Government will go further… even threatening to withdraw from the Community."
Telegraph p.24 12/06/96	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Single Market	'The balance trembles…the needle quivers…in or out?' "It was not merely the infants who kept your correspondent tossing and turning into the small hours of yesterday morning. Nor was it the coffee or the wine or the cheese ingested late the previous evening at a notorious gathering.. A question thrummed through the brain. In or Out? EU or non-EU?"	Exemplar: Britain's £6 bn contribution to EU budget CAP costing British consumer an extra £500-£1,000 in food bills Depiction: 'Mr Cash's Euro-fanatic enemies" "There are the benefits of the single market: the rights of people to travel, settle and set up business everywhere; and the risk that in a competitive world, small barriers to trade could appear to the detriment of British business" "…European integration has been a force for stability on the continent." Argument that Britain would "lose our seat at the top table" "is rot" Root: Bill Cash's bill on Europe in the commons – 73 tory MPs supported him. Cash says "My bill is not about whether the UK should be in or out" – but Johnson says that effectively it is Consequence: Johnson argues that because you cannot have an a la carte arrangement with Europe, "That is why In or Out is the only real question." Appeal to Principle: After weighing up the pros and cons of membership he concludes: "The needle quivers. The balance trembles. For me, it is still narrowly better to stay in. What our partners should perhaps grasp is that this is now a fine judgement; and that the scales could soon tip the other way."
Telegraph p.4 21/06/96	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Sitting patiently for a trump card.'	Catchphrase: "man-cow relations""the Beef War" Depiction: 'Last night he was flying to Florence to do a deal with the crazed continental cattle-killers that could well allow Europe's ban on British beef to stretch out into the next millennium." Root: EU beef ban and UK govt's subsequent policy of non-cooperation with Europe Consequences:'Tens of thousands of healthy cows are going to die at enormous public expense to appease the hysteria of the German and Austrian public."
Telegraph p.20 24/07/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over	Single Currency	'Why we must say no to the Euro for another five years."	Metaphor: Ken Clarke as "a giant stone buddha' Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" Depiction: "A single currency…would shrink the scope for national politicians to run the economy in the national interest." Root: Public differences between senior Tories over EMU Appeal to Principle: "In an ideal world, it would be obvious to all Tories that the arguments against Emu outweigh the arguments in favour; Mr Clarke and Mr Heseltine would be

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		and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.			made see sense, and the Tories would rule out the single currency on principle… This would be a sensible manifesto commitment." To avoid a Tory split: 'Mr Major… must adopt an ostrich approach to EMU. It is speak no evil, hear no evil, see no evil; and it is a monumental cheat on the electorate… It is just not true that the decision is a long way off."
Telegraph p.16 25/09/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Why this row about Clarke when it's Major's decision?'	Metaphor: "Ken Clarke has bared his bottom at us all." (snr govt minister) Depiction: "the emerging 'stability pact': a German-inspired agreement to restrict even further than Maastricht's rules the ability of countries in the "Euro zone" to tax and spend as they please." "Labour and the Liberal Democrats would become parties of scrapping the pound and surrendering sovereignty." Root: "The Chancellor has said it would be "pathetic" for Britain to wait and see how the single currency worked out, and then join in later." Appeal to Principle: Major should announce at party conference that "Britain will not join in the first wave, or in the lifetime of the next parliament: there is little practical difference between the two formulations. At a stroke, the Tories would become the party of the pound, the party opposed to the economic government of Europe.."
Telegraph p.20 9/10/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'The Tories' new battle cry: What about the workers?'	Metaphor: The mood in Bournemouth is "like that glacier in Iceland: superficially restrained, but with the magma of the European issue bubbling beneath." "the feeble hand-clapping of Sir Leon Brittan, feebler than the wings of a dying butterfly, which died out altogether as Hague and Forsyth denounced Brussels." Depiction: "Great geysers of dissent have been erupting all over the fringe, at the meetings addressed by John Redwood, Iain Duncan Smith and Lord Tebbit. The representatives know that there is a great brick missing – some would say it was the keystone – from the Tory prospectus." Root: Tory party conference in Bournemouth & Major's decision not to state Tory position joining EMU Appeal to Principle: Appeals to principle Once more Johnson aligns himself with party's Eurosceptics, throwing gauntlet down to Major: "Tory candidates will go into the next election with no clear steer from on high about whether a Tory government will scrap the pound. That position is ludicrous, and it cannot last." "All the party needs for coherence is a steer from the Prime Minister, perhaps in his own election address to the people of Huntingdon, as late as next April. It need be nothing more concrete than a statement of his own disinclination to go into EMU within the next parliament…. If he did, he would command the immediate support of the vat majority of representatives at Bournemouth."
Telegraph p.22 13/11/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'This ruling could force us to leave the EU'	Exemplar: ECJ ruling on 48-hour working week Catchphrase: "Superstate" Depiction: "..this is a black day for us would-be Europhiles; and the illogical ruling and the intrusive directive are only part of the reason why. As I sit here in a wing of the Palace of Westminster, I cannot help wondering what is the point of the whole set-up. We have MPs, and a Cabinet, and a Government, who draw their power and legitimacy from the British people. But they have been made to look impotent by Brussels; mere ornaments of a nation with nothing left but heritage. They go out to Brussels, and on an issue of cardinal national important, they are told that under article 118A of the treaty, they cannot pass their own laws." "the Government no longer governs Britain. It no longer has the power the British people gave it." "this ridiculous ruling" "the dementedly prescriptive text of the directive." "the rest of the directive is an attempt at economic warfare, and the enemy is us… For not ignore the spleen of the Germans and the French, suffering climbing unemployment and rising social costs, as they see unemployment in Britain fall…"" The 'working time' directive is a flagrant attempt to burden a huge and vibrant off-shore economy with 'equality of misery'." 'I have friends who are not as cast down as I am by this judgement. That is because they have no doubt that Britain should simply quit the European Union, and this kind of event satisfies their prejudices. But for those of us who have believed that Britain is essentially better off within the EU, the imposition of these latest norms fills us with the rage of chumps whose arguments are kicked away from under them." Root: ECJ ruling that "a 48-hour week, complete with minimum daily rest periods where the working day is longer than six hours, and a minimum weekly rest period of 24 consecutive hours.'(ruling made on health and safety grounds) Appeal to Principle: 'We either begin the 20-year delayed task of explaining to the British people that they have been enmeshed into a superstate in which their leaders are of no account. Or else, with great regret, we begin the whole process of getting out."*******

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph 14/11/96	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'After joining with such high hopes, is Britain now a powerless victim of a Euro-conspiracy?' 'Britain was cheated over the 48-hour week in what was effectively a conspiracy to conceal the real intention of the measure, senior European Union officials confessed last night.'	Metaphor: 'Now the largely socialist and Christian Democrat MEPS wanted to be given some new red meat, new rights that Brussels could bestow on the toiling populations." Exemplar: 48-hour working week Depiction: 'Commission rejoicing at the Government's defeat' "Britain was cheated" "The French clamoured for a 48-hour week…" "As French labour minister [Delors] had promulgated detailed restrictions on hours of work, and he saw the chance to do the same for the rest of Europe." Root: Imposition of 48-hour max working week under health and safety ruling, under article 118A "which allowed for a majority vote. It was the only way of getting round the British veto." French pushed for the 48-hour week Consequence: Britain must adhere to 48-hour max working week
Telegraph p.11 23/11/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Why the Treasury can't calm this sudden squall'	Exemplar: 48-hour working week Depiction: "the sceptics scent an EU plot to control the British economy. Rot, says the Treasury." "The whole episode is a study in the impotence of democratically elected parliamentarians." Root: "Under a new regulation to be discussed in Brussels, Britain would be obliged to provide details of its plans to conform with other European economies. Failure would be punishable with fines! Mr Clarke would be unable to veto this regulation, which is to be approved by majority vote." Consequence: "It is no use the Government arguing that the proposed 'stability pact' will not apply to Britain, because Britain might yet join the single currency."
Telegraph 26/11/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Round One for bruiser Clarke'	Metaphor: "Britain might have to bow its neck to the yoke of Brussels and Frankfurt even if Britain stayed out of the euro.""the sceptics rose in unison like Chinese cadres doing aerobics.""Norman Lamont was still standing like the stray envenomed quill of a porcupine." Depiction: "The Chancellor told his backbenchers that quite frankly he wanted to be alone in Brussels, selling our birthright for a plate of moules frites." "This isn't some negotiation about tariffs on Chinese lingerie. Now underway in Brussels are talks which could – yes, could, under the policy of the Government – lead to an economic straitjacket for Britain." Root: Ken Clarke's trip to Brussels to discuss Europe-wide stability pact Consequence: "This "Stability Pact" would amount to an economic government of Europe for all countries in the euro zone."

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Telegraph p.31 1/12/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Bound and gagged on the altar of EMU'	Metaphor: "the Brussels vice about the British gonads" Catchphrase: "A guerrilla war of killer lunches in Luxembourg' Depiction: 'It took more than 20 years. It has taken 1,973 meetings of the Council of Ministers to complete the economic subjugation of Britain. It has been a guerrilla war of killer lunches in Luxembourg, of ambushes in Italian hotels, arm-twisting in the Brussels pissoirs. Now, at least in the view of many Tories, the game is up. They've got us." Ken Clarke as "the latest in a long line of capitulating Chancellors." "..at least in the view of some sceptics, he will lay British economic independence – bound, gagged, trussed – on the altar of EMU. And in one sense these sceptic fears are right." The EMU stability pact as "the future economic government of Europe." "Why should we trust any EU text to mean what it says, after the Europeans' shameful misuse of health and safety legislation to impose a 48-hour week upon Britain?" "Some of us remember how the greatest enthusiasts for EMU, the Economist magazine and Jacques Delors, used to swear that it did not involve fiscal as well as monetary union. Countries would still have considerable freedom to borrow and tax as they pleased, we were told. At least that lie has been exposed.' Root: "The row concerns the circumstances in which countries are allowed to break the rule imposed by Maastricht, that government deficits must not exceed 3 per cent of GDP." Consequence: "these discussions will bite on Britain, even outside EMU… If it is thought Britain has failed to converge, she will be denounced." "If you are running a budget deficit you are seriously expected to pay a vast sum of public money to Brussels."
Telegraph p.18 4/12/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'A modest proposal to save the Conservative Party'	Metaphor: "The sceptic fox has been shot, skinned, stuffed and mounted." "..the undergrowth stirred and Beast 2 appeared" (M Heseltine) Catchphrase: "The Euro-beasts have pounced." Depiction: Accuses French and Germans of blowing a hole in convergence criteria Depiction of Euro-sceptics as "the froth-lipped pourers over Article 109.L.4." The convergence programme as "a shameful fudge". Root: Ken Clarke's announcement that the Government could not rule out the single currency before the election. "At once it was Clarke contra mundum; the turbulent Chancellor at war with his leader." Major sticks to "wait and see" policy Appeal to Principle: "There is no way a Tory government would be able to take Britain into a single currency." Calls on Major to make a declaration that if re-elected the Tories will not take Britain into the first wave of monetary union.
Telegraph 14/12/96	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Birth of the euro gives currency to sceptics' fears'	Metaphor: "EMU now has a momentum as unstoppable as Helmut Kohl's Rhine surging to the sea." "…the juggernaut moves on, and it moves in top gear." (EMU) Catchphrase: "Franco-German pincer movement on Britain" Depiction: "..as one saw those designs that may one day replace Dickens, Faraday and Wellington, one felt the shock of the thought: this is it. This is real." The Euro as "these garish Dutch-style sweet wrappers" Root: Launch of the euro:"Yesterday was born the future economic government of Europe – the "stability pact" – by which profligate governments can be fined vast sums, payable to Brussels, unless they can plead they are in the grip of a severe recession." Consequence: "[The Germans] will demand, and receive, a French commitment to increase the powers of the European parliament; and the familiar Franco-German pincer movement on Britain will be complete. There is probably nothing Britain can now do to impede the rush to EMU."

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Telegraph p.24 21/05/97	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'How Labour has sold its sole to the Foreign Office.'	Metaphor: "the new Government feels...free to choke their economic windpipes." (fishermen) Exemplar: "The pillage of Britain's seas.' Depiction: "the pillage of Britain's seas will go on without any serious check. Nothing practical will be done to end the absurdity that foreign boats are taking 46 per cent of Britain's quota for hake, 44 per cent of the quota for plaice, and driving British fishermen to ruin." "What has Britain received for this sell-out?" Root: Tony Blair to travel to the Netherlands for first EU summit. Blair's announcement that he would "give way on more qualified majority voting in industrial policy, social policy, regional funds, the environment…" Consequence: "the Foreign Office establishment…has restored its grip on European policy. Labour's "new dawn" in Europe represents nothing so much as the triumph of the Foreign Office, which cares more about foreigners than fishermen."
Telegraph p.11 26/07/97	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'What a superstate' 'As tomorrow's Eurocrats party away, Boris Johnson manages to ask about the Federalist dream'	Exemplar: Champagne-fuelled parties for stagiaires Depiction: 'black-tied Euro-thrusters." "It's called piston, the French for clout, and it can mean that the lucky winners come from lucky families." "It seems to be a bit like jeux sans frontiers, except that the competition is between national rave-ups." Stagiaires earn "£500 per month of EU taxpayers' money." Root: Johnson attends the "European Ball, acme of the stagiaire's social season, to discover whether the federalist passion still burns with the hard gemlike flash of yore." Consequence: '..one day these bouncing 20-somethings will be in charge. It's going to happen, and you'd better believe it.'
Telegraph p.22 29/10/97	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'A fight to the death'	Metaphor: 'The bandwagon is rolling' (EMU)'On the green baize cloth of history, all the Tory chips are now stacked against monetary union. All the Labour chips are stacked in favour." Catchphrase: 'We will fight them in the bistros' Depiction: "EMU was the panic-stricken response of the French elite and their guilt-ridden German counterparts to German unification. The plan has no democratic legitimacy." 'Foreign bankers would hold and manage Britain's currency reserves, our gold in the hands of people who cannot pronounce Gloucestershire. Why take the risk? Why cram Europe's diversity into this Procrustean machine?" "…handing over our economic sovereignty." (joining EMU). "Europe is a club for whites and Christians… It is overtly racist and Islamophobe. Some people – though not I – may find that attractive. But those people cannot simultaneously hold that we, who are suspicious of the Brussels institutions, are hostile to foreigners. It is the Europhiles who are the true xenophobes." Root: 'Both parties have wagered their futures on a referendum on EMU to take place after the next election. Only one party gets out alive." Consequence: 'If Britain goes in, the British people will sooner or later wake up to the fact that this is, above all, a political project." "Soon, by a process of mass hysteria, the nation will feel as though whizzing on iron rails towards a predestined conclusion. Can nothing stop this locomotive? Nothing, it appears, save the bedraggled remnants of the Tory party." Appeal to Principle: "What the Resistance must show is that sovereignty matters, that is not some affectation of politicians." …'It is time to show that EMU-scepticism is the global, outward-looking and, above all, hip side of the argument. We will fight them in the bistros."

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Telegraph p.24 5/11/97	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Two-party Tories?' 'Suppose the worst comes to the worst. Suppose that tomorrow is the first hairline crack in the ancient masonry. After 150 years of unity and success, suppose the Tory party chooses this week to divide.' (over EMU)	Metaphor: "the ebullient India-rubber ego of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer." Depiction: "Whenever Labour talks about society, it means the state; and if it goes into EMU, it will mean a European state." Root: Hague's 'not in the lifetime of this parliament' policy on EMU Appeal to Principle: 'It will be essential in the coming days to nail that lie, to show the connection between the economic damage that could be done by a single currency, and a loss of sovereignty. It will also be essential to show that there is nothing necessarily fusty, backward-looking or isolationist about EMU-scepticism." Johnson's advice to Hague: "It is far better to have a clear line now, than to go into the next election with the fudge of the last." At upcoming speech to CBI he should "extol European trade and co-operation, lauding internationalism, but damning Brussels' parochial obsession with EMU. It will be a difficult trick to pull off."
Telegraph 11/11/97	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Tory words of caution are heard above rumble of the avalanche'	Metaphor: 'Like the drumming of horses preparing to stampede in the Australian outback the word was passing yesterday among Britain's industrialists. 'The euro, the euro,' the whisper came from the flanks, and now the mob broke into a canter, each instinctively copying his neighbour. "It's going to happen." Depiction: "…and now the foam-flecked gallop began, because high in the snowy mountains above them they could hear the rumble, the avalanche, of bumf from the Government." "William Hague came to the lion's den yesterday, or at least the lair of the fat cats; and he did not disappoint." Root: William Hague's speech to the CBI, Birmingham, 10 November 1997. Appeal to Principle: "The stampede may be underway, but it is not too late to head it off at the pass."
Telegraph p.20 7/01/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Savaged by a dead sheep'	Metaphor: Tory grandees are attempting "to begin the tightening of the ligature around his [Hague's] youthful neck" Exemplar: Britain's resistance to "the EU chocolate directive". Depiction: 'William Hague is unique in Europe, in that he is the only leader of a major political party to have the guts to oppose the single currency. Depiction of grandees:'To be a grandee is almost by definition to be Leftish and wettish; … In the imagination of the Troy grandees, they are a buffer zone – literally a zone of buffers – against the vulgar nationalism of the mass of the party. To them, the European Union involves a delightful mingling of civilised elites, a chance to show off the Italian they have honed a the poolside in Chianti. To bury Britain in the EU amounts to a statement about the kind of people they are, or want to be… And in order to combat the distasteful scepticism of the lower orders, they are prepared to engage in some stunning intellectual dishonesty." Grandees see sceptics as "goggling flat-earthers""almost every sentence of the grandees' letter contains some fallacy" Root: *The Independent* publishes a letter from Tory grandees – including Geoffrey Howe - which says Tories should support Blair in "abolishing the pound" Consequence: "These British proponents of EMU refused publicly to admit what every continental politician freely states: that monetary union inevitably leads to fiscal union, which leads to a federal government of Europe." Appeal to Principle: 'The time has long past, in the Tory party, for 'coded' speeches and letters. We know what the issue is. Let us have the argument en clair, not surrounded by Geoffrey Howe's metaphors about broken cricket bats."
Telegraph p.24 29/04/98	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Our real third way'	Catchphrase: "Euroland" "europhoria" Depiction: "Even if Britain participated in the euro.. The British would still be provincials with a federal system that we would have no chance of dominating." "The purpose of EMU is to keep the Germans in, the Americans out, and the French in charge." Root: EU leaders due to gather to launch the 11 member countries of the euro Appeal to Principle: "There is no reason why we should cleave, parasitically, to either bloc: either to a real superpower, or the would-be superpower based in Brussels." 'It is time for some bold politician to map out an alternative future for this country in which we keep a foot in both camps. Britain could be the intersecting set in the Venn diagram… neither seeing its future exclusively 'in Europe' nor 'with America'… It is time to have our cake, eat it – and keep the pound into the bargain.'

