

COMPLAINT: COVERAGE BY “TODAY”, SINCE THE WILSON REPORT, OF THE CASE FOR THE UK TO WITHDRAW FROM THE EU.

BACKGROUND

The 2005 Wilson Report into the BBC’s coverage of EU affairs was the Corporation’s first published independent analysis of its output. Its committee of inquiry was chaired by Lord Wilson of Dinton, formerly Cabinet Secretary and Head of the Civil Service. This complaint is that the BBC has not delivered the improvements it promised in its response to that report, of its coverage of EU affairs. This applies particularly to the debate about the UK’s withdrawal from the EU.

The Wilson Report was published in January 2005. It was critical of parts of the relevant output. It said:

...we do think there is a serious problem. Although the BBC wishes to be impartial in its news coverage of the EU it is not succeeding. Whatever the intention, nobody thinks the outcome is impartial. There is strong disagreement about the net balance but all parties show remarkable unity in identifying the elements of the problem. Sometimes being attacked from all sides is a sign that an organisation is getting it right. That is not so here. It is a sign that the BBC is getting it wrong, and our main conclusion is that urgent action is required to put this right. The problem can be summarised under a number of headings which we analyse below.¹

Institutional mindset.

Giving the audience the information it needs to make up its own mind is a proper and important role for the BBC and one which it must carry out. We feel that impartiality requires even-handed treatment of the broad spectrum of views held by the British electorate.

Senior managers appear insufficiently self-critical about standards of impartiality. They seem to take it as a given, with little serious thought as to how it applies in practice. This attitude appears to have filtered through to producers, reporters and presenters in the front line. There is no evidence of any systematic monitoring to ensure that all shades of significant opinion are fairly represented and there is a resistance to accepting external evidence.

Over simplified polarisation of the issues and stereotyping.

The BBC needs to be much more sophisticated in its presentation of different points of view on Europe. Some favour withdrawal and others favour closer integration but there is a significant body of opinion which favours continued membership of the EU but is critical of further integration. Across the whole spectrum many are critical of individual policies. The BBC needs to reflect this diversity of viewpoint

¹ The report is quoted selectively here to highlight some of key points, the full report is at: <http://www.bbcgovernorsarchive.co.uk/docs/reviews/independentpanelreport.pdf>

Westminster prism.

It has failed to reflect a significant minority opinion that the UK should withdraw from the EU because this does not figure in the policies of the Westminster parties.

Ignorance.

Journalists are unlikely to be able to explain the issues clearly unless they understand them themselves. There is much evidence that the public do not get the clear and accurate explanations they need because there is a lack of knowledge of the EU at every stage of the process from the selection of an item to the conduct of the interview. Presenters often appear to be ill-briefed and insufficiently armed with the facts necessary to challenge assertions made by interviewees in live interviews, reflecting not just pressure on them but a lack of understanding by programme researchers and producers.

Omission.

All external witnesses pointed out that the BBC News agenda understates the importance and relevance of the EU in the political and daily life of the UK....We note that across the spectrum of opinion there is widespread criticism of the narrow nature of the coverage and the lack of reporting of issues which have a considerable domestic impact, for example the Working Time or Chemicals Directives.

Taken together, these criticisms strongly indicated that not enough was being done to cover the EU debate, especially with regard to conveying the range of opinions and in terms of explaining key developments.

In response, the BBC news division said it would “offer our audiences across all platforms clear, accurate and accessible information about the way EU institutions work and their impact on UK laws and life”. In addition, it would upgrade and improve appropriate elements of programming. A new post of Europe Editor was created, efforts were made to train all BBC staff more fully in EU affairs, and it was pledged that greater editorial effort would be made across the board to ensure that important news stories about aspects of the European Union and its development were covered more effectively.

Back in 2005, Mr Thompson told newspapers that the problems identified by Wilson had been clearly dealt with. More recently, however, at the end of 2010, he conceded that in the past there had been problems with the reporting of EU developments – including being “weak” in the coverage and nervous about “letting the debate happen” – though he did not define when this had been, identify specific instances, or outline how the problems fitted in with the improvements that he earlier claimed had been made.

Against this background, this complaint is that, despite the promises after the Wilson Report, withdrawal from the EU has not been adequately covered by the Today programme, and that those who have appeared on the programme who supported the withdrawal case have not been afforded

the opportunity to outline properly their views, despite commanding substantial and growing electoral support.

The complaint is based on systematic research into approximately half the Today programme's output for approximately one year before and for six years after the Wilson Report. Each edition of the programme has been recorded and logged and the relevant EU content has transcribed. There are a total of 14 separate survey periods, each covered by individual detailed analysis that has been drawn upon in compiling the complaint.

The surveys cover only half the broadcasts of the Today programme and so it might be reasonable to infer that actual appearances by withdrawal supporters could have been double the figures quoted. However, it should also be noted that the surveys were carried out in periods of EU summits or major elections, when it would be reasonably expected that coverage of EU affairs would be at its most intense.

It should also be noted that since Wilson, the electoral support enjoyed by those in favour of withdrawal has consistently increased in key elections. UKIP was second-placed party in the 2009 European Parliamentary poll, and commanded almost 1m votes in the 2010 general election. Almost a quarter (24.5%) of those who voted in 2009 supported national parties (UKIP, BNP and the English Democrats) who advocated leaving the EU as a principal part of their platform. It would be expected that this higher level of votes would be reflected in coverage.