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Telegraph 4/05/98	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Untrustworthy politicians	'Gallic cockerel will be ruling roost in Frankfurt for the next 12 years.' 'Boris Johnson in Brussels on the explosion of rivalry between the French and Germans'	Metaphor: The Gallic cockerel "ruling the roost in Frankfurt for the next 12 years.' 'Blair had his first taste of the cut-throat politics of the Brussels souk.' Depiction: '..the currency…will not be run by prudent bankers, but by irascible French politicians, craven Germans and the Orwellian double-speak of the Brussels fudge' 'The French revived EMU in 1988 to obtain some political control over the Bundesbank. Now they have it. The more chaste and pristine the Germans want the Eurobank to appear, the more determined are the French to show that it is open to pressure from Paris.' Root: Govt 'preparing the slow task of persuading the British to accept the euro' and rivalry erupts between France & Germany. Wim Duisenberg announces he will step down as head of currency to allow Frenchman Trichet to take over as v.p. of 'Eurobank' Consequence: 'The Gallic cockerel will be ruling the roost in Frankfurt for the next 12 years… in EMU, what counts is not the letter of the Treaty of Maastricht but the willingness of M Chirac to bully the Germans. The moneymen will conclude that the Eurobank will not be some sacerdotal guardian of monetary rigour, but will be as politicised and haggled over as the EU intervention price for olive oil or beef."
Telegraph p.12 16/06/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Kohl's attack on powerful Brussels leaves a spooky sense of déjà vu'	Metaphor: 'Soon the cry was universal. 'We have just left the people of Europe behind,' moaned the leaders, as though they had just glanced in the mirror and seen an empty back seat.' Exemplar: of EU lawthe minimum permissible width of condoms and the maximum permissible odour of farmyard compounds.' Depiction: Subsidiarity as "the eternal attempt to stop Brussels interfering in the close weave of our daily lives.' 'Never mind that task forces have wasted thousands of man hours on subsidiarity since 1992, and have trimmed barely a sentence of the vast corpus of EU law, among whose provisions are the minimum permissible width of condoms and the maximum permissible odour of farmyard compounds.' Root: EU summit at Cardiff Consequence: Talks on subsidiarity "will do nothing to check the onward rush of integration. Britain has now come nearer than ever before to pledging to sign up to the most powerful supranational institution yet – the European Central Bank."
Telegraph p.26 17/06/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'We can go it alone'	Metaphor: Britain as a "nippy tug" and euroland as a "supertanker freighted with contradictions." Germany's warning that if Britain does not join "the pound will be like a dinghy that has wandered into the choppy water between "the two supertankers" (ie, the dollar and the Euro) Catchphrase: "Franco-German axis" Depiction: If Britain joined "there is no reason to believe that this country will be any more influential over the Franco-German axis. Look at this central bank, the tower of power in Frankfurt. If Britain joined, she would have merely one vote in 12." The euro as "a puissant machine for economic and political integration". Root: 'Nearer and nearer draws the time when the euro is born, a puissant machine for economic and political integration, and there are still some flat-earthers who delude themselves that Britain can stay out, that their narrow island can stay apart." Consequence: If Britain joined "The Governor of the Bank of England will count no more than the top central banker in Luxembourg… Britain's particular concerns, such as her request that the bank set the optimum interest rate for Britain, will be drowned out by the chorus from the mark bloc." Appeal to Principle: 'This is not an argument for leaving the EU. Of course, Britain should try to maximise her influence in Europe. But there is no point in deluding ourselves that we can change the basic shape of the federalist project…Better to be a nippy tug than a supertanker freighted with contradictions."

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Telegraph p.22 2/09/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Buck up Norway" here's one reason to be cheerful'	Metaphor: "Within an EMU…we would all have the same response, the same interest rates at the same time. It is as though all readers of this column were required to keep their trousers or skirts up by means of my belt. Depending on their weight, some would find it too tight, some would find it just the job, and an embarrassingly large number would find that their trousers fell down." Catchphrase: "morally Gestapoed" Depiction: Norway "has not the slightest risk of being morally gestapoed into monetary union." Root: Norway voting to stay out of the EU Consequence: For Norway and Britain, the great advantage of being outside the EMU is that you can better withstand what is called an 'asymmetric shock'. "Within an EMU…we would all have the same response, the same interest rates at the same time… The wrong interest rate would exacerbate whatever problem the country had." Appeal to Principle: "Such is the commitment of the European political classes that they will drive on, irrespective of the pain. And in due course, there will come another "asymmetric shock" from which Norway, and Britain if its people are sensible, will be at least partly insulated by having the sense to retain their own currency."
Telegraph p.26 28/10/98	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'How Labour drugged the people, from A to ZZZZ.'	Metaphor: 'Like some narcoleptic ruminant, the electorate sits and chews its cud in a kind of stupor of satisfaction… Nowhere is the strategy of drugging the electorate more successful, of course, than over Europe.' Depiction: 'One of the key reasons why the political classes, including journalists, will never abandon the goal of European integration is that it supplies them with free air tickets to attractive destinations." The WEU as "this bureaucratic excrescence, which does precisely zero except occupy some offices in Rue Ravenstein, Brussels.' "The Germans and others are increasingly keen to harmonize tax rates, in a way that would particularly disadvantage Britain." Root: 'The Blair strategy is to cease this senseless conflict and be 'positive' about Europe, because Labour thinks the electorate will drop its suspicions of the EU only if they see evidence that Britain is 'leading' in Europe. Hence the wizard wheeze about the WEU…Britain was abandoning its historic aversion to a Euro-defence pact." Consequence: Blair "is simply joining the consensus, that he has accepted the European ideal of a collective good, as opposed to a British good." Appeal to Principle: Johnson concludes "If ever there was a time when the country needed the caustic voice of the late, great Nicholas Budgen, now is it." (arch-Eurosceptic fired from Thatcher's cabinet for airing anti-German sentiments)
Telegraph p.2 3/11/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Campbell triumphs as German leader stays 'on message'"	Depiction: It is Schroder's "earnest desire to see the pound abolished. With every day that passes, it must be dolefully reported, the Government comes closer to achieving that end. In No 10, they call it the "Zen method'" "Tony and Gordon don't want a big public debate about the issue. They just want the zeitgeist to mature imperceptibly to an overwhelming conviction that no other course is possible: that British membership will happen, and therefore, by a leap of logic, that it ought to happen." Root: First public visit of German Chancellor Gerhard Schroder to Britain CBI's fringe debate on EMU Consequence: -"The sceptic case will be parodied. Business will plump apathetically for "stability" and "certainty". The public will stumble towards the euro in the belief that it is "the real world" and "there is no alternative"; and Peter Mandelson will give seminars on Zen and the art of electoral manipulation."
Telegraph p.28 11/11/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Exposed: The love that dare not speak its name'	Exemplar: Britain sacrificing its fish industry Catchphrase: "British establishment mafia" Depiction: "the lying, cheating, British establishment Mafia" "Three years later Britain sacrificed its fish industry and much else to join a Europe where British law was subordinate and Parliament was no longer sovereign." "foreign office federalists" "The British foreign policy establishment has tried, and will try, all manner of duplicity to edge this country deeper into a federal Europe." "the misleading rubric of the 1975 referendum, which stated that "English Common Law is not affected" Root: Publication of Hugo Young's 'This Blessed Plot' Consequence: '..deception is being practiced again. We are told by the Government…that joining the single currency will mean no further fusion of economic policy… When it happens and proves to be of seismic constitutional importance, we are told that it cannot be reversed. It has magically become a "fact of life", from which dissent is boorish and futile." "Provided their say is guaranteed or their sensation of participation, they don't care much about the say of the voter, with his unkempt prejudices…" Appeal to Principle: "It is shameful that no leader has had the guts to come clean about what is being done by Britain in Europe. No one, from Heath to Blair, has dared sound the

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
					clarion call of Euro-enthusiasm commensurate with this country's intricate legal commitments… The question for Blair is whether he dares risk the convulsion, when the British people finally discover that not only have they lost their power to shape their ends, but that the lying, cheating, British establishment Mafia is impotent, too."
Telegraph p.24 25/11/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'They bay for blood now – but we'll all pay later'	Metaphor: "With a horrible semi-sexual moan, like hounds shown a fox, Labour MPs vented their slobbering vindictiveness" The British veto as "that trusty Excalibur" Exemplar: 48-hr week Catchphrase: "the Caesars of Brussels"; "Euro-taxation" Depiction: "What is the latest decree from the Caesars of Brussels? That all Europe shall be taxed at the same rate, to prevent alleged distortions of trade within the euro zone….That's right; it's Euro-taxation." "Ah! The British veto, that trusty Excalibur which somehow failed to protect this country, even under the Tories, from the Common Agricultural Policy, the devouring of its fisheries, the 48-jour week and a torrent of other directives and regulations. No Gordon, if you want to join the euro, you will not be able to wield the 'veto', and you know it.' "This Government is so tyrannised by fashion that it cares more about joining the euro than protecting the people's right – for which liberal Britons have fought for centuries – to throw out, at elections, those who set their tax rates."Root: Queen's speech "as she read the doom of the hereditary peers…the detoffification of the Lords" Consequence: "The function for which Parliament was called into being, and over which it revolted in the 17th century, for the sake of which it beheaded one of the Queen's ancestors and reduced her to parroting New Labour slogans, is being ceded, and will be ceded under Labour to the ratchet of Brussels."
Telegraph p.32 3/12/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'We say we'll never give in, but in the end we always do.'	Catchphrase: "United States of Europe" Depiction: European Union as "a new threat to British democracy" Blair and Campbell depicted as delusional: 'No, say Tony and Alastair. Don't worry, be happy, they say. It won't happen, and anyway, we have the veto ready and waiting at Brize Norton. One doesn't know whether to laugh or cry, as one contemplates this denial of the facts of Britain's relations with the European Union." 'How magnificent to hear those words again! What music to the ear. Faced with the reality of the drive for European Union and a new threat to British democracy, Alastair Campbell reaches, jabbering, for the two incoherent lines of defence that every prime minister has used since Harold Macmillan. It won't happen, scoffs Campbell." "By introducing majority voting, the single market programme unleashed a torrent of regulations, unifying Europe at a pace that surprised Delors himself." Root: Finance ministers of France and Germany "say, as one, that there must be an end to the national right to set rates of taxation." Germans also say they want "federal solution" for Europe and a new "European constitution." Consequence: 'Tony Blair rattles his sabre and pretends he can avoid the fate of his predecessors. He thinks he can avoid this tax harmonisation, even if the others decide to do it. As Ruud Lubbers said at 2am at Maastricht: "History teaches us that, if one or two lag behind, they always follow."

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Telegraph p.36 6/12/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'You cannot charm Europe, Prime Minister.' 'Boris Johnson explains why Mr Blair's smile will vanish in Vienna this week'	Metaphor: Blair as "a geyser of goodwill, pouring an Exxo Valdez on the troubled waters of the Channel." Ireland as a "Gruyere of tax exemptions" Catchphrase: "the instant fires of Euro-enthusiasm" Who can save Britain from the "Franco-German axis" "Euro-taxation" Depiction: On Blair: "How boyishly, how lovably, he chucked away- gratis – a couple of British vetoes, perspiring at every pore with the instant fires of Euro-enthusiasm." Johnson says Blair's Europe policy is a "sham, a grinning ninny's obsession with "being positive", without thinking through what that entails." Ultimately he wants to "seduce the British public into an acceptance of the single currency." "The Irish are as keen as the Spanish to keep their jaws clamped on the German-funded Euro-teat." Johnson equates greater union with "alien rule and the end of independence." Root: As the PM prepares for the Vienna summit "what can he expect, after 18 months of sucking up?" Consequence: "…sooner or later every British leader finds the country's interests or policy diametrically at odds with those of the Continental powers." Appeal to Principle: Blair should be honest about his intentions
Telegraph 12/12/98	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Blair looks both ways in the hall of mirrors.'	Metaphor: John Major, "a victim of the playground bullies of Brussels" "If he does not fight he will be boiled in figurative oil by the Sun; and more importantly, he will fail to do justice to the interests of Britain and Europe." Catchphrase: "mendacious Metternichs"*(*Austrian diplomat) Depiction: 'Amid the gilt and chandeliers today's mendacious Metternichs busied themselves with the latest effort to staple-gun one European nation to the next in a ramshackle federation." 'The truth was that Mr Blair was trying to have it both ways, to pander to two audiences, to suck and blow at once: a parp on the trumpet for the benefit of the Sun, some warm words and shining teeth for his Euro-confreres. He will not be able to keep it up." Root: Vienna summit - the "British budget issue" (ie, the rebate) and the proposal to harmonise taxes. Consequence: 'Tax harmonisation is on the agenda for good. It may take years: but that is how the EU works. As one goal is achieved, the next is set; after the single market, EMU; and after EMU harmonized taxation… there is now an impetus for axing the rebate." Appeal to Principle: Johnson warns that Blair "can do one of the two things: fight or smile. Mr Campbell can have Thatcher headlines or Monsieur Oui headlines. He cannot have both."
Telegraph p.22 6/01/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Hail the Belgian empire, more ruthless than Rome.'	Metaphor: "the Euro, like the silver denarius, is the symbol of the new authority" Catchphrase: "Gordon the Europhile" Depiction: "…this is the first time since the Roman empire that such a swath of the European continent has had a single currency. Indeed, the euro has gone further than the legions. It has leapt the Teutonic fault-line that defeated Augustus, embracing the terrifying Alemanni and their oak glades." "It is the Labour Party, the People's party, which has been so scalded by the scorn of the people for 18 years that it wears Tory clothes in the hope of fooling the People, that all the while plots to enter the euro, and abolish the People's right to settle their own destiny every again." Depiction of powerlessness of voter: "When.. the Dutch finance minister was hit by a custard pie, I must confess I was seized by a fierce joy. Of course it is juvenile to throw custard pies. But what can you do, when the value of your vote is taken away? The custard pie is all you have left." Root: "Taxes were levied for Rome from the conquered provinces. Tribute was paid. That which was Caesars was rendered unto Caesar. Now, by the various amendments to the Treaty of Rome, taxes will be levied in common again… Consequence: "The plan, in truth is to create an economic government of Europe. Spending rules are already in place. Tax rates, in whose name British parliamentarians first killed the king and took his powers, are to be discussed, decided and – inevitably – legislated in common." Appeal to Principle: "What about democracy, the people's right to elect those who take their money away?"
Telegraph p.20 13/01/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European	British Tax Payers	'Hit the road Jacques, and don't come back' Court of Auditors finds EU's	Exemplar: 'Brussels gave £420m to help improve the safety of Soviet reactors. It would have been simpler to blowtorch the money.' Catchphrase: Brussels as "the gravy train" Depiction: European parliament as "the happy hothouse in the restaurant-rich Alsatian city; where former SS officers harangue Italian ex-porn stars on the merits of the ewe premium…" "…the EU system is systemically corrupt, and if anything, getting worse."