The Today programme is, of course, only one component of the BBC's output. But it is the corporation's self-declared flagship news and current affairs programme and as such it would be expected that it would carry coverage of EU affairs – and within that, the withdrawal perspective - that was balanced, accurate and sufficient to keep the audience apprised of key developments, in line with what the Wilson Report identified.

The evidence presented here includes that:

- Coverage of withdrawal as a political issue has fallen, not risen since Wilson;
- There were only 17 questions about withdrawal put to withdrawal advocates in 857 surveyed editions of Today between 2005 and 2010, an average of one every 50 programmes;
- Explanation of withdrawal-related policies amounted to only 5,300 words (approximately 37 minutes of airtime, or 6 minutes for each year that was surveyed), strung across 89 separate, mostly fragmentary responses, an average of 59 words (about 23 seconds) per response. This was four ten thousandths of the time available to Today editors.

Thus, overall, withdrawal as a political issue was a very low priority.

This is, without doubt, the closest scrutiny ever mounted of BBC output; it is incumbent on the corporation to explain why the recommendations of Lord Wilson and his panel have so plainly not been met.

COVERAGE OF THE WITHDRAWAL DEBATE.

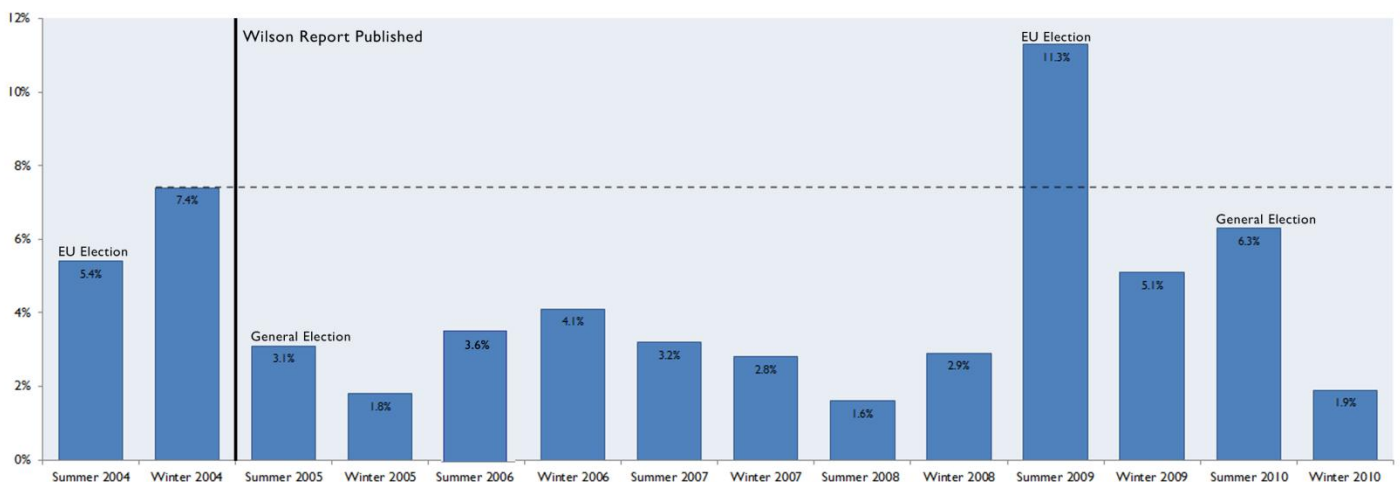
The treatment of withdrawal from the EU is a primary indicator of whether the BBC is meeting the improvement targets it set itself post-Wilson. Withdrawal is an integral part of the EU debate.

The three main political parties have traditionally regarded withdrawal and its supporters as extremists – UKIP was described by David Cameron in 2006 as “fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists” – and have mostly themselves avoided discussing the topic. As such, the issue is not among their priorities, and it is seldom raised except in disdain or derision. But this should be a spur to journalistic investigation, not a reason for limitation, especially in the context of both growing electoral support and also endorsement that crosses party lines – MPs from both the Labour and Conservative parties are members of the Better Off Out group.

The Wilson Report specifically stated:

[The BBC] has failed to reflect a significant minority opinion that the UK should withdraw from the EU because this does not figure in the policies of the Westminster parties. UKIP in their written evidence say that the main news programmes are dominated by Westminster based correspondents who rarely meet pro-withdrawal politicians. The situation has been addressed since UKIP’s success in the European elections.

The evidence shows that Lord Wilson was premature in his judgment. There was indeed a rise in UKIP appearances after the 2004 elections – in the period when the Wilson Report was being compiled (and again in 2009 and during the general election in 2010) – but otherwise, those advocating withdrawal have appeared considerably less frequently after the report than before. Pro-withdrawal speakers accounted for 5.9% of all guests discussing the EU before Wilson and 3.6% after. The chart below confirms this:



Of the 1,913 speakers who have contributed to the EU debate in the surveyed editions of Today post-Wilson, only 69 (3.6%) were pro-withdrawal. Thirty of these programme contributions were short soundbites, and only 38 were interviews. The interviewees were asked a total of 176 direct questions, an average of 4.6 questions per guest.

The frequency of the appearance of withdrawal speakers has halved from exactly one per week in 2004² before Wilson to less than once per fortnight between 2005 and 2010³.