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.		humanitarian aid operation mislaid £1bn	European parliament as "that Frankenstein's monster of democracy" 'After decades of peaceful browsing in the restaurants of Brussels, the Eurocrats are suddenly raising the head, flaring the nostrils, sniffing the wind…A threat has appeared to their existence, more deadly than a duff oyster, more lethal than the Tory Euro-sceptics. Help! They say. Crisis! Constitutional crisis!' Root: The European parliament will be called upon to censure the European Commission, thereby forcing its resignation, following court of auditors findings that at least five per cent of £65 billion EU budget "is lost in fraud and bungling." Appeal to Principle: "there is an unanswerable case for sacking the Commission of Jacques Santers" "For decades the European public have known that the institutions of the Community were corrupt. They have knuckled under, because of the hard necessity of membership.. Here is a heaven-sent chance to show us all that our votes won't be worthless next June. It defies belief that the MEPs should pass it up. Are they politicians, or what? Come on, folks. Let them have it."
Telegraph p.11 15/01/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Down went the thumbs, like a mob of Romans at a circus'	Metaphor: "It was as if Louis XIV had been led to the guillotine, and then allowed to escape with a minor wigging." Exemplar: Martin Bangemann, "the 18-stone German who attempted to abolish the prawn cocktail crisp and promulgated the Euro-condom" "..the goateed Spaniard who contrived to "lose" a billion pounds of taxpayers' money.." MEPS at Strasbourg's asparagus festival with butter running down their chins Depiction: "Yesterday the Euro-Parliament reached its turning point and failed to turn. The MEPs took centre stage. They missed their cue. Perhaps they will one day screw up their courage and have another go. But soon spring will be here, and it will be time for Strasbourg's annual asparagus festival, and as the MEPs resume their happy rituals, as the butter runs down their chins, why they ever dream of biting the hand that feeds them." "Not since the waters retired from the face of the Earth has Strasbourg witnessed such a profusion of spineless life-forms" "..their pathetic deference to national governments and party machines. If the MEPs do not believe in themselves as independent politicians, why should anyone else?" Commissioners as "prize protozoa." Root: MEPs vote on censure of Commission – "For the first time the MEPs had a chance to strike a blow on behalf of all of us, the disenfranchised multitudes of Europe; to put one in the eye of our unelected masters – and they funked it." Appeal to Principle: 'There is only one way to make the commission sit up and take notice, and that is to prise their jaws away from the great Euro-teat. Take away those chauffeurs, those petrol coupons, those platoons of pencil-skirted lozenge-spectacled assistants."
Telegraph p.22 20/01/99	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'I say, Fritz, could you get your bank off my lawn?' 'Encapsulated in the word 'British' is a set of assumptions about the governance of your country, and William Hague yesterday posed the fundamental question."	Metaphor: The cartoon character Selectivemploymentax in Asterix the Legionary – "..the Briton is seen sturdy, defiant, alone, pointing his spear at the centurion's sternum, one man against the mightiest continental army, asking the troops in measured tones to keep off the grass." Depiction: 'Hague's strategy is to show that there are characteristics which are distinctively British; and then to show that these characteristics gave rise to distinctively attractive British political institutions. His point is that these institutions are under threat, and…that British identity is under threat." "Hague's.. best point of all is that European integration is fantastically backward-looking; solving the geo-political problems of the 1930s with the bureaucracy of the 1960s and 1970s. Will his words find an echo? Root: Hague's Jan 19th speech to the centre for policy studies Consequence: "The truth, perhaps, is that a large number of Brits do not yet feel that their Britishness is under threat. They can see, dimly, that something is afoot in Brussels… They do not, yet, make any connection between these changes and the way they think of themselves and their country… That may change, that confidence, if and when the public takes stock of what is happening. As the Napoleonic era shows, the sense of Britishness grows stronger with external threat. If the British genuinely fear that their taxes are likely to be set by Continental powers, and their liberties are being lost, the sense of British nationhood will return, and the tittering will be over."

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Telegraph p.24 24/02/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Tony changes gear as we hit the big chicane'	Metaphor: 'with all the reckless bravura of an Emerson Fittipaldi engaging top as he spins out of a Monaco hairpin- or a little old lady nudging her Metro into first… Tony Blair yesterday announced a 'change of gear' in British policy towards the single currency." "..from now on it's arum arum araaaagh, flat out for the euro with Blair at the wheel, and the pound but a hedgehog in his path." Depiction: "There is an agenda, being prosecuted by the two most important EU governments, France and Germany, to go beyond the euro; to build a single economic government of Europe." Britain has lower taxes than Europe and "The bulk of the differential is made up by the rest of Europe's onerous and job-destroying social security contributions." "..for the sake of all this useless undeployed influence, we are trading away democracy." Root: Tony Blair yesterday announced a 'change of gear' in British policy towards the single currency. Consequence: "Democratically elected members of the Commons will no longer decide rates of taxation, and no organ of the British state will any longer decide monetary policy." Appeal to Principle: "Sometimes in my gloom about the state of the Tories, I think they should change their name…Perhaps they should just call themselves the Democracy Party, because on every key issue the Conservatives seem to be sticking up for people power against the Blairite cadres."
Telegraph 17/03/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'A bacillus in the heart of Brussels'	Metaphor: Santer as "the man who had driven the gravy train slap bang into the buffers at Tres Grande Vitesse' Exemplar: 'So, it has come to this. After 42 years of unstoppable integration, of directives on everything from lawnmower noise to maximum permissible odours in farmyard compounds, the European commissioners have finally met their match." Depiction: 'With a few strokes of their Mont Blanc pens the hauts fonctionnnaires have abolished newspaper delivery boys and re-baptised English chocolate and called into being oceans of surplus Valpolicella: and yesterday – Kerprang. The Santer commission has been destroyed by its own sheer, exuberant incompetence." Santer as "this time-bomb, bacillus, this agent of deep penetration – in the heart of the Brussels machine / "this portrait of bureaucratic bungling" Root: Resignation of Santer Commission following damning independent report on failures of administration Consequence: 'Does this mean a freeze on EU spending? Will the lobster picks rust in the restaurants of the Rue Stevin?... Mais non! It turned out that Santer and Co have not actually resigned and gone…they remain until the new commissioners can be found. They will be paid, in homage to the system they created themselves, to do nothing."
Telegraph p.22 17/03/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Giving a job to your dentist – what a way to run a continent'	Exemplar: Cresson bunging money to her dentistCommissioners commanding their chauffeurs to take their wives shopping Depiction: "Fellow Euro-sceptics, doubters, realists…as we narrow the gaze and look at events we must, in all intellectual honesty, concede that the Euro-parliament has finally summoned some strength into its feeble shanks and slotted the ball at the back of the yawning net… Without the Euro-parliament, there would have been no Committee of Wise Men to press the whisky and revolver into Mr Santer's hand." "Now..we must brace ourselves for an orgy of propaganda from our mendacious and hypocritical Government…that this was a "revolution in accountability… Democracy has hit Brussels, Blair and Co will claim. The sacking of Santer proves it! To all of which the sceptic will reply – how sorrowfully – if only it were true." "Mr Blair wants to persuade the British people that it is a good idea to hand over the management of economic and monetary policy to European institutions. He did not want the commission to be revealed, at this delicate moment, as a load of free-booting freeloaders commanding their chauffeurs to take their wives shopping in their free petrol 7-series BMWs and installing their dentists as 'scientific advisers' Root: Resignation of Santer commission after damning independent report which found among other things that commissioner Edith Cresson had "no shame in bunging her dentist a sinecure to reward him for political favours." Countries "steer jobs, favours, and above all money, in the way of their own country… It is this multinational environment, where the money is everybody's and therefore nobody's, which breeds sleaze and irresponsibility. Nobody plays the game better than France." Consequence: "The very climax of the Cresson affair is a triumph for France. Instead of being forced to resign alone, she has brought the Commission down with her. Bien Joue! The problem with these manoeuvrings is that some countries are more skilful, and more rapacious, than others; and some countries, notably Britain, and invisibly shafted. To control this undemocratic horse-trading, day in day out, which is the essence of Brussels life, there is nothing the Euro-parliamentarian can do."

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Telegraph p.25 21/03/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Another gravy train will leave shortly…' 'Boris Johnson in Brussels explains why any attempt to reform the Commission is bound to lose to national self-interest'	Metaphor: 'After a week of humiliation, the once-mighty Brussels Commission lies before them prostrate, enfeebled, like a patient etherised upon a table." Exemplar: Echo, the EU's humanitarian aid organisation – singled out for "jobbery and corruption." Catchphrase: Brussels as 'the gravy train' Depiction: 'The EU is a delicate ecosystem, an inherited conglomerate of historic deals, which cannot be unpicked without enraging the losers in national capitals and inciting demands for compensation." "What is the EC, to begin with? It was a trade-off, between the German desire to sell its manufactures and the French desire to sell French food. Root: Commission reform Consequence: EU leaders "will huff and puff, and issue strongly worded communiques about the need to 'restore the trust of the people of Europe', and after a decent interval, they will do nothing, zilch, niente… With a wheeze and a creak and then a glorious insouciant chuffa-chuffa-chuffa, the gravy train will be back on the rails."
Telegraph p.24 24/03/99	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'If Tony can reform Brussels, then Ich bin ein Frankfurter' 'Can it all be true? Has Blair managed to change the geometry of the EU? Pas sur votre nelly.'	Metaphor: 'the Commission has about as much to fear from Blair as from a crème brulee' Depiction: 'In so far as Cresson has been humiliated, she has behaved in utterly Gallic fashion, and brought the whole Commission down rather than take her punishment alone. The French cabinet system remains in place.' Root: Berlin EU summit. France has just "suffered the humiliation of Edith Cresson and her dentist." Blair's talk of reforming the Commission Consequence: EU's 'future financing' deal is "another triumph for the French and for the CAP…Under the plans, farm spending will actually increase by £2 billion…over the next five years, while the British rebate will be whittled away if and when enlargement actually happens.
Telegraph p.16 26/03/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Jacques Sancerre stages a vintage farewell'	Metaphor: 'M Santer exuded the air of a gentleman finding himself in a pit of snakes' Catchphrase: Santer as 'M Sancerre' Depiction: '..the feminine shamelessness of the cornered Edith Cresson' 'Jacques Delors, who turned the Commission into a ravening, competence-grabbing octopus.' Root: Resignation of Jacques Santer Consequence: Santer has been replaced "by a man of quite the opposite persuasion. Already Sig Prodi is calling for the EU to put the pedal to the metal, Avanti prestissimo, for euro coins and further integration, not least on tax. What is more, under the Treaty of Amsterdam, Prodi..will be able to appoint his own Commission....Brussels slowly moves towards its final political identity as a politicised government of Europe.'
Telegraph p.32 6/06/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Monetary and military union are doomed' 'The war has shown the weakness of Europe, says Boris Johnson'	Depiction: 'How dreadful, we are supposed to think, that these Balkan types had succumbed to a primitive instinct for national self-determination; but of course they did. The deep truth of the Euro experiment is that nations always will.' "What is this Europe…? It is a Yugoslavia in the making, an attempt to turn the whole continent into a string-and-bubble-gum Balkan state, with political institutions considerably less awe-inspiring than Tito, and roughly the same democratic credentials.' Root: Break-up of Yugoslavia. Euro's fall in value against the dollar. EU's response – "that we need more federalism. Let's have a Euro-army'. Consequence: 'The problem with these EU supremos…is that they are neither sufficiently potent to command respect nor sufficiently accountable to earn people's trust.'

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Telegraph p.28 23/09/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'If Celts can ban our beef, let the English veto EMU'	Depiction: 'For at least a decade now, politicians in those countries [Scotland & Wales] have seen direct links with Brussels as a way of by-passing and diminishing the rule of London; a feeling that is, of course, echoed in Brussels, where intelligent people hope to break down ancient and obstreperous sovereign nations into their more biddable regions.' Scotland and Wales would vote Yes for euro, but "the English, being congenitally more free-market types, and having a more visceral opposition to rule from Brussels, would vote no." Root: UK govt has agreed to allow beef on the bone consumption – ban on UK beef still holds in Europe. Scotland and Wales object to UK govt decision Appeal to Principle: 'If ever there was a constitutional change that required the unanimous vote of all the United Kingdom's constituent countries, it is the scrapping of the pound, and the end of economic and monetary independence. So give the Scots and Wels their beef veto. But give the English the veto over EMU; and roll on proper federalism in the United Kingdom, as a last defence against federalism in Europe."
Telegraph p.30 7/10/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'That nice Mr Major's been airbrushed out of history'	Metaphor: "Not since Leon Trotsky was airbrushed out of early Soviet photographs has there been the creation of such a non-person' *John Major Depiction: 'Hezza and Clarke are now in a tiny minority' 'The EU is essentially an attempt to combat the triumph of supranational commerce, and the expansion of individual autonomy at the expense of government, by creating a new supranational government in Brussels. The problem with this plan is that is it profoundly undemocratic, and in resisting it from within the EU, the Tories will not go wrong'. 'Why do the Tories persist in this Stalinist rewrite? What is it about the Major years that fills them with such pain? What is it that makes them ignore the good things he did…? The answer is – bien sur - Europe, or rather, the hideous memory of the party's divisions over Europe.' "..the party is all but united behind the policy of William Hague, which happens to be the policy of Margaret Thatcher. Major policy merely "exacerbated the split" and was "a disaster" – now "real unity has been achieved behind a policy that is easily explained in a short sentence. The Tories are against scrapping the pound." Root: Tory party conference at Blackpool. Consequence: The Tories have united behind one clear policy on Europe: '..the Tories are wholeheartedly committed to staying in an expanding EU, but also to resisting the further accumulation of powers in Brussels.'
Telegraph p.28 11/11/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Here are the real lessons to be learned from America' '…if Freedland wants to see in Britain a proper, American belief in national independence, then he will presumably be calling a halt to the integration of Britain into the EU.'	Depiction: 'the integration of Britain into the EU' EU as a "federal economic government of Europe' 'Guardian-reading whingers' Blair's 'frenzied emulation of Margaret Thatcher' Root: Publication of Jonathan Freedland book, 'Bring Home the Revolution' – Britain being held back by the monarchy and class apparatus – Johnson disputes this Appeal to Principle: 'Britain, under Labour is being sucked into a federal economic government of Europe, in which monetary and fiscal policy will be set in Brussels. It is unthinkable that America would submit to anything of the kind. Let us bring home the revolution, and let us remember that the central doctrine of that revolution was No Taxation without Representation.
Telegraph p.32 25/11/99	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Europe's the real paymaster – and not Michael Ashcroft' 'Having gripped my head for half an hour or so, I can't see what the fuss is about, since Mr Ashcroft is not only a UK passport holder, but is also entitled to vote here.'	Depiction: Michael Ashcroft can't give money to the Tories "but the supporters of the euro…will continue to have their jaws clamped firmly about the teats of the European Commission. The pro-euro lot will be able to take millions, as they already are, from countries that have a material interest in bringing this country into the embrace of Brussels and Frankfurt, and ironing out our competitive advantage in direct and indirect taxation.' Root: Controversy over donation to Tories by Tory party treasurer, Michael Ashcroft, using money from a bank in Belize. Yet an Arab living in France, with a company incorporated in the EU, could donate money to the Tories, under EU law. Consequence: 'The Tories, who might, I suppose, theoretically attract support from free-booting Atlanticists in America, will be unable to accept a red cent. That is simply not fair.'

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Telegraph p.32 2/12/99	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Leave EU	'Aimless, feckless, hopeless and legless in Seattle' 'One almost hesitates to go to McDonald's, in case one should meet some old buddy chaining himself to the tables in sympathy with the Seattle mob. Perhaps the entire Tory party, already in thrall to the hysteria against genetically modified food and the "multinationals" who make it, will flip over to become the party of autarky and pastoralism."	Depiction: Lambasts EU: "Britain's problem…is not free trade, but the way the EU works, anti-democratically, to stop us embracing free trade." "Global free trade, in so far as it is allowed to exist, has immeasurably enriched the world and its population." "We have free trade, for instance, within the EU… and that is a good thing. On the other hand, the EU does have a common external tariff, and a common trade and agricultural policy, all of which are operated at supranational level… In all these areas, the natural British interest is by no means congruent with the EU interest." Root: Protests in Seattle against WTO and global free trade Appeal to Principle: "… in the new world ecosystem, global capitalism has only one predator, multinational government; and if you support multinational government, you are supporting bureaucracy, corruption and the erosion of democracy."
Telegraph p.30 9/12/99	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Anglosphere Threat	'Achtung! Attenzione! Don't fall in for Tony's Euro-army' 'Alas for Lady Thatcher and her wailing in the wings. Too bad for the top brass who warn that NATO is about to collapse like a soufflé in the rain. Today our Dear Leader arrives in Helsinki and, after years of resistance from the British government, the EU will launch its madcap plans for a Euro-defence pact."	Metaphor: 'NATO is about to collapse like a soufflé in the rain' Catchphrase: "Schnel! Avanti! Le jour de gloire et arrive! Depiction: The EU's "madcap plans for a Euro-defence pact." 'Watch Romano Prodi deploy his bumf bombardiers. See the bureaucrats swap their lobster picks for bayonets. Yes, after years of peaceful embezzlement and subsidy bunging, Brussels bristles with the horrid panoply of war.' "After generations of serpentine plotting, the French will get their way. No longer will Europeans be bossed around, on their own continent, by some cigar-eating George C. Scott-style Yank wearing jodhpurs. Mais non! From now on the Europeans will be doing it for themselves, with rotating presidencies, qualified majority voting and other glorious Brussels traditions." The EU's "madcap" plans for a "Euro-defence pact". Root: EU commissioner Chris Patten and Lab govt "believes it is time for Europe to have a military throw-weight commensurate with her economic might." Consequence: Blair's actions jeopardise the Atlantic alliance
Telegraph p.30 20/04/00	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Immigration Benefits	'This is a demented way to treat our kith and kin'	Exemplar: "white Europeans and head-scarved east Europeans" Depiction: 'Instead of seeing that we need immigrants – to bring down the dependency ratio, for instance – western European governments have created a stockade, around the EU, that no one except an "asylum seeker" is allowed to penetrate." Root: Robert Mugabe's war against white farmers in Zimbabwe and the UK's 1981 nationality act which denies children of British citizens born in Zimbabwe the right to a British passport Appeals to principle: "All the evidence from America is that immigration energises the economy; and if we are fearful that they will scrounge, and take benefits that might go to good old British layabouts, isn't that a problem with the welfare state, rather than with the immigrants?'

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
Telegraph p.28 22/06/00	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'You can't buy power by selling the pound'	Exemplar: "that dreadful idea from Brussels called the Withholding tax" Depiction: Monetary union as "a high-tax, high regulation EU consensus" "While England slept, the EU Commission had a plan to cosh the bond market so hard that the City would have been a stream of weeping P45s and bin-liners. We are talking thousands of pounds, billions of jobs.." "Labour still believes…that you can somehow buy "influence" by surrendering to our EU partners Root: Chancellor Gordon Brown's success in preventing Brussels from imposing a "Withholding tax" on savings held in London by non-residents Consequences Britain had a win with the withholding tax, but now Britain will be asked "to give up more majority voting" at the Nice summit and agree to a charter of Fundamental Human Rights… Why will we accept this rhubarb?"
Telegraph p.31 12/10/00	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	European project perceived threat to British way of life	'Why I give way to righteous paranoia about Britain'	Catchphrase: Geoffrey Howe's "Euro-invertebracy" Depiction: "It is not because we are too narrow, or too British, that we resist the moves towards a federal Europe. It is essentially because we are keen to preserve our democracy; …these people want to demolish things that are valuable in our culture." Root: Report by the Runnymede trust: "Just because one crack-brained think-tank suggests that the word "British" is racist, that is hardly the end of our island story. Who cares what an idiot like Sir Herman Ouseley thinks?" Appeal to Principle: "Why are we making such a fuss about the "threat" to Britishness, I ask myself? And then I hear the Geoffrey Howe in my voice, and pow, something snaps, and all my reactionary rage bubbles up. Of course, we should be self-confident; but that does not mean we should not stick up for our own self-government."
Telegraph p.28 16/11/00	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Anglosphere Threat	'The Euro-army will march to the beat of a different drum' Blair govt has "just launched their attack on the Euro-sceptic media".	Exemplar: The euro-condom, the attempted ban on prawn cocktail flavour crisps, "the Brussels plan to junk the double-decker bus, or to rename British chocolate." Brussels recruiting sniffers to sniff dung, in order to work out how smelly farmyard could be under EU law Attempt to reclassify snails as fish, so snail farmers could get CFP subsidies Depiction: On Euro-sceptic media: "Yes, we are just a bunch of sensationalist, irresponsible, xenophobic, foam-flecked, boss-eyed swine, and Robin cook says so. I hang my head, Tony and Robin, because I am as culpable as the next man." Root: Defence secretary Geoff Hoon intimating that "The idea of this Euro-army is a festering lie put about by tub-thumping Little Englanders." He says it's a European rapid reaction force. "After more than 10 years of euro-posturing, it really looks like it is going to happen." Consequence: If it comes into being the euro army will have little to do – "the risk is that the 60,000 will loaf around". More seriously "real damage" could be done to NATO. Britain could then find itself "locked into 'Euro' positions." Appeal to Principle: 'Of course it suits the French to pretend that there could be a distinctively "European" military identity, independent of the Anglo-Saxon tyranny. But it would be better if the Euro-army was one of those plans that was, for once, more myth than reality."
Telegraph 3/01/02	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'I bet you 10 pounds we don't join the single currency'	Metaphor: Euro notes "warm and crisp as freshly baked bread' 'The European consumer is in the kind of rapture that possessed Danae, when Zeus descended on her in a shower of golden coins. It's here! It's real!' Depiction: The euro as "a shower of phoney gold" 'The Frankfurt Eurobank' "…the key original objective of EMU: to get French hands on German monetary policy." "The British public is not so dumb as to be seduced, like Daene, by a shower of phoney gold…This is about creating a political union, top-down, money-led. It is the first time in history that we have a major currency, without a single country behind it. This poses huge problems of democratic legitimacy." Root: The first euro coins appear. 'Do you not feel a stab of envy?...Do you wish you could just scrap the measly old pound, and join in the fun? Do you? If you do, one man who is desperate to hear from you is Tony Blair. This is the moment for which Blair has been waiting, the psychological turning point, the pivot of fate.' Consequence: Johnson warns intention of EMU is to eventually have "a single European government" Appeal to Principle: "Give us a referendum, Blair, you pasty-faced coward. And in the meantime, I will wager any reader £10 that Britain will not join the euro in the next five years. Or in the next 10 years, come to that."

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Telegraph 14/02/02	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'No greasy euros sullied my tartiflette or ski hat'	Metaphor: '..the new currency is far less useful to the average travelling Brit than, say, those silly red socks they used to give you on Virgin Atlantic.' Depiction: Pro euro champions as "the politically correct, the Irish multinational chieftains, the anti-Americans and all those with some strange desire to see their country ruled by other countries." "It may be that the bill was written in euros. But it might as well have been baked beans or cowries or Rice Krispies. The point is that we settled the debt by the simplest means, without touching the new currency in its tangible form." "As a convenience to travellers, the euro's usefulness is almost nil" Root: A Johnson family skiing holiday during which "we have flipped out my plastic debit card to meet every obligation, small and large, and – slurp – the cash has been sucked out of my sterling-denominated bank account… I ask you to reflect on this technical miracle." Consequence: Johnson's 'alpine mediation' acknowledges the big picture issues associated with euro, namely the drive to create political union.
Telegraph 4/07/02	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'What's Hitler got to do with the euro? Everything.'	Depiction: 'To say that the euro has nothing to do with the war, or Hitler, is absurd. It has everything to do with Hitler." 'The plain historical truth, no matter how much Mr Izzard may splutter, is that the European Union did indeed have a weird prototype in Hitler's wartime Reich. In fact, you can only really understand the psychological background of today's experiment in economic and political integration if you understand the horror of what Hitler did in the war.' 'The war taught Jean Monnet, and Jacques Delors, his much younger heir, how dreadfully France could suffer under untrammelled German economic dominance. But the Speer-Bichelonne deal suggested important institutional ways in which Germany could be tamed." "One day Germany might grow great again, and there was only one long-term solution: to create one nation out of many." Root: EU's roots lie in Hitler's idea for a European Economic Community for subject territories, formulated in 1942. Appeal to Principle: "It was a grand vision. Fifty years on, it is hopelessly out of date."
Telegraph 17/10/02	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'I'm no longer Mr Nasty, but please stop lying about Nice' 'It is no longer cool, alas, to write articles bashing Brussels. My nasty days are over. New Toryism is with us, in which scepticism is balanced by strenuous moderation, a painful, tight-grinned reasonableness.'	Exemplar: Prawn cocktail flavour crispsBillions spent on unsmokable Greek tobacco to the Third World Commission's "plot to scrap our double decker buses' 'the tense international row over the dimensions of the Euro-condom' 'the vicious and unprincipled dumping of French beef in the Sahel region of Africa' Catchphrase: 'the latest Euro-infamy''the Euro-federalists in Brussels' Depiction: 'The Euro-federalists will bully the Irish to vote yes, no because they want enlargement, but because they want the federalising advances of the Nice Treaty.' 'blatant lie' [s] emanating from Europe '..this week some of us are experiencing the old Bill Cash-style mania. Our eyes dilate. We feel an urge to crawl up the wall with rage, because the entire media and Euro-establishment are peddling an outrageous falsehood: that the Nice Treaty is a precondition of the enlargement of the EU; and that, if the Irish vote no, again, on Sunday, all will be lost. This is not true, either in law or logic. ' 'In Brussels, they speak of apocalypse if the Irish vote not. They speak of meltdown. Not for the first time, they speak baloney.' 'Some of my most joyous hours have been spent in a state of semi-incoherence, composing foam-flecked hymns of hate to the latest Euro-infamy… In fact one has only to think of the commission's simultaneous failure to lift the ban on British beef, or the Potemkin groves of Euro-subsidised olives, to find the nostrils start to flare, and the red mist comes down again.' Root: Ireland votes for second time on Nice Treaty Appeal to Principle: 'The larger the EU becomes, the clearer it will be that Europe has no readily identifiable personality or political coherence. It has no logical boundaries or natural limits. It may ultimately be little more than a gigantic arena for the ironing out of non-tariff barriers to trade, and none the worse for that. And the long foaming frenzy of the sceptics will be over.'
Telegraph 31/10/02	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the	Franco-German Axis	'The Chirac bust-up was crushing – for Tony Blair'	Metaphor: Blair "has been about as effective as a hedgehog in the path of a steamroller." Exemplar: EU taxpayer paying £1500 a ton to export "vast dandruffy alps of powdered milk" in order to bolster the price of milk powder in Europe Catchphrase: 'the Franco-German stitch-up' Depiction: 'It is a disaster for the consumer, since the CAP means that we pay roughly 30 per cent over the odds for our food. It is bad news for British farmers, since it postpones the reforms they need, the diversion of subsidy away from price support and towards stewardship schemes." 'The whole shameful exercise [paying for export of skimmed milk powder] costs the European taxpayer £30 billion; and guess which country receives between 25 and 30 per cent? France."

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		interests of Britain.			Root: 'France and Germany have gone ahead with what, in a hotly contested field, is one of the most outrageous deals on agricultural subsidy in EU history. They have agreed that subsidies will continue to rise in line with inflation at least until 2006… All talk of the Common Agricultural Policy would appear to have been shelved." Consequence: British farmers and consumers suffer and "the poor Third World farmers are shafted again, as they try to get their produce past our tariffs."
Telegraph 20/02/03	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'We will be savaged by these dead sheep'	Exemplar: the EU Animal By-products regulation of April 30, 2003cow passports 'with many scrolled and decorated pages…much swankier affairs, by the way, than the flimsy burgundy jobs they give human beings''the forthcoming delight of the 'equine passport' Catchphrase: Elliot Morley's 'tapioca-like resistance to this proposal' Depiction: "You will see how demented this new ruling is when you consider that the Law of England and Wales still permits you to bury your relatives, whole and entire, at the bottom of the garden. Why on earth can't you do the same thing with a sheep?''..the farmer..said it was easier and less bureaucratic for him to travel on a plane to Brussels, than it was to move a cow to a neighbouring field.''We live in a world so mad that a sheep cannot crawl off and die in a bog, or stuck in a fence, without your or me having to stump up.' Root: "Under the EU Animal By-products regulation of April 30, 2003, you will not be allowed to employ the foxes to eat the sheep, you will not be allowed to bury the beast on your land. You will have to pay anything between £5 and £10 to have the cadaver removed by an official dead sheep remover." Consequence: 'Don't think you will escape. We are all going to be financially savaged by these dead sheep.' Huge increases in council tax are coming to pay for "the massive expansion in the number of…non-jobs…generated by the huge increase in regulation.'
Telegraph 15/05/03	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Our freedom costs less than a Mars bar' ***note: Johnson plugs referendum campaign launched in the Spectator (he is still editor at this stage)	Exemplar: The European constitution Depiction: The European constitution as "an infamous document… It expressly creates a single country, called Europe. It turns us all into European citizens. It gives the European Union a legal personality for the first time… it enjoins that citizens and member states of the EU should show 'loyalty' to one another.' "..were it not for my natural good manners, I might call it a flaming impertinence.' Root: The European Constitution: 'Above all, the constitution eliminates the intergovernmental co-operation that was such a feature of the Maastricht settlement, and puts asylum, immigration and other home affairs issues squarely in the remit of the Brussels Commission.' Consequence: '..the British people will now be constitutionally bound to build a 'common future on a federal basis' with other European countries' Appeals to principle 'It would be outrageous if this constitution – which effectively annuls the treaties of Maastricht, Amsterdam, and Nice – were just rammed through the Commons. We need a referendum.. We cannot take no for an answer.' Johnson says 'a great magazine' – presumably the Spectator – launched a campaign for an independent referendum. "The Electoral Reform Society says that to canvass all 40 million electors would cost about £20 milion. But that is only 50p per head….And it would be worth it, just to show Tony that he cannot count on our apathy.'
Telegraph 15/01/04	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The hole in the heart of the euro'	Exemplar: Brussels decrees on "the French desire to shoot ortolans out of season or the pension rights of transvestite spouses' Catchphrase: "there used to be a slogan…no taxation without representation' Depiction: If the Commission wins, "Brussels will be allowed to punish the naughty countries by imposing…fines' 'You've got it: the penalty for running an excessive budget deficit is to have your deficit increased by Brussels! It is piling of Pelion upon Ossa, a pointless infinite regress." 'They have overruled the democratically elected politicians of those countries.. on their central functions of deciding how much money they may take from the people and how much they may spend.' Root: France and Germany's breach of the European stability and growth pact – case taken by the commission and Romano Prodi against the 15 EU nations to Europe's supreme court. Appeal to Principle: '..to have European judges or officials overruling the biggest fiscal decisions of elected politicians would deservedly prompt a revolution. This case shows the hole in the heart of the euro. You either admit no one is in charge… Or else you say that Europe now has a supranational monetary and fiscal authority, in which case, what price democracy?'

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Telegraph 22/04/04	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Stand up and fight these plastic seatettes'	Exemplar: In may 2006 "these ludicrous plastic cushions or seatettes will become a legal requirement, and they will be imposed on us not by the parliament in which I now sit, but by Brussels.' Depiction: 'How changed, mes amis, is the modern European Union from the Common Market, and how it continues to octopus itself into every corner of our lives – including the back seat of our cars.' Focus of article on "the way the treaty extends the system of majority voting – by which national governments can be overruled – and which I believe to be deeply corrupting of democracy." Child seat measure "dreamt up by some well-meaning but insatiably interfering official in the EU transport department.. can be decided by majority vote, and there is not a damn thing we can do about it."' I sit on European Standing Committee B, watching European legislation come in like a tide, and there is nothing we can do to interrupt or object. We are far less use than the Russian Duma under Lenin. It is a farce, and it is no way to govern a country." Root: The European constitution and its "various federalising advances" including European presidents, European foreign policy supremoes complete with European foreign policy, European judicial harmonisation, human rights charters and all the rest of it.' Appeal to Principle: 'Let us joyously join this campaign; and if by voting No we can make our masters think again about the undemocratic system they employ, and the constant barrage of immutable laws from unelected people, then it will be about the most pro-European thing we can do."
Telegraph 3/06/04	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Joanie, how could you do it?' "A vote for UKIP is damaging to British interests'	Exemplar: Johnson's experience of powerlessness on European Standing Ctte B Catchphrase: UKIP members as "a bunch of boss-eyed, foam-flecked Euro-hysterics' Depiction: Johnson's account of his time on European Standing Ctte B, "which is a bit like being a member of the old Soviet duma. Whatever piece of nonsense has been dreamt up by Brussels, you just nod it through. The sad truth is that as a member of ESCB I have far less influence on the laws of this country than has a member of the European Parliament." Root: Joan Collins defection to UKIP for European parliament elections on June 10 Appeal to Principle: 'We need a flexible, multi-speed Europe that gives us all the benefits we want, of cooperation, free trade, free establishment, free movement, but does not mean trying to make a single country of 25.' 'We need a government that will deploy the veto, and that won't let EU institutions intrude, for instance, into the field of criminal justice…There is a huge chance to begin reshaping Europe.'
Telegraph 28/10/04	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The Euro parliament is no longer a joke for bored hacks' 'When the will of the nations is squashed in Strasbourg, it is time to bring power home, says Boris Johnson	Exemplar: MEPS sipping cremant D'Alsace in "space age bars and galleries' Depiction: 'Time after time, we gathered to vote…expressing the will of the people according to our ancient system. And what did the world care? Not a fig.' 'Where was the action, the news, the story? It was hundreds of miles away in the upstart parliament of Strasbourg, the restaurant-rich Alsatian city. We Westminster, we beavered away in Gormenghast-like oblivion.' 'I am not sure the Euro parliament is a joke any more. Parliaments tend to acquire powers, as their inhabitants learn how to use the constitutional tools at their disposal. Under the various treaties, the parliament has gained ever more ways of amending legislation, and European legislation has become ever more burdensome.' Root: Euro parliament's decision to 'throw out the new European Commission' (the forced withdrawal of Italian commissioner Rocco Buttiglione for anti-gay views) Appeal to Principle: 'It is deeply undemocratic. What is the answer? The first step is to recognise what tis going on, and to take steps to shore up the machicolated and moth-eaten institution in which I now sit.'
Telegraph19/05/05	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'The French must give Giscard a rocket'	Exemplar: The 48-hour working week as "an example of this political self-castration.. it can now be forced upon Britain by a majority vote.' Depiction: 'What is new, and dangerous, and anti-democratic, is the extension of majority voting into yet more areas of government and human life.' '..majority voting is the system by which the wishes of the British Government – and therefore of the British people – can be crushed round the table in Brussels.' 'this political self-castration' (majority voting) Root: France votes on EU constitution, May 2005 Consequence: '..the European Constitution does not mean more free-market stuff from Brussels; it means more irresistible and pernicious regulation, with more majority voting…'Appeal to Principle: 'They certainly should vote Non, but not for the reasons they think; and so should we'