However, the expression of pro-withdrawal opinion was not actually as regular as these figures suggest because there was clustering around key events, such as European and general elections, European Council meetings and UKIP leadership contests. In these periods, there were often a number of pro-withdrawal speakers in the same programme edition, or in the same package within a particular programme.

Of the 132 individual editions of Today monitored before the Wilson Report, pro-withdrawal contributors appeared in 15 programmes. This “clustering” effect meant that only one programme in every nine (one every week and three days, as there are six editions per week) contained input from pro-withdrawal speakers. In the 857 editions of Today monitored post-Wilson, there were appearances from pro-withdrawal speakers in 51 editions, or one programme in every 17 (almost a three week interval).

It is also important to note that the sharp rise in withdrawal speakers during the survey that took place during 2009 European election is not all that it appears. Eight of the 11 pro-withdrawal speakers appeared in a single programme (contributing mainly soundbites) that broadcast on the day after the election. So of the 11.3% figure on the bar chart, 8.2% of the total appeared in that single results programme.

The Wilson panel expressed concerns that the level of coverage in 2004 was too little; it follows that if levels have reduced significantly since then – and the clear evidence here is that they have – this is a matter for concern.

Another important indicator of the nature of coverage is in the type, volume and depth of questions and responses when pro-withdrawal speakers appeared.

The nature of the news and affairs coverage by Today is obviously fragmentary; speakers give information in response to complex questioning and do not deliver polished, structured homilies. However, presenters often aim at establishing the facts and background of a particular set of circumstances, and encourage programme guests to give listeners a coherent picture of their intentions, or new measures, or strategy.

Examination of the transcripts involving pro-withdrawal speakers shows that there was consistently a highly fragmented editorial approach towards them. This was combined with a low level of curiosity about withdrawal policies. The full list of these appearances, with a summary of what was said is at Appendix 1. Appendix 2 is a complete list of all the words spoken by these guests that might loosely be interpreted as being in support of withdrawal, or that display strong anti-EU rhetoric.

The appendices show that, since the Wilson Report, there was a total of 5,303 words spoken about issues connected with withdrawal, divided into 88 separate contributions - an average of 60 words. Another key indicator that reveals the low level of curiosity is that there were only 17 questions about withdrawal in six years, less than 10% of all questions that these speakers were asked.

² There were 22 pro-withdrawal contributions in the 22 weeks surveyed by Newswatch in 2004.

³ In the 143 weeks surveyed after 2005, there were 69 pro-withdrawal speakers, one every 12.4 editions (2 weeks and half a day)

Pro-withdrawal speakers were only very occasionally given the opportunity to explain the basis of their policy – especially the core policy – or beliefs in more than short soundbites (even during interviews), and there was no consistent effort to establish what withdrawal policy entailed.

There were a few exceptions that stand out when longer answers were elicited. For example, Daniel Hannan MEP was specially invited to make a 90-second contribution about the case to scrap the 1972 European Communities Act (December 14, 2006); Lord Pearson of Rannoch explained why he was pushing for an independent cost/benefit analysis of EU membership in a House of Lords bill (June 8, 2007); and on November 28, 2009 Lord Pearson offered that UKIP candidates would stand down if their Conservative opponents supported a referendum on EU membership. Lord Pearson also spelled out the cost of EU membership during the 2010 general election campaign; Philip Davies, the Conservative MP, explained over several questions what the Better Off Out campaign was seeking to achieve (April 26, 2006); and Nigel Farage talked about his opposition to the reform treaty (October 19, 2007).

These are conspicuous because they were the only occasions in the six years when pro-withdrawal speakers genuinely had an opportunity to explain what their policies were based upon and where they were aimed at leading. Put another way; there were only six occasions in 857 editions of Today when there were sustained (albeit short) questioning of supporters of withdrawal about their core beliefs.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that even though Daniel Hannan's contribution about the repeal of the Communities Act came second in the 2006 Today poll to find the most unpopular laws – and there were allegations of vote-rigging against the winning topic (the ban on fox-hunting) – there was no effort by the programme to follow up on why the possibility of such a repeal was so popular among listeners. It was an obvious peg for an interview about withdrawal, but it was not taken.

It was also striking that, the most frequent pro-withdrawal programme guests, Roger Knapman and Nigel Farage, seldom had the opportunity to deliver more than two or three sentences about policy without interruption.

By contrast, examination of full transcripts shows that more detailed and solicitous questioning of those with different views about the EU are common. For example, William Hague, the foreign secretary, when he was interviewed twice in the autumn of 2010 about progress towards an agreement over the EU budget, spoke more than 1,100 words – more than a fifth of the entire withdrawal contribution over six years - and two of his answers ran to more than 130 words each in sharp exchanges in which Evan Davis sought to establish that the Conservative party had reneged on its Eurosceptic promises.

This was, of course, the government being held to account by the programme, but it puts into context just how little consideration there was of the withdrawal case in the context of the EU debate, and how fragmented was the treatment by the programme of those who advocated withdrawal. Today routinely facilitates lengthy exchanges of matters it deems important. Withdrawal was never in that category.

Another indicator of the lengths Today would go to accommodate other points of view about the EU among guests who were not supporters of withdrawal was an interview with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

about his views in favour of the proposed European Constitution in April 2004. It is attached at Appendix 4; Mr D'Estaing in one interview lasting 19 minutes spoke 1,056 words.