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Telegraph 8/06/05	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Single Market	'Let's buy into the good things about Europe'	Metaphor: 'There is no earthly point in this country going through the expensive charade of our own referendum, and queuing up to stab the corpse like the case of Murder on the Orient Express, when the French haven themselves had the honour of first extinguishing its vital functions..' Depiction: Majority voting "which hollows out the democratic process at Westminster' 'But let us also remember that some good things have come from Europe, and they include the basic four freedoms of movement – of goods, people, services and capital… Let us have a positive vision of Europe and builds on the steady exchange of people and languages, culture and ideas, until we create a wider, looser, more generous Europe, that includes the Turks.' Root: French Non to European constitution. 'Here we are, we Euro-sceptics, in a state of complete triumph. The European ideal has been overwhelmed with derision and disaster. The European Constitution is dead, and of course it is a good thing that it is.' Appeal to Principle: 'As we survey the carnage, it is vital for Euro-sceptics of all kinds that we are not petty…let us scrap the pretensions of the EU to statehood; let us congratulate ourselves…on being so resoundingly vindicated about the euro.'
Telegraph 7/07/05	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'So what has France done for farming? Given us the evil CAP'	Exemplar: 324% tariffs on sugar from Mozambique Depiction: 'the evil of the CAP' 'French politicians assisted in the £5 billion destruction of the British beef industry, when they knew our cattle were perfectly safe to eat' 'the catastrophe of the continuing system of EU subsidies and tariffs' 'the system has been designed in all essential respects to further the interests of French farmers' Root: G8 meeting where "Chirac and the rest of the G8 will today beat their breasts in sympathetic ecstasy" over the plight of Africa Appeal to Principle: '..there is a better and more immediate thing that we could do for Africa, and that is to begin the work that France has so far refused, and undo the evil of the CAP… 'Show us you are a statesman, Jacques, and not just a clown, and scrap the CAP.'
Telegraph 8/09/05	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Immigration Benefits	'Humphreys spoke the truth: that's why Labour got itself in a spin'	Depiction: "how beneficial" EU membership would be for Turkey and EU EU memberships is "good for countries and their concepts of human rights' Root: '…we partisans of Turkish accession have been…disgusted by the decision of the Turkish government to prosecute the country's greatest living novelist, Orhan Pamuk.' Appeals to principle: Johnson states bluntly : 'I badly want Turkey to be a member of the European Union' 'I believe that we in western Europe have a historic choice in the next few years, and that we can be visionary, or we can funk it. We can either turn our back son the Turks, and declare openly or in code that a Muslim country, no matter how secular, may not be admitted to Europe. Or else we can show courage and leadership and begin the great task of the modern age, effecting a reconciliation between moderate Islam and the West, by bringing one of the largest and most powerful Muslim nations into the EU.'
Telegraph 11/05/06	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers'	CAP	'Acres and acres of madness – and they call this reform'	Metaphor: 'I have managed to hitch my wagon to the gravy train of the CAP and clamp my jaws about the hind teat of Defra' Exemplar: Getting a €10 subsidy for a pony paddock "without going to the trouble of owning a pony" Catchphrase: Catchphrases"bureaucratic fortress of madness." Depiction: "The government – Brussels – the taxpayer – whoever – is seriously going to pay me 10 euros a year merely for being the owner of this blissful patch of grass and rabbits." "..you will find your lungs tightening and your lips blibbering into a pant-hoot of pure amazement at the insanity of our masters." "...ever more of our countryside has been sucked into a bureaucratic fortress of madness." Root: 'By virtue of possessing 0.3 hectares of grass, excluding the dilapidated outside privy, I am apparently eligible for subsidy!..

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		money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.			Consequence: "Forty thousand new dependents have been created! Untold acres are now under new and pointless subsidy! And they call this reform?'
Telegraph 21/09/06	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Brussels is taking a big liberty with children's booster seats'	Exemplar: Brussels forcing parents to buy "these ludicrous plastic banquettes' Catchphrase: "this crack-brained law" Depiction: 'As of this week, millions of hard-pressed British families have been stampeded to the shops, where they have been forced to pay as much as €30 for these ludicrous plastic banquettes, and my feelings of disbelief have gone, and I find myself shocked by the depth of my own anger" 'this stupid and impertinent law' "Have Labour gone finally potty in asking the cops to spend their time poking their noses into the back seats of our cars?" "the main reason I am angry is that this stupid and impertinent law was not even generated by the British government…It is, of course, and EU directive, which means that elected British politicians have been given neither the means nor the opportunity to contest it – or even to debate it." Root: New EU directive that children under 135cm would be safer with booster seats. Consequence: 'What enrages me is that this was not even discussed in one of the Commons' three European Standing Committees, and what enrages me more is that even if it had been discussed, it would have made no difference." Appeal to Principle: 'We need proper standing committees with the power to mandate ministers, and to refuse to accept directives even if they are decided at a majority vote. Otherwise we will find that the law of this country – the law affecting the personal lives of millions, and their children – is not made in this country; and that is a perfect and justifiable reason for massive civil disobedience.'
Telegraph 10/05/07	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	British Tax Payers	'Banning the G-Wiz sums up the wickedness of Labour'	Metaphor: "Well, folks, how pathetic is that. It is as though we have got into some weird S&M relationship with the EU, in which ministers go around asking for correction. After years of ritual humiliation at the hands of Madame de Bruxelles, the fabled dominatrix, the man in Whitehall has become addicted to discipline. Oooh, yes, they say. Tell us we've been naughty… Madame de Bruxelles will obligingly crack her whip" Depiction: "these absurd and pointless safety measures" Root: Transport minister announces the G-Wiz is not in conformity with EU regulations. "It is not a car at all, he said. It must be reclassified as a quadricycle, and he wants Brussels to kick it off our streets.' Consequence: …, and what is the result? The EU's vehicle homologation committee will meet. It will decide that, if the G-Wiz is to be classified as a car, it will need to undergo complete rigidification of the chassis. It will be fitted with airbags and side impact protection systems, and special pedestrian-friendly bumpers, and at the end of this horrifying surgical procedure…it will be doubled in weight…'
Telegraph 18/10/07	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take	Westminster	'Stop Brussels and we can have home-made jam forever'	Exemplar: EU's 2001 directive on jams, jellies, marmalades and sweetened chestnut purees Depiction: Johnson depicts a British idyll of fruit picking (from "autumnal hedgerows and copses") and jam-making, the selling of which will soon be stymied by Brussels' demands for exact sugar content on the labels. "the insanity of some EU regulations, and when you hear what I mean, your blood will boil hotter than the jam itself." Regulations could "bring home-made jam within the scope of the regulations" – and then what? We jam makers would be obliged to state, on oath, the exact sugar content. We might be obliged to warn that jam is a potential cause of obesity, and heaven knows what else." Root: Johnson's foray into jam-making and a forthcoming review of an EU directive on jam-making

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		decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.			Consequence: purely speculative. The forthcoming review COULD "bring home-made jam within the scope of the regulations" Appeal to Principle: "Let us have a referendum on the constitution, and show Brussels once and for all that we don't need this kind of absurd law making."
Telegraph 7/09/09	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Brussels is a shining symbol of where the real power lies' 'As Westminster MPs like their wounds, their European counterparts grow ever more confident, says Boris Johnson'	Exemplar: "the physical contrast between desiccated Westminster and sleek, self-confident Brussels.' Catchphrase: "the great Euro-gravy train rolls on at tres grand vitesse." Depiction: 'Take the Euro-parliament.. To call it a palace is a wild understatement. It is a series of palaces, a city within a city' Where once Euro-parliament was a backwater now it heaves "with animated young thrusters of both sexes, their Christian Dior spectacles glittering with lusts for – lust for what? Power, that's what. For the first time in the 30-year history of this much-mocked institution I had a sense of the power that seeps from the brown moleskin walls…" "uninhibited lunching" in Brussels. In London it's "humble pie" "…the pitiful comparison with Westminster Root: Johnson returns to Brussels. "In Brussels the parliament is growing in physical splendour and size… In London, the tendency is all in the opposite direction." Consequence: 'Power has passed, is passing, and under the Treaty of Lisbon, will pass further to the Euro-parliament' 'The kicker of this whole affair is that this change is not just symbolic. It reflects the underlying reality. It reflects the shift in the balance of power and the fact that the laws of this country are no longer determined by Parliament at Westminster." "With more directives in the pipeline, the future of the whole UK financial services industry is probably in their hands."
Telegraph 15/02/10	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'The Greeks must be rueing the day they whacked the drachma' 'If Hellenic pride is currently at a low ebb, just wait until the EU steps in, says Boris Johnson'	Depiction: '..this bailout will come at a serious political price. It is absurd to expect the Germans to write out a colossal cheque for Greece, without giving Berlin some say over how that money is spent…already the EU commission is talking about an 'economic government of Europe'." 'My drachmas will remain in the sock drawer, an unused escape hatch and a reminder of the days when Greece was free…Every day that this crisis endures we should give thanks that we avoided that awful Procrustean bed of pain. Thank heaven we stayed out of the euro." Root: Greece's debt crisis and possible EU bailout Consequence: Economic govt of Europe "means diluting the ability of Greek politicians to set tax and spending priorities. It means the end of the myth that you can have monetary without political union; and…it means a further erosion of democracy."
Telegraph 21/03/10	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	'Why are we paying to educate EU students in our universities?'	Exemplar: British taxpayers paying to educate "floods" of students from EU Depiction: '…you can see a vast transfer, by the British taxpayer, directly in favour of the education of foreign nationals.Root: 100,000 British applicants will fail to get a place at university, yet 'This year British universities are educating 62,000 students from other EU countries…They are flooding in from Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Italy, Sweden and elsewhere, and they are not only taking 5 per cent of the places, but they are also receiving colossal subsidies from the UK taxpayer. The subsidy for teaching is put at £4,000. Appeal to Principle: 'There is only one answer. We need a rebate. With Britain's net contribution to the EU budget rising to an amazing £6.4 billion, and with the country's finances so parlous that London babies are being buried in paupers' graves, we have no option but to raise this at the EU level. When Dave has finished with the mellifluous banalities about partnership and the heart of Europe, he should attire himself in cerulean blue, and pearls, and a pineapple-coloured wig; and he should cry: "We are paying for your students – and we want our money back!" And then he should hit the Brussels table with a heavy black handbag until they get the message.

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Telegraph 13/12/10	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	German Thirst for Expansion	'Snooty Europhiles should be forced to crawl in penitence' 'The 'blimpish Little Englanders' who opposed monetary union were right all along, says Boris Johnson.'	Exemplar: 'the good old bread-filled English banger' Depiction: The euro as "a machine for German domination." "It gives me a tingling pleasure to report that everywhere you look at the map of Europe we have been proved resoundingly and crushingly right." "snooty Europhile politicians and journalists who sneered at us for our doubts should be forced to crawl in penitence to Dublin Castle, scourging themselves with copies of the Maastricht Treaty." 'The Irish are locked in the euro, and cannot devalue, and so their government and people are facing a protracted humiliation at the hands of Brussels, and, at one remove, the hands of the German government." Root: Greece's sovereign debt crisis Consequence: 'It is a fair bet that the EU's political classes will stop at virtually nothing to keep the single currency alive and intact." "Politics made the Euro, and politics can destroy it, especially if electorates start to feel it is a machine for German domination.." Appeal to Principle: 'I think we deserve an apology. By 'we' I mean Eurosceptics, Euro-pragmatists, Euro-realists and Euro-hysterics who were alarmed by some of the optimism that surrounded the birth of the single currency. Do you remember the disdain with which we were treated?.. They used to say we were a bunch of xenophobic, garlic-hating defenders of the pint and the yard and the good old bread-filled British banger."
Telegraph 20/06/11	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats	British Tax Payers	The greatest gift to the Greeks might be to let them go it alone; Bail-outs and austerity measures are only making the country's burden harder to bear.'	Catchphrase: "euro-shambles" Root: Greek debt crisis Appeal to Principle: Tells Gordon Brown to "Stop chucking good money after bad"
Telegraph 24/10/11	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Single Market	'The lesson for Europe from the beach at Arromanches' 'Only mutual hostility and chaos will come from the dire attempts to preserve the euro'	Metaphor: "The Common Agricultural Policy was like once of those boozy journalists' dinners in Strasbourg, where someone sneakily decided to order the lobster because he knows the bill is going to be split." Depiction: 'In many ways, I would say that the Common Market was a success. We now have a single market, where British people are allowed to come and live here, to trade, to make their lives wherever they like in a vast community of European nations." 'The problem with the institutions of Brussels was always that people were invited to take advantage of a system where no one was really in charge and everyone was paying." "Now we are told that the only way forward is for the eurozone to make a hyper-leap to full fiscal union, with taxing and spending and borrowing controlled by an economic government of Europe. Greece is effectively to be turned into a satrapy of Germany." Root: Johnson – on holidays in Arromanches in Normandy – "Here at Arromanches you can see why the founding fathers of the EU decided that they were going to create a system that would lock Germany into Europe." muses on future of EU in the wake of Greece sovereign debt crisis Appeals to principle: "The lesson of the beach at Arromanches is that efforts to create a single polity out of the historic states of Europe are always bound to end in tears, and that Britain has no choice but to help clear up the mess and take Europe forwards.""British politicians will have to show the maximum imagination and generosity in setting a new path for Europe – and for British Conservative Eurosceptics, we will have to overcome the extra distrust and dislike that goes with having been right all along."

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Telegraph 14/11/11	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	CAP	EU crisis: The Greek Austerity Diet will only leave them feeling fed up'	Metaphor: 'The Greek Austerity diet' 'of olives, tomatoes, onions, and not even a lump of feta' Depiction: 'At least I know that my diet is a good idea. But there is (of course) the world of difference between an individual decision to go on a diet, and the agenda of economy now being forced on the peripheral euro members; and the first and most obvious difference is that my Greek Austerity Diet is entirely a scheme of my own devising… I don't have Angela Merkel leaning over me and cracking her whip, and barking at me to hurry up.' 'The biggest difference between my diet and the Greek austerity programme is that the Greeks are being blatantly deprived of the right to decide the matter for themselves. It is a bitter irony that the Greeks were admitted to the EU in the hope of entrenching democracy, after the rule of the colonels. Now the Greeks find that their democratic freedoms are being trampled upon by the EU itself.' Root: Johnson's diet and the Greek sovereign debt crisis Consequence: 'We are using fiscal bullying to try to turn the Greeks and Italians into Germans. The whole European enterprise is now devoted to keeping the euro alive on the utterly specious grounds that the currency is synonymous with "Europe". We are nailing shut the exits of William Hague's famous burning building. British taxpayers going to be shelling out ever more in bail-out dosh, much of which will ultimately go to banks and bankers' bonuses. And all the while the southern EU members will be put on ever tougher austerity regimes that frankly don't suit their needs." Appeal to Principle: No matter how hard I diet, I won't look like a championship athlete. The Greeks can't become Germans, and it is brutal to force them to try.'
Telegraph 12/12/11	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Single Market	'We're right about the euro – that's why Europe is angry' Europe is talking about an economic govt of Europe but they still haven't completed the single market.	Exemplar: The lack of a Euro plug Depiction: 'There is no reason for David Cameron to commit this country to a project that is intellectually, morally and democratically bankrupt.' 'We warned that you would need a kind of central Euro-government to control national budgets and taxation, and that the peoples of Europe wouldn't wear it. Now look. It wasn't the Anglo-Saxon bankers who caused the trouble in the eurozone, Sarkozy mon ami. It was the utter failure of the eurozone countries – starting with France, incidentally – to observe the Maastricht rules. Root: David Cameron's use of British veto on Treaty for fiscal union. Appeal to Principle: 'Now is the time to set out a positive vision for a Europe that actually helps individuals and businesses. Next time these leaders have a summit, let's lock them in until they agree the services directive and come up with a Europlug.' 'But there are still plenty of things that the European Union could provide its struggling peoples. In January, it will be 20 years since the dawn of the "single market", and yet there are still all kinds of non-tariff barriers to trade. Here we are trying to create an economic government of Europe, and yet we haven't even passed the services directive, which would allow everyone from opticians to estate agents to insurance brokers to set up more freely in other European jurisdictions. We are telling the Greeks that Brussels must effectively run their economy – and yet we can't even agree on a common European standard for plugs.
Telegraph 30/01/12	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'It's too late for other Europeans to be as efficient as Germans' 'The euro prevents the differences in currency strengths that once evened things out'	Depiction: 'Yesterday's papers were full of gut-wrenching accounts of the suffering of Europe's young unemployed… But then look at Germany. Here we are in what has been described as the worst global crisis for 50 years, and yet Germany is posting record employment figures… There must be something about the present situation that is wonderful for Germany, and a nightmare for others. That something is the euro." "the whole experiment is looking more hellish by the day." Root: Greek sovereign debt crisis. Consequence: "the straitjacket of the euro is preventing the periphery countries from devaluing and going for growth; so more people are thrown out of work, welfare bills rise, debts grow – and Brussels demands more austerity, in a vicious circle of pain. All the while, German exports power ahead. The price of splitting up the euro may indeed be tremendous. But what is the long-term cost of keeping it together."

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Telegraph 20/02/12	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Protectionism	'Brussels is slowly beating life out of our sugar industry' 'Our proud history of sugar-making is under threat from EU protectionism" Of the EU's 17 million tonne sugar markets, 13.5 % reserved for "European sugar beet barons". Getting sugar from places like brazil means tate & lyle face huge tariffs	Exemplar: EU commission "preventing" Tate & Lyle from importing raw sugar cane in quantities it needs, leading to job losses. Depiction: "It is utter madness, and it derives from the ruthless determination of the Commission to protect the sugar beet producers of continental Europe." "At every turn the British refinery finds the system skewed in favour of the beet producers, mainly in France and Germany." "European sugar beet barons" Root: British company Tate & Lyle, which produces 40% of the cane sugar for EU, "faces a threat from Brussels, and the imposition of an unnecessary and badly thought-out regulation." EU is stopping it from importing the raw materials in the quantities needed. Consequence: "…the result is that jobs are being lost in a part of London that already faces the highest levels of unemployment.." Price of sugar also pushed up "by the EU" Appeals to principle 'London firms need to be given every incentive and confidence to hire more staff and expand… and we are lobbying Brussels to drop its crazy prohibition.'
Telegraph 21/05/12	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'Europe is driving full-tilt, foot on the pedal, into a brick wall' 'It's unbelievable that we should be urging our neighbours to adopt a tighter fiscal union."	Exemplar: The fate of Greece at the hands of the euro Depiction: Johnson's damning depiction of Europe's leaders: 'We have blighted countless lives and lost countless jobs by kidding ourselves that the answer to the crisis might be "more Europe". And all for what? To salvage the prestige of the European Project, and to spare the egos of those who were wrong and muddleheaded enough to campaign for the euro." 'The euro has turned out to be a doomsday machine, a destroyer of jobs, a killer of growth, because it entrenches and exacerbates the fundamental and historic inability of some countries to compete with Germany in making high-quality goods with low-unit labour costs." "The euro serves as a giant trebuchet to fire swish German saloon cars and machine tools across the rest of Europe." Root: Greek debt crisis. "Unemployment is rising by the day, and among young people it now stands at a shameful 54 per cent. Yup, folks – those are the results of an EU plan to produce 'growth and jobs'. It was called the euro, and it has been a catastrophe for Greece and pretty bad (with one notable exception) for the rest of the continent." Consequence: 'Rather than creating an 'economic government of Europe' the project will lead to endless bitterness between the resentful donors and the humiliated recipients, as these diminished satrapies will be instructed to accept cuts and 'reforms' – designed in Berlin and announced in Brussels – as the price of their dosh." Appeal to Principle: "Surely it is now time to accept that the short-term pain of a managed euro rupture – a wholesale realignment, possibly a north/south bisection – would be better than continuing to immiserate so many people around the continent."
Telegraph 15/10/12	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Single Currency	'Don't honour a Brussels office block – give the Nobel to Maggie' 'Britain's former prime minister has done far more than the EU to foster peace in Europe'	Exemplar: Impoverishment of people of Greece Thousands of young Spaniards fleeing for a better life in Latin America Depiction: '…look at where the EU machine is taking us now. The catastrophic programme for monetary union is continuing to impoverish the people of Greece and much of southern Europe." 'We are now proposing to give formal control of eurozone tax and spending policies to the EU institutions – a shorthand for German control. Far from ending tensions between EU countries, the euro project is now massively increasing them." "The solution on offer is more economic integration… when that process of fiscal union would mean a hollowing out of democracy." 'She warned in her 1988 Bruges speech of the dangers of trying to create Identikit Europeans, when the peoples of EU nations were so different in their habits and productivity. She warned of a one size-fits-all monetary policy and she spoke out strongly against the lack of democracy in the project. She has been completely vindicated." Root: European Union wins the Nobel peace prize Consequence: Johnson warns: "When you make a mockery of democracy, and effectively hand tax and spending decisions to a foreign power, then you are creating the conditions for serious mischief.. We are already seeing neo-fascist parties in Athens and the agony of Greece is unabated."
Telegraph 19/11/12	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model	British Tax Payers	'Not a single penny more for the EU's begging bowl' 'The demand for a budget increase amid such an abuse of	Metaphor: 'The people in Brussels must have been out of their tiny minds. It is like giving heroin to an addict. It is like handing an icecream to the fattest boy in the class, while the rest of the kids are on starvation diets – and then asking them to pay for his treat.' Exemplar Commission admitting that the €515m spend on Romania "had been almost all the subject of fraud or abuse" Catchphrase: Catchphrase

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		that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.		public funds is outrageous.' Cameron should follow Thatcher's example and veto increase to EU budget	"donnez moi un break, mate' (my message to M Van Rumpey) Depiction: : EU officials "wag their fingers at the Greeks, and tell them that they must mend their ways….And yet these same EU officials preside over a vast and larcenous abuse of public funds, and now have the effrontery to tell us that they need a massive above-inflation increase to pay…for the great caravanserai between Brussels, Luxembourg and Strasbourg." 'The budget is so riddled with fraud and malpractice that in 18 years it has never been given a clean bill of health by the European Court of Auditors." "…the local politicians, farmers, business people and all-purpose crooks who are in receipt of funding from us all." "It wasn't irregular – it was a swindle. It was theft from you and me." Root: EU demand for budget increase of between 5 and 6.5% (at a time of austerity across Europe) and David Cameron's trip to EU summit that week Appeal to Principle: "..there is no reason at all why EU spending should not be frozen exactly where it is…It is time for David Cameron to put on that pineapple-coloured wig and powder blue suit, whirl his handbag round his head and bring it crashing to the table with the words no, non, nein, neen, nee, ne, ei and ochi, until they get the message."
Telegraph 28/01/13	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Only a coward would deny the people their voice in Europe' 'The Labour leader's rejection of an in-out EU referendum is blatantly undemocratic."	Depiction: "His position…is so flagrantly and absurdly anti-democratic." "It is quite clear that the EU is evolving into something very different from what we joined. The institutions we pay for – the Commission, Council, parliament, court, etc. – are being used to support the creation of a federal state: the fiscal union that is deemed necessary to save the single currency.' Root: Ed Miliband's announcement that the Labour Party was ruling out a referendum Appeal to Principle: 'As it happens, I think most people would want to stay in the single market, and that is the most likely outcome. But it is also clear that the world has changed unimaginably in the past 40 years – that Britain's destiny is to build links with the BRICs and other emerging markets, as well as Europe and the US. Provided we protected free trade… I am not sure exit would be quite the catastrophe some people claim."
Telegraph 29/04/13	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Keep calm, everyone – now is not the time to do a Nicolas Cage' 'Far from being bad news, the rise of UKIP is actually a good sign for the Conservative Party	Exemplar: The Human Rights Act, used by a convicted Iraqi drug dealer to avoid deportation from Britain. Depiction: "Why are British courts sitting through this kind of drivel? Why are British taxpayers paying hundreds of millions for the whole carry-on? You read that kind of story, and you can see exactly why people are tempted to go for UKIP - to give the whole cosy and complacent political establishment a kick in the pants." Farage is "anti-pomposity, he's anti-political correctness, he's anti-loony Brussels regulation. He's in favour of low tax, and sticking up for small business, and sticking up for Britain." "The rise of Farage and UKIP tells us some interesting and important things about what the electorate wants… It tells us that the voters are fed up with over-regulation of all kinds, and especially from Brussels. Root: Rise of UKIP Appeal to Principle: 'Well, who is going to offer a referendum on the EU? Only the Conservatives – and the trouble with voting UKIP is that it is likely to produce the exact opposite: another Labour government and another five years of spineless and unexamined servitude to the EU."
Telegraph 13/05/13	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'We must be ready to leave the EU if we don't get what we want'	Depiction: 'The Prime Minister is absolutely right…to go for a new and more mature relationship with our friends and partners. He is going to try to boil it down to free trade and political cooperation – and then he is going to put it to a vote." If Britain leaves a) "we no longer have to cough up for the EU budget and could spend those billions in the UK." B) We get back our sovereignty – especially over our borders where we would no longer be in the mad position of being forced to extend our entire welfare system to anyone from Bulgaria or Romania." C) "We make our own laws again. We would no longer be forced to accept the vast corpus of EU regulation and legislation." Root: 'There are pros and cons to staying in Europe – and it's time to talk about them.' Appeal to Principle: 'If we left the EU , we would end this sterile debate, and we would have to recognise that most of our problems are not caused by 'Bwussels'.." "This renegotiation can only work if we understand clearly what we want to achieve: a pared-down relationship based on free trade and cooperation. And our partners will only take us seriously if they think we will invoke Article 50, and pull out, if we fail to get what we want. If we are going to have any chance of success in the negotiations, we need to show that the UK is willing to walk away."

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Telegraph 26/08/13	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Anglosphere Threat	'The Aussies are just like us, so let's stop kicking them out' 'it's disgraceful that teachers from Down Under don't get the same rights as the French'	Depiction: In 1973 "we betrayed our relationships with Commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand, and entered into preferential trading arrangements" with the EEC. '..the EU has turned into a microclimate of economic gloom, with colossal unemployment and misery in those many parts of Europe that are being brutally deprived of the safety valve of devaluation." Root: Australian teacher in England denied visa extension Appeal to Principle: '..we need to seek a wider destiny for our country. We need to raise our eyes beyond Europe, forging and intensifying links with countries that are going to be growing in the decades ahead – countries that offer immense opportunities for British goods, people, services and capital. And you could not do better than by starting with Australia… It is time to undo the damage of 1973. Johnson concludes: 'I suppose there might be some objection from the EU – but they should be told firmly to stuff it."
Telegraph 21/10/13	The Threat to British Identity	The issue is that as an island nation with historical links across the globe, Britain is culturally apart from continental Europe which threatens its unique way of life.	Immigration Benefits	'It's mad to blame our housing crisis on 'blooming foreigners' 'Talent and investment from abroad will help create jobs and build the homes we need.'	Depiction: '..we will only find it harder to build the homes we need if we are so foolish as to turn against legal foreign workers.' "The Brits: we're the biggest load of bloody foreigners on earth. It's been good for us, and on the whole it's been good for the world." Root: UK housing crisis Appeal to Principle: 'Yes, we should be tough on illegal immigration… But it makes no sense to exclude talented and legally established foreign workers than it does to exclude foreign investment. Before we all collapse in a xenophobic frenzy, let me ask: which European nation provides the most foreigners? It's us! The British."
Telegraph 23/12/13	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	leave EU	'Add the EU to the list of myths we're brainwashed to believe' 'Like corks, and turning off mobiles on planes, 'Europe' may one day turn out to be pointless'	Metaphor: '…at the moment if feels as if the EU is the Bakelite handset of 21st century geopolitics, yesterday's answer to the problems of the day before yesterday. If there is a positive case for this spatch-cocked federation, we need to start hearing it now." Depiction: Depiction of EU as pointless. "Why have we bubble-gummed together this hapless congeries of independent states? Is it to be a united force in international trade negotiations, when the EU's agricultural subsidies so royally stuff the farmers of developing countries? Is it to have a joint foreign policy, when the EU has been so ludicrously disunited on everything from the Falklands to Libya? …Maybe there is a positive vision to be set out – I am just not hearing it yet.' Root: 'Like the old-fashioned cork or the ban on mobiles on planes, the EU has been assumed to be indispensable. For more than 50 years we have been told that it is a vital part of the "security architecture" of the world." Appeal to Principle: 'In the next couple of years we are entitled to pose the question: what is the POINT of the EU?...We all know the kind of scaremongering we can expect from the likes of Nick Clegg – the 'millions' of lost jobs, the vanishing foreign investment, the giant mutant rats with gooseberry eyes: the kind of stuff they said would happen if we failed to join the euro. I want to hear the positive arguments FOR the EU.'

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Telegraph 24/02/14	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.	Franco-German Axis	'We're not the bad boys of Europe – just ask our ski instructors' 'As the most law-abiding of countries, we should insist others practice what they preach.'	Exemplar: "crazed" CAP, "appalling" social chapter French-only ski instructors allowed in French alps Catchphrase: Britain as 'the awkward squad' Depiction: EU system as 'morally bankrupt' - 'What kind of a system is it that allows French buses on the streets of London, but forbids English ski instructors on the slopes of the French alps? I will tell you: a system that is morally bankrupt. We want reform; and if we don't get it, and we have to leave – well, it won't be because we couldn't obey the club rules. On the contrary – we complied, and they didn't.' '..we still have an outrageous and illegal restraint on trade that has probably cost this country millions in the treatment of wholly unnecessary broken legs…' The view 'peddled by the EU Commission' that Britain is 'the problem child of Europe' 'I don't want to hear anyone bleating on about how we are always the 'awkward squad' or the 'backmarker' or a 'bad European'. Any such assertion is demonstrable tripe… In fact, we are just about the politest, the most enthusiastic and the most law-abiding Europeans of all…' Root: 'In defiance of every basic principle of the Common Market – free establishment, free movement of services, you name it – the French continue to make it virtually impossible for a UK national to set up a ski school, in the French alps…' Consequence: Johnson warns 'we may have to leave' if reform not forthcoming Appeal to Principle: '..as the best and most committed Europeans…we can now demand reform: axe the crazed Common Agricultural Policy, scrap the appalling social chapter, get rid of the EU Court's jurisdiction on borders, police, home affairs and human rights – and above all tell the EU Commission to wake up and do what it is darn well supposed to do: make it easier for people to live, work and enjoy themselves in other EU countries.'
Telegraph 28/04/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'There's a simple solution to this Euro-elections sham' 'Westminster politicians are well placed to do a good job in Brussels and Strasbourg.'	Exemplar: 'Take the idiotic decision by the Euro-parliament to insist that on-call British doctors were still working, even when they were asleep; and that those sleeping hours counted towards their maximum working week' Depiction: '..the EU is a racket' and 'MEPS are on a gigantic boondoggle' Euro parliament: 'a complete sham' 'The Euro-parliament costs hundreds of millions, just to transport the MEP caravan from Brussels to Strasbourg and back, never mind the colossal cost of their allowances for secretaries and limos and Cremant d'Alsace. It is a gigantic waste of money – and yet the real tragedy is that with every year the parliament loses public support and public interest, it gains in practical power.' Root: Upcoming Euro-parliament elections; renegotiation of Britain's place in EU should Tories win another term Consequence: ****Johnson warning to Cameron – Britain could leave if results of renegotiation are not to the British public's liking. Appeal to Principle: Appeals to principle '..I know what you will say. Just pull out; just get out of the whole EU and our problems with the parliament will be over. It may indeed come to that, if we cannot get what we need in a renegotiation… If the British public don't like the results of the renegotiation, we're off.' MEPs should be appointed from 'our already sizeable stock of parliamentarians'
Telegraph 19/05/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'You kip if you want to – but only one party can offer real change' 'The Tories will give people the vote they are crying out for, and lead reform of the UK	Exemplar: 'The institutions of the European Union regulate everything from the hours we can work to the price of our food to the width of our condoms'The 150,000 pages of EU law Catchphrase: 'You kip if you want to' Depiction: It is "outrageous' that people of Johnson's generation and younger have not been given chance to vote on membership of EU '…the customs union has evolved into a gigantic dysfunctional superstate with its own currency, its own directly elected parliament and its own (mysterious and mainly useless) foreign policy' 'It is incredibly that our leaders have never once had the guts to put these changes to the people…' Root: Upcoming Euro-parliament elections. Since Britain joined 'EU institutions have vastly increased in power.. with more and more votes taken by a majority, and with Britain now accounting for only 8 per cent of the weighted voting system.' Appeal to Principle: 'After almost four decades as members of this club, do you want to stay in? Do you want reform? Or do you want to come out?' Plea for Tory vote as the only party 'who are offering this real prospect of change.' 'You kip if you want to – the Tories are giving us the first chance to vote on Europe in my adult lifetime. That matters a great deal.' 'We should go into these renegotiations with a clear agenda: to root out the nonsense of the social chapter…and other job-destroying regulations. We should kill the remainder of the Common Agricultural Policy and the external tariffs.'