It is also of note that in the list of those who spoke in favour of withdrawal, the large majority were from UKIP (others were eight BNP, four Conservative, one Veritas and one Labour). There was only one token appearance by a Labour supporter of withdrawal (Austin Mitchell, who was asked why it was unlikely withdrawal would feature in future Labour party fringe meetings). There was thus no attempt to incorporate pro-withdrawal views from across the political spectrum, adding further weight to the view that in Today's editorial approach, withdrawal was regarded as the domain of an extremist factional minority.

Appendix 1 describes the framework in which a further 10,000 words about matters other than withdrawal were spoken by withdrawal supporters. The appendix also includes commentary about UKIP-related issues by Mark Mardell, the BBC Europe Editor. The sequences covered numerous topics, again on a highly fragmented basis. Appendix 3 contains the full list of questions asked. It shows that on the one hand, there was a heavy focus on negative aspects of those advocating withdrawal; on the other there was occasional, sporadic consideration of several other topics of EU issues of interest to pro-withdrawal supporters.

A large part of the total related to whether UKIP had wrongly claimed EU allowances, whether supporters were the "BNP in blazers", or whether UKIP could be taken seriously as a party. There were 34 questions on this theme, compared to the 17 (marked in yellow in the Appendix) questions that were directly or indirectly on the topic of withdrawal.

Such inquiries were partly triggered, of course, by the detailed scrutiny of the conduct of politicians in connection with the House of Commons expenses scandal. But the amount of scrutiny of UKIP about potential wrongdoing was disproportionate. More than twice the effort was put into looking at the expenses/allowances scandal and the nature of UKIP than into key areas of party policy.

Another pointer to the sparseness and inadequacy of coverage of the withdrawal perspective is that over six years, only three questions were put to those favouring withdrawal on the Common Agricultural Policy, only five about the cost to Britain of EU membership, and none at all about specific EU directives (all issues which are important EU topics, and areas identified by Wilson where coverage was inadequate).

The dominant editorial intent was to suggest that those in the withdrawal camp – as it was variously put to them – were incompetent, closet racists, extremist, possibly corrupt and not serious in their political intentions and this was amplified by the sole correspondent analysis of UKIP that was broadcast during the 14 surveys. This was an item by Mark Mardell (quoted in full in Appendix 1), in which he lumped together all the criticisms of UKIP he could find from every part of the political spectrum into a feature which preceded an interview of Nigel Farage during the 2009 European election campaign. The BBC, in response to a complaint from UKIP, have since ruled that this opinion was "fair". However, in the context of this analysis, it can be seen that it was not. The over-riding approach by Today was to elevate the projection of negatives about the withdrawal position above journalistic inquiry into the substance of the withdrawal case, and in turn, to ensure that the withdrawal case was not heard properly through low levels of coverage. Mr Mardell's comment fitted neatly into this pattern.

The negative approach was also underlined by the treatment of UKIP when it was mentioned on the programme in non-EU contexts, for example, in connection with domestic affairs or UKIP's internal party processes. There was one interview with a UKIP spokesman about non-EU affairs, and actuality from a UKIP election candidate and two UKIP leadership contenders. There were 21 such instances in total and they are logged at Appendix 4. They have been isolated separately because this complaint is focused on the treatment of the withdrawal case and those advocating it in the context of coverage of EU affairs.

However, the 21 additional mentions of UKIP also show that treatment was here, too, generally negative and projected the party as both extreme (with policies closely to linked to those of BNP) and right-wing. This is explored more fully at the beginning of Appendix 4.

The latest survey, covering September-December 2010 (attached also to this complaint), provides continuing evidence of the low level of interest in the withdrawal perspective that has been the hallmark of post-Wilson coverage. There were no direct questions about withdrawal, and only one interview with a figure who favoured withdrawal. On this occasion, no questions were put about the key EU issues during the period of the Irish bailout and the EU budget negotiations. Further, there was no coverage of the important EU-related topics (from the pro-withdrawal perspective) such as the latest proposals for the reform of CAP or the failure of the EU to sign off its accounts for the 16th year running.

The sole interview of a supporter of withdrawal was of Nigel Farage, but – in line with the past – he was not asked about the topic. Instead, the focus was on whether UKIP was like the Tea Party movement in the US and whether his motivation was anger; this was editorial focus yet again on negatives rather than the substance of policy. Mr Farage himself managed to squeeze in a few points about UKIP policy, but this was an interview about approach and perception – with clear overtones from the interviewer that the party remained a right-wing faction – rather than policy and direction.

Evan Davis conducted the interview. His approach also confirmed the clear Westminster focus that Wilson warned against and seemed to serve primarily to downplay the importance of the European Parliament (and by association, UKIP and withdrawal) to British life. He asked:

It's going to be quite an uphill challenge to get a single Parliamentary seat isn't it, in Westminster? I mean, you can't just be winning these European votes, because you know and I know that the European Parliament doesn't hit the mainstream in this country the way that Westminster does.

Mr Farage was asked no direct questions at all on pressing EU issues that were elsewhere on the news agenda during the survey period and which were highly topical on November 6. These included: the 2011 EU Budget negotiations, the bailout of the Irish economy by the EU and IMF, and the establishment of the EU's European External Action Service which many – including BBC journalists – referred to as the 'EU Foreign Office'.

Thus the latest survey underlines that, despite the assurances to the Wilson Panel, pro-withdrawal viewpoints have remained marginalised by Today.

OTHER ISSUES RAISED BY THE WILSON PANEL

This complaint is also based on that the points specifically made by the Wilson Report that have not been properly addressed. Reports by Newswatch over the years have pointed out these failings and they are available for inspection at www.globalbritain.org. This has continued into the most recent survey period. For brevity, the evidence used to illustrate the shortcomings is taken mainly from the latest report.

Institutional Mindset

The Wilson Report observed in this section: “We feel that impartiality requires even-handed treatment of the broad spectrum of views held by the British electorate”.

The latest evidence is that withdrawal is supported by 25% of voters in European elections and more than 1m in general elections; the latest by-election saw UKIP achieve second place. Opinion polls consistently show that around 80% of the British people want a referendum on EU membership and around 50% favour withdrawal. But as has already been noted, Today did not carry even-handed treatment of withdrawal from the EU during the autumn of 2010. During the most recent 13 weeks survey, there was no editorial mention of withdrawal at all. The only occasion it was indirectly pushed on to the programme agenda was when Nigel Farage was asked whether UKIP was like the Tea Party Movement in the US and whether he was motivated by anger. In response, he managed on a fragmentary basis to mention the UKIP policies of wanting a referendum and curtailing spending on the EU. These views are held as part of UKIP’s declared policy of the wider goal of leaving the EU, but Mr Farage did not have the time or space to explain this. It is noted in the full Newswatch report that it is arguable that Evan Davis – who interviewed Mr Farage – seemed more intent to bracket UKIP (and hence ideas of withdrawal) with right-wing extremism than to explore properly party policy on an occasion when it might reasonably have been expected that curiosity about his agenda as party leader would have been high on the list of priorities.

The September – December 2010 report also notes that two Conservative speakers who definitely support withdrawal (Roger Helmer MEP and Douglas Carswell MP) were interviewed during the survey period about the Irish bailout and the EU budget. But neither man was asked anything to do with withdrawal, even though it was clearly relevant to both the UK’s support of the euro and concerns about the level of EU spending.

It was also noted in that report that the decision by the Daily Express to campaign to leave the EU – the first national newspaper to do so – was covered only by brief mention in a newspaper review.

Overall, this clearly indicates that there is an “institutional mindset” that all but ignores the withdrawal perspective, despite very substantial electoral support.

Over simplified polarisation of the issues and stereotyping

Over the years, UKIP has been routinely characterised on the Today programme variously as right-wing and notably, as the “BNP in blazers”. Questions have been framed from that perspective, and as has been noted repeatedly in analysis, there has been more emphasis on this perception than in exploring withdrawal as a legitimate, central political issue facing the UK.

In the latest report, this approach continued. As has already been outlined, Evan Davis asked Nigel Farage only if UKIP was like the Tea Party Movement in the United States, then focused on whether he and his party were driven by anger. Both were legitimate inquiries in a wider context, but the point here is that these were the only questions asked of any withdrawal speaker in the survey period. It thus seems that the programme was more intent on exploring stereotypes of withdrawal rather than examining actual policy and future direction. This was arguably a lazy and easy – over-simplified, in Wilson’s terms – approach to EU coverage rather than getting to grips with the key issues.

It is also noted in the latest report that on repeated occasions, BBC correspondents, most noticeably Nick Robinson, too often treated the Conservative approach to the EU as divided and likely to re-open past splits. His assumption appeared to be consistently that dealing with the EU was a problem only for the Conservative Party – an approach that ignored the divisions that also exist in the Liberal Democrats and Labour. Overall, this amounted to polarisation and over-simplification.

A further issue was that a crude and inaccurate approach was adopted towards balance. It was broadly accepted that the Conservatives were “Eurosceptic”. Analysis in the latest report, however, shows that the majority of the contributions on EU affairs were Conservatives who were giving reasons why EU measures were necessary and were highly dismissive of backbenchers who supported an alternative approach.

Westminster Prism

Wilson said:

[The BBC] has failed to reflect a significant minority opinion that the UK should withdraw from the EU because this does not figure in the policies of the Westminster parties.

During the latest survey period, the vast majority of discussion of EU affairs was hinged around politicians from either Westminster or Brussels who were supporters of the EU in different ways. As previously noted, there was only one interview of a supporter of withdrawal (an MEP), and he was not asked about the topic. Three Conservative politicians (two MEPs and an MP) attacked the EU in different ways, but did not articulate anything about withdrawal itself. A range of business and financial experts were asked about the Irish bailout, but none of these expressed withdrawal opinion. There was no attempt on the issues where withdrawal issues were relevant – such as the consideration of EU directives – to incorporate views from outside the main political parties. And discussion of topics such as the new EU foreign service, and moves towards a new defence alliance with the French – in line with the EU St Malo agreement – were also discussed entirely through the perspective of Westminster politicians. There was no time given to the withdrawalists’ view that the problems of Ireland, Greece and Portugal come directly from the euro and thus from the project of European integration itself.