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Telegraph 26/05/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'This is one peasants' revolt that Brussels can't just brush aside' 'All across Europe, the message is clear: the EU must hand back power to the people'	Metaphor: 'the main parties have all been figuratively slapped in the face with a wet kipper' Catchphrase: 'the pitchfork-wielding populists' 'the Eurocracy' 'the Euro-establishment' 'the Euro-nomenklatura' Depiction: Minor parties 'united by a visceral dislike of the EU bureaucracy; its arrogance, its remoteness, its expense, its endless condescension and its manic and messianic belief in its right to legislate for all 500 million people in the EU.' 'There is a kind of peasants' revolt going on…the pitchfork-wielding populists are converging on the Breydel building in Brussels, drunk on local hooch and chanting nationalist slogans and preparing to give the federalist machinery a good old kicking with their authentically folkloric clogs.' 'those high-minded and snooty Euro-enthusiasts in Britain' Root: Main parties across Europe performed poorly in Euro elections. Nicolas Sarkozy has said that free movement of the Schengen system should be suspended Appeal to Principle: Appeals to principle ''This European election is an expression of revulsion and discontent and it is a mandate for reform… the Eu needs to do less, to cost less, and to be less intrusive in the way it does it. There is only one government in Europe that has been campaigning solidly for the renegotiation that is needed, and that is David Cameron and the Conservative-led Coalition.'
Telegraph 9/06/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	"Junking Juncker's pointless. It doesn't matter who gets the job' 'Whoever ends up as Commission president will have one aim: ever closer union in Europe.'	Metaphor: The British veto as 'the national Excalibur'Vetoing Junker 'is like trying to swat a fly on the leg of the rhino that is standing on your chest. You can put lipstick on a pig, but it is still a cochon.' Catchphrase: "You kip if you want to; the rest of us are going to fight and win' Depiction: Vetoing Juncker "is the quintessence of turd polishing pointlessness.' 'vetoing Juncker is a pleasurable and no doubt justifiable but basically futile thing to do.' 'the almighty British veto is about to be unleased after years of cobwebbed desuetude.''the deep and awful truth is that it doesn't make much difference who is installed at the top of the Berlaymont.' EU project 'involves creating an ever more intricate system of government and ever more regulation of our lives.' Root: British opposition to proposed next EU Commission president, Jean-Claude Juncker Consequence: 'British politics is visibly dwindling, as decisions are anaesthetically taken in Brussels. In the end we will pay a terrible price for this moral weakness.' Appeal to Principle: 'The only way to change the activities of the European Commission is to change the treaties; and as I never tire of pointing out, there is only one way to get that renegotiation followed by an in/out referendum, and that is to give David Cameron and the Conservatives the mandate they need at the next election… We need to stop sub-contracting our democracy to the EU.'
Telegraph 29/09/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Leaping into the arms of Ukip only boosts Miliband's chances' 'The Tories are making real progress on the economy – it would be folly to put that at risk'	Exemplar: EU rules on "how much suction power we are allowed to have in our vacuum cleaners." CAP "which costs every family £400 a year in extra food costs" Depiction: "We think that the system of unrestricted mobility between 28 countries needs to be re-thought, and there needs to be a reform that gives sovereign governments the ability once again to control who is coming into their country." "the insane levels of meddling" from the Commission Root: Media stories that "a small queue of Tory MPs and MEPs" are on the verge of joining UKIP Appeal to Principle: We need "A return to sensible and practical border controls." "there is only one prime minister in the current EU who is capable of collating that support and turning it into a new treaty, and only one man who is going to be able to give the people of this country the vote on the EU that we have been deprived of for the past 40 years, and that man is David Cameron."

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Telegraph 13/10/14	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'The answer to the kippers' anger is simple: vote Cameron' 'Only the Tory Party can make certain that Britain has legal control of its borders.'	Exemplar: "the hordes at Calais" Catchphrase: "the kippers" (Ukip supporters) 'I urge these pundits to put a sock in it.' Depiction: "Britain is now the America of the EU: the place people want to come; the magnet for the hordes at Calais.' "I don't think that anyone who puts "immigration" at the top of their list of worries is automatically a racist (though some of them obviously are." 'What makes people angry is that sense that the whole thing is out of control.' '..there is no way, under current UK law, that we can stop people entering this country in large numbers from all 28 EU countries, including those where wages and benefits are very much lower than our own." Root: Freedom of movement in EU Appeal to Principle: 'Only David Cameron can conceivably deliver those changes, since he is the only leader who can lead reform of the EU… And the rest of us should recognise that the kippers aren't wicked. They don't hate immigrants, they just hate the lack of control of immigration."
Telegraph 11/05/15	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Single Market	'David Cameron will discover 'shy Tories' all across Europe' 'Just as in last week's General election, the people's common sense will come to the fore'	Depiction: 'I urge these pundits to put a sock in it. I have every confidence that our negotiators, led by David Cameron, will be able to achieve a reform that is in the interests not just of Britain but the whole of Europe.' On immigration: 'We are not calling for the drawbridge to be yanked up; we don't want to expel all hard-working immigrants. We are merely asking for a four-year delay on the payment of benefits to EU migrants.' Root: Tory win in May 2015 general election Appeal to Principle: 'We need to complete the market in financial services not just because it is massively in the interest of the UK, but because it is in the interest of every European country… These reforms, completing the Thatcherian vision of the single market – will be good not just for Britain, but for families and businesses across Europe. It is the right way forward for Europe, and never in our lifetimes has a British prime minister had such an opportunity to lead the way."
Telegraph 22/06/15	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Greek debacle explodes the central promise of the EU' 'Losing sovereignty was supposed to be a price worth paying but it has ended in humiliation'	Metaphor: "Over decades, British politicians had given away powers that weren't strictly theirs to give. They belonged to the people; and when the people asked for them back, they were told that the heirlooms were now locked in the silver cabinet in Brussels.' Depiction: The Greeks "locked forever in the procrustean torture of the euro" "That is the Faustian pact of the EU. You surrender something precious in the form of national autonomy – and everyone is meant to be richer. Well, that has certainly not worked for Greece.' The EU as "the sovereignty-prosperity trade-off" "..I think Britain would wear all this – all this loss of "sovereignty" – if the material gains were shown to be worthwhile. But can they? How has this experiment really worked out? Root: The Greek sovereign debt crisis and UKIP winning 14% in British general election "Has it been much good for Britain – or indeed anyone else? How has the sovereignty-prosperity trade-off really worked out?" Appeal to Principle: '…all this supranational regulation and legislation…that is now holding Europe back; one of the causes of endemic low growth and high unemployment virtually everywhere in the eurozone. The whole tendency of politics today is towards localism and devolution, and if we are going to give power to the nations and regions and cities of the UK, then surely it is time to give back powers to the countries of the EU."
Telegraph 13/07/15	The Plot against Britain	The issue is that European institutions are designed to project French and German	German Thirst for Expansion	'Greece must rediscover the spirit of Marathon to burst its euro shackles' 'German proposals to take over the	Metaphor: "..now the 72-year-old Shauble [German finance minister] is seriously proposing that this family silver should be taken and sold by the Germans." Catchphrase: "the great King of Brussels" Depiction: "The arrogance is amazing. What does he mean by "capacity building?" He means sending in natty-jacketed Eurocrats to take over the country. What does he mean by "depoliticizing"? He means telling Greek voters and politicians to get stuffed, because it is the Germans who are now running the show." "After five years of crisis, the European Union has reached such depths of intellectual and spiritual exhaustion…"

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		power and protect their interests, rather than the interests of Britain.		country's assets are tantamount to tyranny and have to be resisted.'	Root: German proposal that in return for staying in the single currency, Greek state assets should be "surrendered" to the Institute for Growth in Luxembourg. "And who is in charge of this institution, eh? Jawohl, meine Freunde! It turns out to be a front for the German…state development bank.." Consequence: Johnson – lesson for Britain "that this is what happens when a nation gives up economic sovereignty." Appeal to Principle: "Now is the time to rediscover the spirit of Marathon, to fight for the things that made Greece great, to burst the shackles of the Great King of Brussels"
Telegraph 19/10/15	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Britain's own legal system should trump the one sitting in Brussels.' 'No union campaigned for paid travel time to work. But thanks to an EU law, we are now stuck with it.'	Exemplar: ECJ ruling that driving or travelling to work constitutes working "they should be paid…from the minute they wipe the cereal from their lips and give their spouses a kiss, to the second they push the doorbell of their customer… It doesn't matter whether they are stuck in traffic…or whether they are parked in a layby reading a copy of Knave magazine; they don't need to hurry – they are going to get paid.." Catchphrase: "Give the power back to the MPs" Depiction: "It's the democracy – or the absence of democracy. That's what drives me nuts; that's the hole in the heart of the European project." "this is the kind of ill-thought-through legal activism on the part of the EU that is contributing to the chronic lack of European competitiveness." Root: ECJ court ruling that travel to work should be paid Appeal to Principle: 'Westminster can only look on in impotent bafflement. Are we going to continue to take this lying down, or are we going to do something to assert the rights of our parliamentary democracy? Surely it is time to do what several other countries have done in the past few years, insisting on the primacy not of the EU, but of their own legal systems… Give the power back to the MPs
Telegraph 2/11/15	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Cumberbash me by all means – but do it for the right reasons' 'While the actor is rightly angry about the plight of refugees, Britain needs proper migrant controls.'	Exemplar: Out-of-control immigration Depiction: 'It is a painful truth that we said we could cap immigration in the "tens of thousands"; and yet this year alone we have had net immigration at 330,000'. "…the population of this country is set to grow by another 4.4 million just in the next ten years. It is going to hit…80 million by 2050." "..it feels at the moment as if there is a giant plot… to use the excuse of EU rules to keep immigration beyond democratic control, so that the numbers keep rising, and so British companies get the skills they need… Root: Syrian refugee crisis and criticism of govt for not taking in more refugees Appeal to Principle: "There may be a case for immigration; there is no case for a lack of control."
Telegraph 9/11/15	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Cameron is right to make it clear: without a deal, we'll leave Europe' 'Britain has a great deal to gain from independence, and it's time our friends in the EU realised we mean it.'	Catchphrase: "that great release of pent-up Eurosceptic energy" Depiction: "Must British influence be expressed through this supranational body, with all its anti-democratic practices?" If Britain votes to leave "..you could argue that the only language our friends understand is an initial no – and that is the only thing that will really bring them to the table, make them focus on the need for reform." "One thing is sure: in the coming campaign we will hear absolute torrents of drivel from all the people traditionally warn about us not being included in some European project – big business, the CBI, the Europhiles in Parliament. Remember: they were wrong about the ERM, they were wrong about the euro and they are already exaggerating the downsides of leaving." Root: David Cameron's EU negotiations Appeal to Principle: This article reads like an "out" manifesto: Suggests if Cameron doesn't get what he wants "then he could lead the Out campaign; and in that great release of pent-up Eurosceptic energy there can be little doubt that he would be victorious." "We are already members of a very different club from France and Germany…It would be no bad thing to lead that group, to formalise what is already a semi-divorce." Yet: "We want to stay in, but not at any price." '..the Prime Minister is so right to flash some steal – to unsheathe a section of the blade that might soon be used to cut the rope and set Britain free. Free to make our own laws and our own trade deals; to have impact on the world commensurate with our own abilities, no longer believing that we can somehow puff ourselves up and "punch above our weight" by contriving to call the shots among 28 nations in the smoke-free corridors of Brussels. No longer to sacrifice parliamentary democracy for diplomatic "influence"; no longer the subset of a superstate; no longer the unwilling component of a unique and unprecedented attempt at political unification, but independent, standing or falling on our own merits."

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Telegraph 14/12/15	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'If Denmark can treat foreigners differently, then so can Britain' 'A simple recognition of any country's peculiarities does not mean the EU will come crashing down.'	Metaphor: "We need to hear soon about ways in which Parliament can halt the tide of EU regulation, and ways in which we can regain some control of our borders." Catchphrase: 'the pontifical authorities in Brussels" "the Euro-priests" Depiction: 'I am fed up to the back teeth with reading pious and ill-informed claptrap from some UK commentators, to the effect that David Cameron's proposals on EU borders are somehow destructive of the single market and its 'cherished principles'. What rubbish." "If this whole project is going to survive…we need it to be more flexible and more devolutionary: more willing to recognise national particularities. Like the Danes, Britain is a special case. Immigration as a "big expense" on the taxpayer Root: David Cameron's negotiations with Brussels: "our friends in Brussels have given us the bum's rush, and said they won't agree to the four-year cooling-off period that the PM has proposed." Danish negotiation of exemption on property ownership in Denmark, when they joined the Common market Appeal to Principle: Johnson restates view on immigration:"I am a passionate believer in the benefits of migration…But it should be us to us in this country to decide …whom to admit and when to admit them." "The PM's suggestion was modest, and sensible. It has been recklessly disregarded. This country could have a viable and exciting future outside the present EU arrangements. If we are going to stay, we need reform; and if the Danes can have their special circumstances, so can Britain."
Telegraph p.16 8/02/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Voters have to ask some hard questions about the Tusk deal' 'Britain would be better off in a reformed EU – but what are the prospects of meaningful change?'	Metaphor: EU law as a ratchet: "There is currently no effective means of checking this one-way ratchet of growth-strangling regulation" Depiction: Pros and cons: "It is true that the single market is of considerable value to many UK companies and consumers" "…the woeful defects of the EU. It is manifestly undemocratic and in some ways getting worse. It is wasteful, expensive and occasionally corrupt…" Root: Donald Tusk's proposals for deal with Britain – proposes Britain will not be able to block fiscal union. On sovereignty the phrase "ever closer union" should no longer serve as a signpost for integration." Consequence: 'So there is the dilemma in a nutshell: Britain in the EU good, in so far as that means helping to shape the destiny of a troubled continent in uncertain times, while trading freely with our partners. Britain in the EU bad, in so far as it is a political project whose destiny of ever-closer union we don't accept and whose lust to regulate we can't stop.' Appeal to Principle: Johnson states his position on EU: '"I have argued that we would be – on the whole – better off in a reformed EU, but that Britain could have a great future outside." On borders - "we seem to have accepted the mantra that 'free movement' is an age-old inviolable principle of the EU… Why didn't we try harder to recapture control of our borders?'
Telegraph p.18 22/02/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'There is only one way to get the change we want – Vote Go' 'David Cameron has done his very best but a vote to Remain will be taken in Brussels as a green light for more federalism and the further erosion of democracy, says Boris Johnson	Metaphor: EU law as "a ratchet, clicking only forwards"Exemplar: The rule that you can't recycle a teabag, or that children under eight cannot blow up balloons Catchphrase: 'Nanny in Brussels''This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels''federalist flights of fancy of the court and the Commission' Depiction: 'We have become so used to Nanny in Brussels that we have become infantilised, incapable of imagining an independent future. We used to run the biggest empire the world has ever seen.. Are we really unable to do trade deals? "This is a truly great country that is now going places at extraordinary speed. We are the European, if not the world, leaders in so many sectors of the 21st century economy.. Now is the time to spearhead the success of those products and services not just in Europe, but in growth markets beyond. This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels, and refer all decisions to someone else.' Root: Impending in/out referendum on the EU Appeals to principle: Johnson's sum up: 'This is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change in Britain's relations with Europe. This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule. A vote to Remain will be taken in Brussels as a green light for more federalism, and the erosion of democracy. 'There is only one way to get the change we need – and that is to vote to go; because all EU history shows that they only really listen to a population when it says No… It is time to seek a new relationship, in which we manage to extricate ourselves from most of the supranational elements.