Ignorance

The latest report contained instances when it was clear that – despite claims to have trained staff more fully – the BBC editorially did not understand important elements of the EU. One was the description by a BBC correspondent of the EU Commission as being like the “civil service”. It patently is not because the civil service in the UK has no executive powers, whereas the European Commission is responsible for devising, proposing and implementing legislation. It is therefore the most executive branch of the EU. Another instance of ignorance was on November 4 when John Humphrys said that John Prescott was “the European Union’s rapporteur, as they call them, on climate change”. Mr Prescott was forced to explain that he was the rapporteur for the Council of Europe, not the European Union. Such a difference might seem small on the surface, but the distinction goes to the root of how the EU operates and how it exercises power.

Another example of over-simplification amounting to ignorance was on December 1. Jonty Bloom discussed with John Humphrys the workings of the new EU foreign affairs office. Mr Bloom’s description of the workings of the new EU arrangements was crassly simplistic and cast entirely in pro-EU terms, with statements such as “it negotiates on behalf of trade for all 27 member states, so it’ll be doing more of that”. This demanded qualification and explanation. Equally, John Humphrys’ questions were confined to an observation that the EU did not have its own army, and therefore was “not very powerful”, and to exploring whether diplomats could now reach “Europe” with one phone call had been solved.

Another recent clear example of ignorance of EU affairs came during the 2010 general election campaign, when John Humphrys stated categorically in an interview with Lord Pearson of Rannoch that the majority of laws emanating from the EU were made by the European Parliament.

Omission

It has been noted above that elements of the withdrawal debate have been systematically and routinely underplayed.

The Wilson Report stated:

We note that across the spectrum of opinion there is widespread criticism of the narrow nature of the coverage and the lack of reporting of issues which have a considerable domestic impact.

The report was critical both of the volume of coverage and the failure to reflect the full spectrum of the EU debate. The monitoring by Newswatch has established that there has been no improvement.

One immediate direct indicator is that the average length of EU-related features has fallen by 10% from 3 minutes 29 seconds in the pre-Wilson period to 3 minutes 10 seconds post-Wilson. Had the figure stayed constant, there would have been over eight hours more coverage of EU affairs.

The entire thrust of Wilson was to push the need for more reporting of EU issues. It seems extraordinary that the trend has been so clearly downwards. It is not suggested that coverage should be carried out on a quota basis, but that the editorial focus should be on ensuring that European

Affairs should be treated as a high and regular priority. The additional eight hours that would have been generated could have ensured that there was more substantial treatment of the withdrawal case.

Newswatch's latest survey (September–December, 2010) recorded that 88% of the coverage of EU affairs was devoted to economic matters, principally the Irish bailout and negotiations over the EU budget. As a consequence, coverage of other aspects of EU affairs was the narrowest of any survey so far. It amounted to less than 0.8% of output, or 53 minutes over the full thirteen weeks. The analysis in the latest report explains why this was inadequate. Withdrawal itself was not even mentioned, even though it was sharply relevant to the debate about the EU budget. A whole range of other EU issues that were being debated during the period, including European foreign policy and the establishing of an EU 'foreign office', EU legislation, EU environment and energy issues, the Common Agricultural Policy/Common Fisheries Policy, immigration and EU defence received only very limited coverage, and other topics were dealt with only through newspaper reviews.

There is no evidence that the Wilson Panel's concerns about the range and depth of the BBC's EU reporting have been heeded or acted upon by the Today programme. Indeed, comparisons between the pre- and post-Wilson periods indicate that the scope of Today's of EU reporting has suffered a steep decline.

Appendix 1: Withdrawalist Appearances to the EU debate 2005-2010

The following log provides details of all withdrawalist contributions to the EU debate on the Today programme in the twelve surveys undertaken in the post-Wilson period, 2005-2010

16 March 2005

The European Parliament announced it had decided to spend £6m on an information campaign about the European Constitution. In a pre-recorded soundbite contribution, Nigel Farage of UKIP contended that it was a monstrous waste. His contribution was followed by interviews with Conservative MP Den Dover, and Jose Liberato, spokesman for the European Parliament.

23 March 2005

As pressure continued for Britain to give up its budget rebate, Roger Knapman, UKIP leader, argued that it should not be renegotiated. Sarah Montague suggested it was odd, now that there were poorer EU members, that the UK (a large net contributor) was taking so much out of the system, and also that other countries such as the Netherlands were also paying too much.

13 April 2005

Polls in France suggested that the majority of voters intended to vote 'no' in the following month's referendum on the EU Constitution. In a live interview, French MP Herve Maiton argued that the referendum "no" vote was because people did not understand the way the EU was changing. Nigel Farage of UKIP was then asked about the reasons, and he said it was because the people meant no. He also called for a UK referendum on the Constitution.

15 April 2005

UKIP leader Roger Knapman was interviewed about the launch of his party's manifesto for the General Election. Mr Knapman was asked whether the Conservatives, who were pushing hard on immigration, were now occupying 'crucial UKIP ground'. He was also questioned on the threat to UKIP from Robert Kilroy-Silk's party, Veritas, and why the party was planning to stand against Eurosceptic Conservative MPs.

The bulletins also reported that UKIP was launching its European Election manifesto. At 8am soundbite was taken from the earlier interview with Roger Knapman. Mr Knapman said that the main business of the House of Commons the following year would be the EU referendum.