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Telegraph 29/02/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Don't be taken in by Project Fear – staying in the EU is the risky choice' 'The Remain campaign, including HM Treasury, is actively talking down Britain's prospects.'	Metaphor: '…if we vote to Remain, we will continue to sit trapped like passengers in the back seat of some errant minicab with a driver who cannot speak English and who is taking us remorselessly and expensively in the wrong direction." The euro as "an economic doomsday machine" Catchphrase: "the Euro-elites" "the agents of Project Fear." Vote Leave as 'Project Hope' Depiction: '…the Remain campaign is intended to provoke only one emotion in the breast of the British public and that is fear.' '…these threats are so wildly exaggerated as to be nonsense." '..I am ever more convinced that the real risk is to sit back and do nothing, to remain inert and complacently in an unreformed EU that is hell-bent on a federal project over which we have no control." Root: Brexit referendum Appeal to Principle: 'Whatever the risks of Brexit, they are eclipsed by the problems of remaining in a political construct that has changed out of all recognition since we joined in 1972. What we need to do now is screw up our courage and go for change. We need a new partnership and a new deal with our friends in the EU, based on trade and cooperation, but without this supranational apparatus that is so out of date and is imitated nowhere else.' Johnson concludes: ********'It is a once in a lifetime change to energise our democracy, cut bureaucracy, save £8 billion a year, control our borders and strike new trade deals with growth economies that are currently forbidden. Vote Leave would be good for Britain and the only way to jolt the EU into the reform it needs. Let's call it Project Hope.'
Telegraph 7/03/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'There is no conspiracy. The EU is open about its superstate plan.' 'And Britain will be dragged along with it through the mystery of the single market.' 'Successive treaties have vastly expanded the areas in which the EU bodies operate so that there is virtually no aspect of public policy that is untouched.'	Metaphor: The ratchet is clicking forwards Exemplar: 'the Home Secretary has lost the power to deport murderers'Catchphrase: 'windy Euro-rhetoric'Depiction: "..the single market has changed beyond all recognition.''The idea of the Single Market has become so capacious that it is a cloak for full-scale political and economic union. We now have up to half our law coming from the EU…[and] the process of centralisation will simply continue – much of it in the name of the 'Single Market'. "as soon as something enters within the EU's field of competence, the Luxembourg Court of Justice becomes the supreme judicial body; and every time that happens, power is sucked away from this country. "Euro has been "a thoroughgoing disaster" Root: Brexit referendum and EU plans to create a 'euro-area treasury, with further pooling of tax and budgetary policy…and there is no way the UK can be unaffected by this process." Consequence: "…even though Britain is out of the euro, there is nothing we can do to stop our friends from using "single market" legislation to push forward centralising measures that will help prop up the euro (or so they imagine), by aligning EU economic, social and fiscal policies." Appeal to Principle: 'The Federalists do mean it when they sketch out these programmes. The ratchet is clicking forwards. When you come to vote, the status quo is not on offer.'
Telegraph p.16 14/03/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Americans would never accept EU restrictions – so why should we?' 'The US wants Britain to be a strong ally in Europe, but our influence is not all it's cracked up to be.'	Metaphor: 'Some time in the next couple of months we are told that President Obama himself is going to arrive in this country, like some deus ex machina, to pronounce on the matter.' Depiction: Obama argument that Britain must stay in the EU "is wholly fallacious – and coming from Uncle Sam, it is a piece of outrageous and exorbitant hypocrisy. There is no country in the world that defends its own sovereignty with such hysterical vigilance as the United States of America.' 'The whole concept of 'pooling sovereignty' is a fraud and a cheat. We are not really sharing control with other EU governments: the problem is rather that all governments have lost control to the unelected federal machine.' Root: Expected visit of US president Barack Obama to UK

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Telegraph 16/03/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'There is only one way to get the change we want – vote to leave the EU'	Metaphor: 'That is why EU law is likened to a ratchet, clicking only forwards.Exemplar: Euro-condoms'the great war against the British prawn cocktail flavour crisp''Sometimes these EU rules sound simply ludicrous, like the rule that you can't recycle a teabag, or that children under eight cannot blow up balloons, or the limits on the power of vacuum cleaners. Sometimes they can be truly infuriating – like the time I discovered, in 2013, that there was nothing we could do to bring in better-designed cab windows for trucks, to stop cyclists being crushed. It had to be done at a European level, and the French were opposed.' Catchphrase: 'Nanny in Brussels' 'Nurse in Brussels' Depiction: 'That is why EU law is likened to a ratchet, clicking only forwards. We are seeing a slow and invisible process of legal colonisation, as the EU infiltrates just about every area of public policy.' 'Sometimes the public can see all too plainly the impotence of their own elected politicians – as with immigration. That enrages them; not so much the numbers as the lack of control. That is what we mean by loss of sovereignty – the inability of people to kick out, at elections, the men and women who control their lives.''We have become so used to Nanny in Brussels that we have become infantilised, incapable of imagining an independent future. We used to run the biggest empire the world has ever seen, and with a much smaller domestic population and a relatively tiny Civil Service. Are we really unable to do trade deals? We will have at least two years in which the existing treaties will be in force.Root: it isn't we in this country who have changed. It is the European Union. In the 28 years since I first started writing for this paper about the Common Market – as it was then still known – the project has morphed and grown in such a way as to be unrecognisable, rather as the vast new Euro palaces of glass and steel now lour over the little cobbled streets in the heart of the Belgian capital. Consequence: (of staying in)'Democracy matters… And now the EU wants to go further. There is a document floating around Brussels called "The Five Presidents Report", in which the leaders of the various EU institutions map out ways to save the euro. It all involves more integration: a social union, a political union, a budgetary union. At a time when Brussels should be devolving power, it is hauling more and more towards the centre, and there is no way that Britain can be unaffected.' Appeal to Principle: 'Britain is changing too. This is a truly great country that is now going places at extraordinary speed….'Now is the time to spearhead the success of those products and services not just in Europe, but in growth markets beyond. This is a moment to be brave, to reach out – not to hug the skirts of Nurse in Brussels, and refer all decisions to someone else.'We have given so much to the world, in ideas and culture, but the most valuable British export and the one for which we are most famous is the one that is now increasingly in question: parliamentary democracy – the way the people express their power.******'This is a once-in-a-lifetime chance to vote for real change in Britain's relations with Europe. This is the only opportunity we will ever have to show that we care about self-rule. A vote to Remain will be taken in Brussels as a green light for more federalism, and for the erosion of democracy.In the next few weeks, the views of people like me will matter less and less, because the choice belongs to those who are really sovereign – the people of the UK. And in the matter of their own sovereignty the people, by definition, will get it right.
Telegraph 4/04/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Pity the Port Talbot workers – their country is powerless to help them' 'EU legislation means that we cannot act in Britain's interests and prevent a crisis in the steel industry.'	Exemplar: Port Talbot closing because of UK's 'fatal loss of flexibility.' Catchphrase: 'It is time to take back control' Depiction: '…at every turn we have the problem of the EU, and the objections of Brussels to anything that looks like state aid.' 'it is time to ignore the doomsters' '..we no longer call the shots, even when thousands of jobs are at stake.' 'losing sovereignty is just a fancy way of talking about losing control – and I think people care passionately about it.' Root: Port Talbot steel to close – Britain can do nothing to prevent dumping of cheap Chinese steel

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
					'The EU system is being daily exposed in this debate as an anachronism, and membership is increasingly cumbersome and antidemocratic. Nowhere else are they conducting a giant experiment of trying to fuse so many countries into one. It is time to ignore the doomsters, get out, go global. It is time to take back control of our country – not to speak of about £10 billion net.'
Telegraph 17/04/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Control Immigration	'Angela Merkel is now silencing German satirists to please Erdogan. This is what the EU has wrought.'	Exemplar: 'Davos man – the kind of people whose club-class air tickets are paid by the taxpayer, all the lobbyists and corporate affairs directors of the big companies: they are all increasingly nervous that they have been rumbled, that people can see the emperor has no clothes and that Britain could have a glorious future outside the EU'. Depiction: 'The process of EU integration means the wholesale erosion of democracy; and it would seem that protecting that process means the erosion of free speech as well. The whole thing is infamous.' 'Everyone knows why Angela Merkel is so cynically and so desperately determined to appease the Turkish leader…because in the next few weeks and months we could have another migration crisis in the eastern Mediterranean.' 'All the usual suspects are out there, trying to confuse the British public, and to persuade them that they must accept the accelerating loss of democratic self-government as the price of economic prosperity.' Root: German govt agreeing that the prosecution in a German court of a Turkish comedian for insulting President Erdogan should go ahead – because of impending immigration crisis, says Johnson Consequence: They all know that there is one event in the next few weeks that could remind the British people of at least one salient point in this debate – that this country has lost control of its frontiers – and that is another migration crisis on the borders of the EU, and within the EU itself. That is one reason why it is essential for Angela to suck up to Erdogan. That is why this egregious prosecution has drawn not a peep from the UK.
Telegraph 25/04/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Do Bremainers really think voters will be cowed by the likes of Obama?'	Metaphor: 'Inch by inch, month by month, the sausage machine of EU law-making will extrude more laws – at a rate of 2,500 a year.' Catchphrase: 'Bremainers' 'take back control' Depiction: The EU as "a narcotic tyranny.' Brussels view of British referendum as 'that embarrassing and tedious genuflection to democracy' which 'must be safely won; and then they will get their plans out of the drawer and get on with the business of building a federal superstate' 'the tragic poverty' of the Cameron deal The EU as "a gigantic engine of job destruction' Remainers – 'American presidents, business leaders, fat cats of every description' Commission's Five Presidents Plan involving closer cooperation – 'Why? Because if the Germans are to be persuaded to engage in a perpetual bankrolling of the less prosperous regions of the EU, then they want proper Germanic rules to enforce good behaviour. He who pays the piper calls the tune.' Root: Brexit referendum and EU plans for "more Europe" – "a fiscal and political union, in which Britain would inevitably be involved." (The European Commission's Five Presidents' Report) Consequence: Johnson's warning: 'Remember that twice in the past five years, the EU has removed the democratically elected government – in Italy and Greece – and installed Brussels-approved technocrats. It is a narcotic tyranny. They want to go on with the work of building a unitary state, in a way that is anti-democratic and ultimately very dangerous, since it will one day provoke real public anger.' Appeal to Principle:: 'We can be stronger, richer, more influential if we vote Leave. In believing that we can all be scared into thinking otherwise, the Remainers are fatally underestimating the British public.' 'We need to talk about that deal in the weeks ahead, because it shows how contemptuously we will be treated if we vote to remain. This is the last chance, in our lifetimes, to take back control – of £350 million a week (and use some of that cash to deliver a seven-day NHS) – and the last chance to take back control of our democracy.'
Telegraph 16/05/16	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	Leave EU	'Of course our City fat cats love the EU – it's why they earn so much.' 'The elites who urge a vote for Remain will never have to face the problems the EU forces on the rest of us.'	Exemplar: Pro-EU 'fat cat' businessmen who 'have so much more money than other people…that they are flying in private jets and building subterranean swimming pools, while many of their employees cannot afford to buy any kind of home at all.' Catchphrase: 'the FTSE fat cats' Depiction: The single market is 'a microcosm of low growth.'EU regulation – 'generated by an inscrutable process involving fat cat lobbyists and fat cat businesses and the governments of other countries.' Root: Brexit referendum Consequence: 'The FTSE fat cats will sign up for remaining in the EU: they are getting personally richer and richer – by mainlining immigrant labour for their firms and manipulating EU regulation that only the big players can understand – while those at the bottom have seen a real terms fall in their wages.' Appeal to Principle: 'If you want to back the entrepreneurs, the grafters, the workers, the innovators, the burgeoning and dynamic businesses of Britain – then Vote Leave on June 23, and give this cabal the kick in the pants they deserve.'

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph p.14 23/05/16	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Leave EU	'The future is bright, the future is Brexit – it's history in the making' 'Decades from now, we will be thriving after leaving the EU and the Remainers will be eating their words.' Johnson imagines a world where Britain voted to leave	Exemplar: UK as an "El dorado of job creation" EU's "torrent of laws" Catchphrase: 'Project Fear' Depiction: Immigration crisis a consequence of "the euro catastrophe". UK became "a comparative El Dorado of job creation. This meant that the UK experienced substantial waves of immigration.. The British were traditionally welcoming, but they could see the pressures of uncontrolled immigration on the NHS and other services. They were alarmed that the influx was about 33,000 a year." Remain campaign's 'scare tactics' and 'non-existent bogeymen' EU"s 'torrent of laws' cost Britain £600 a week / UK influence in EU 'laughable' The EU is "an anachronism"/ Non-EU countries do better than Britain exporting to single market Root: Johnson's 'what if' Brexit happened? Consequence: In Johnson's view post Brexit "Project Fear turned out to be a giant hoax. The markets were calm. The pound did not collapse…and a new relationship was rapidly forged based on free trade… The British felt suddenly and unexpectedly galvanised – with a renewed confidence in their democracy, and excitement about the new opportunities for global trade and partnership.'
Telegraph 29/05/16	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and bloated bureaucrats.	Leave EU	'The only continent with weaker economic growth than Europe is Antarctica' "I have always championed the benefits of immigration, and the ability of talented people from around the world to contribute to the life of this country. But how can anyone claim that this is not an economic phenomenon? "	Catchphrase: 'take back control' Depiction: Single market as "an excuse for a morass of politically driven legislation that costs UK business about £600 million a week." "The EU is a graveyard of low growth; the only continent with lower growth is currently Antarctica. That is partly because of the sclerotic one-size-fits-all Brussels approach to regulation; but, worse, in the last decade the EU has been suffering from a self-inflicted economic disaster – the euro." Unemployment in Greece & Spain is "a moral outrage" ***On immigration: "Immigration is now the single biggest driver of our population – set to soar to 70 or 80 million. It is this surge in demand that is largely causing the housing crisis, and the almost overwhelming pressure to destroy the green belt. It is immigration that has been relentlessly helping to compress the wages of the low-paid while the FTSE-100 chiefs (many lobbying for Remain) have seen their pay go up to 150 times that of their average worker. Root: In/out referendum -economic argument for leaving: 'we have only 6 per cent of companies trading with the rest of the EU – yet 100 per cent of them have to comply with EU law." Consequence: Warns Europe "will now try full-bore to create 'an economic government of Europe' using the single-market institutions, in a way that will inevitably drag us in – and for which the UK taxpayer will end up paying. This "political union" will be both horrifically anti-democratic and expensive; for us, too." Appeal to Principle: "…the only way to take back control is to vote Leave on June 23."
Telegraph 05/06/16	The Threat to Liberal Free Markets	The issue is that Britain's free market ideals are being subsumed into a European socialist model that transfers British taxpayers' money to European vested interests. The vested interests are: unions, farmers and	Leave EU	'You must vote to Leave, or wake up with the worst hangover in history.' 'If we don't take this chance to end our membership, Britain will remain trapped in the EU nightmare.'	Exemplar: 'the famous directive on the power of vacuum cleaners and toasters' Catchphrase: 'the gloom mongers''call a halt to the endless erosion of democracy''Take back control' Depiction: "This was the moment to stand up… This was the chance to fight for the low-paid in the UK, their incomes compressed.. by the uncontrolled immigration that is a function of EU membership and the euro crisis.""Now, and now only, was the time to call a halt to the endless erosion of democracy. This was the day when you had resolved to give back to the British people the sovereign right to sack – at elections – the people who make the big political decisions. Yes, you were going to take back control." The EU as "the whole stitch up: the European Commission conspires with big business to regulate out the competition; the lobbyists, the fat cats…and all the billions of pounds of fraud and waste of the EU project" Root: Another Johnson 'what if' Britain votes to leave Appeals to principle: 'Believe in Britain, and our ability as a proud, self-confident, and independent country to help restore democracy here and around the whole continent. Vote Leave on June 23.' Argues that Britain must 'Take back control' of immigration, of the "£10 billion a year of taxpayers' money that goes to Brussels and we never see again'..' You are going to take back control of taxation… You are going to allow this country to set its own destiny, with a dynamic series of free-trade deals of the kind that have been impossible while the UK has been in the EU. You have decided once and all to end the madness by which 60 per cent of the law made in Westminster is generated, one way or another, by the EU.'

Source	Package	Core Frame	Core Position	Context	Condensing Symbols & Reasoning Devices
		bloated bureaucrats.			
Telegraph 12/06/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'When it comes to the single market, you don't have to be in it to win it' 'Britain should be a trading partner – even the Remain camp doesn't want to be in a United States of Europe'	Exemplar: James Dyson and Anthony Bamford, leading businessmen who want to leave EU Catchphrase: 'the Brussels stitch-up' Depiction: 'We get an unending and intensifying diet of fear. We are being bullied and brow-beaten into remaining in this failing system – and I think the public can see through.' 'People are rumbling the great fat lie at the heart of the whole thing: that the sacrifice of democracy…is somehow worth it for the economic benefits of the so-called single market.' Root: Dyson and Bamford say Britain would be better off out of EU controlling its own destiny Appeal to Principle: 'It is time for this country to show some of the self-belief of these two great companies. It was only a few months ago that the Prime Minister was saying we would thrive mightily outside. He was right first time.'
Telegraph 19/06/16	The Loss of British Sovereignty	The issue is that Britain has surrendered its sovereignty to institutions it has no power over and which take decisions that aren't in the interests of the British people.	Westminster	'Please Vote Leave on Thursday, because we'll never get this chance again' Johnson gives Telegraph exclusive interview which appears in the paper on June 23	Metaphor: If we vote Remain, we stay locked in the back of the car, driven by someone with an imperfect command of English, and going a direction we don't want to go. Catchphrase 'Take back control''Project Fear''give power back to the people' Depiction: People can sense the true motives behind Project Fear. It isn't idealism, or internationalism. It's a cushy elite of politicians and lobbyists and bureaucrats, circling the wagons and protecting their vested interests. What is the Remain camp offering? No change, no improvement, no reform; nothing but the steady and miserable erosion of parliamentary democracy in this country. 'If we vote Remain, we do nothing to rebuke the elites in Brussels who have imposed the euro on the continent, and thrown a generation of young people on the scrap-heap, and who are utterly indifferent to the misery they are causing for the sake of their bankrupt ideology.'We will remain prisoners of a trade regime that will not allow this country – the fifth biggest economy on earth – to negotiate with America, or China or India or any of the other growth economies of the world; because that privilege is reserved exclusively for the hierarchs of the European Commission, of whose vast staff only 3.6 per cent come from this country.' Root: In/Out referendum, June 23 Appeal to Principle: 'It is we who want to give power back to people. It is we who want to stand up against the corporatist and elitist system that will never admit its mistakes. That is why we believe in democracy – because it is the best way humanity has found of correcting the errors of our rulers; and we are mad to throw it away.'Now is the time to believe in ourselves, and in what Britain can do, and to remember that we always do best when we believe in ourselves. Of course we can continue to provide leadership and support for Europe – but inte-rgovernmentally, outside the supranational EU system.' I hope you will vote Leave, and take back control of this great country's destiny; and if we Vote Leave, then all our votes will count for more in the future. This chance will not come again in our lifetimes, and I pray we do not miss it.

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