20 April 2005

In a package based on the premise that 'Europe' had so far been 'the dog that hasn't barked' at the election, MEP Dr John Whittaker of UKIP was interviewed live. John Humphrys noted that Dr Whittaker was standing in eight constituencies, and said that this proved that UKIP were not taking the elections seriously. Dr Whittaker said he was standing in more than one constituency to allow more people to vote for UKIP. He argued that the main parties were ignoring the fact that the UK's real government was in Brussels, as most laws were made there. Mr Humphrys returned to the issue of Dr Whittaker standing in multiple constituencies and accused him of 'making a mockery' or 'one of our most profound institutions', and put it to him that UKIP were 'just a protest party'.

23 April 2005

A soundbite from BNP spokesman Phil Edwards was included on a package on the issue of 'Englishness'. Mr Edwards spoke about the breaking up of the United Kingdom into its four

constituent parts, and suggested this would make England 'more digestible into the anonymity and homogeneity of the EU superstate.'

25 April 2005

Edward Stourton presented an election report from the South West of England. UKIP candidate for Teignbridge, Trevor Coleman, was interviewed alongside Conservative candidate Stanley Johnson. It was put to Mr Coleman that Europe wasn't featuring as a big issue in the campaign. Mr Coleman disagreed, saying that people he was meeting on the doorstep were concerned about the EU. Mr Stourton put it to him that UKIP were taking votes away from the Conservatives. Mr Coleman replied that the Conservatives had taken the UK into the European Union by deceit in 1972, and that UKIP were the only credible party for those wanting self-government and 'coming out of Europe'. He offered to stand down if Stanley Johnson and his leader would announce publically that they would take Britain out of the EU.

3 May 2005

An election package noted that the EU had not attracted attention as an issue during the Election campaign. UKIP leader Roger Knapman was interviewed live and argued that the three main parties were avoiding the issue because they were 'pretty ashamed' of their EU record to date. John Humphrys suggested that the EU had not featured because the Constitution was 'a dead issue'. Mr Knapman said he was uncertain that the British would be given the promised referendum on the Constitution. He argued that business in the House of Commons over the next twelve months would have a European flavour and therefore it was important for UKIP to have MPs. Mr Humphrys said, 'You call yourself UK Independence Party – could you not reasonably accurately be named the Little Englanders party?' and questioned Mr Knapman on UKIP's proposed 'Britishness Test'.

6 May 2005

On the morning after the General Election, correspondent Bob Walker reported from the Erewash constituency in Derbyshire, where Veritas leader, Robert Kilroy-Silk, had been standing. The package featured Mr Kilroy-Silk saying to an elderly voter, 'Are you going to be voting for me? Don't say 'no' when we've got the television cameras on. I shall get that stick and wrap it round your neck, ha ha!'. In a second soundbite, Mr Kilroy-Silk said Veritas would campaign during the Constitution referendum and 'we will get our country back, of that you can be sure'.

18 May 2005

The No Campaign for the referendum on the European Constitution was launched. UKIP's Nigel Farage was interviewed alongside Derek Scott, former economic advisor to Tony Blair and spokesman for the No Campaign. Mr Farage said he supported the No Campaign, wanted the Constitution to be 'put through the shredder' and called for an open and honest debate on the EU. He said UKIP wanted to see a free trade agreement rather than a political union. James Naughtie asked whether it was more sensible for Britain to be 'in there' in the EU and shaping arguments as opposed to following UKIP's policy of withdrawal. Mr Farage said that the EU could not be reformed, and made points about the levels of fraud and corruption in the Union.

18 June 2005

Discussions were taking place at an EU Summit on reform of the Common Agricultural Policy. Jeffrey Titford of UKIP was interviewed live. He criticised the CAP and said the system was set up by President Chirac to benefit the French government and French farmers. Carolyn Quinn asked Mr Titford what he thought of Tony Blair's negotiating stance. Mr Titford said he felt that Mr Blair was 'up against the wall' in the negotiations. He also made the point that the Constitution had not gone

away, and because of the way the EU works, the Constitution would be back again in a couple of years' time.

2 December 2005

It was reported ahead of an EU Summit that the UK would be willing to forego part of its budget by excluding contributions made to the UK from new members of the European Union. UKIP leader Roger Knapman was interviewed live, alongside Liberal Democrat spokesman Vince Cable. He said he couldn't see anything within this potential agreement that was in Britain's national interest. Mr Knapman noted that the rebate was set in stone, because the French receive much more money than the UK through the Common Agricultural Policy.

14 December 2005

Conservative leader David Cameron had announced that he would be taking the Conservative Party out of the EPP group in the European Parliament. A correspondent package from Strasbourg featured a short soundbite from Nigel Farage, who suggested that the Conservatives should join the Independence and Democracy Group, which he said were the only group in the Parliament campaigning against the Constitution.

17 December 2005

Nigel Farage was interviewed following a deal on the EU budget deal reached by Tony Blair at the Brussels Summit. Mr Farage said that the Summit was 'game set and match to President Chirac', and described the British Presidency of the EU as 'a total failure'. Mr Farage noted that the Common Agricultural Policy was not going to be changed until 2014. James Naughtie put it to Mr Farage that the budget agreed for the EU was just over one per cent of the incomes of the countries involved, and added, 'this doesn't make it a superstate, does it?'. Mr Farage questioned whether British taxpayers really wished to pay for infrastructure in the EU accession countries.

24 March 2006

European leaders had met in Brussels for two days, but the European Constitution was not mentioned in their final communiqué. UKIP's Nigel Farage was asked if he believed the Constitution was 'still going to happen'. Mr Farage spoke about the clause in Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Convention on the Future of Europe which said that if four fifths of member states agreed to the Constitution, then the European Council would meet to decide what to do. Mr Farage said that the plan was to have 17 countries ratify the Constitution through their parliaments, and then try to 'push countries like Ireland and Denmark' into saying 'yes'. John Humphrys said that it was inconceivable that the French would accept this. Mr Farage said there was a plan for a new referendum in France following the departure of President Chirac.

8 April 2006

David Cameron had referred to UKIP as 'fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists' at the Conservative Party conference earlier in the week. James Naughtie said, in the introduction to an interview, 'I don't know whether you're a loony, a fruitcake or a closet racist, Nigel Farage?' Mr Farage said that he was certainly not a closet racist and was 'very, very upset' by David Cameron's comments. James Naughtie asked about UKIP's plans to drive a tank up to the Conservative conference. Mr Farage said that this was designed to say to delegates that David Cameron had let them down on Europe, by turning his back on the European question. Mr Farage added that UKIP were now campaigning on a full range of domestic issues in the coming local elections.

The section of the interview in which Mr Farage accused David Cameron of turning his back on the European question was also used in a bulletin item at 8am.

26 April 2006

On the morning of The Better Off Out campaign launch, Conservative MP Philip Davies was interviewed live. He explained that the public were ahead of the politicians on the issue of the EU, and that 40% of people in many opinion polls said they would prefer Britain to be out of the EU. Sarah Montague asked how the Conservative Party had reacted to Better Off Out campaign. Mr Davies said that David Cameron had made it 'perfectly clear' during his leadership campaign that he was relaxed about those on the backbenches advocating withdrawal. Sarah Montague said that Mr Cameron had referred to UKIP members 'as complete fruitcakes'. Mr Davies said he did not share this opinion and that he intended to start an adult debate with the Better Off Out campaign. Sarah Montague asked whether the group was highlighting splits in the Conservative Party ahead of the local elections. Mr Davies countered that this was a cross-party issue and included support from Labour MPs as well as Conservatives.

10 May 2006

A report noted that the European Commission was bringing out its plans for the future of Europe, which was expected to lead to a revival of the EU Constitution. Mark Mardell reported that UKIP had organised a publicity stunt outside the European Parliament, involving caricatures of EU leaders including Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair. The item included soundbites from the Christian Democrat leader in the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, Dutch Europe Minister, Atzo Nicolaï, and Nigel Farage from UKIP. Mr Farage said that the Constitution was dead, killed by the French and Dutch, but provisions contained within the document were 'coming in through the back door'. Mr Farage said it was 'totally unacceptable' that the British veto on Justice and Home Affairs should be removed, as this was something envisaged in the Constitution.

15 June 2006

EU leaders meeting in Brussels were discussing what to do about the EU Constitution after it was rejected in the Netherlands and France. UKIP leader Roger Knapman said in an interview that only three in ten people in the UK believed that continued membership of the EU was a good thing, and went on to discuss other results from the latest Eurobarometer survey. James Naughtie asked him if he believed the EU would try to revive the Constitution. Mr Knapman said he believed the EU would 'bypass democracy', by discussing elements of the Constitution individually. He said that he didn't believe that Tony Blair would stand up for Britain's interests given his performance at recent summits. Mr Knapman made the point that two thirds of British laws are made in Brussels, and suggested that Mr Blair would be ceding further powers at the European Council.

4 October 2006

Correspondent Iain Watson reported on a fringe meeting at the Conservative Party conference 'where the speakers advocated complete withdrawal from the European Union'. Mr Watson said that the contribution to the meeting from MP Philip Davies would give David Cameron 'some sleepless nights' in that he had linked two issues – Europe and immigration – which Mr Cameron 'isn't too keen to bang on about'. Mr Davies's short soundbite contribution noted that the biggest challenge to face the country in terms of immigration was legal immigrants arriving from Eastern Europe and the new countries of the EU.

7 October 2006

Bulletins noted that UKIP members were gathering in Telford for the start of their annual conference. The reports at 7am and 8am contained a short soundbite from newly-elected UKIP leader Nigel Farage, who said that UKIP was now a broadly-based fully fledged political party. He added that they were not just campaigning 'on getting out of the EU', but also on issues such as immigration controls, lower tax, and selective education policy.

24 October 2006

European Union auditors had refused to sign off the EU's accounts for the twelfth year running. In an interview, UKIP leader Nigel Farage argued that it was impossible to change the EU from within, and the problem was that the European Commission is unelected, and it was no good blaming the auditors or individual member states. Mr Farage said the way EU monies were dished out was 'sloppy in the extreme.' His appearance was followed by an interview with Commission Vice President Siim Kallas, overseer of auditing and anti-fraud.

14 December 2006

Conservative MEP Daniel Hannan contributed to the 'Christmas Repeal' strand, in which listeners were invited to vote on 'Britain's least useful or even most damaging piece of legislation'. Mr Hannan gave a ninety-second presentation calling for the abolition of the 1972 European Communities Act, in which he stated that the EU had become the main source of legislation in this country with eighty per cent of new laws being proposed by unelected EU officials. Mr Hannan argued that he was not anti-European, but anti-EU and spoke about the amount of money given by the UK to Brussels each year.

29 March 2007

UKIP MEP Jeffrey Titford MEP was invited to give his opinion on news that three arrests which had been made concerning an EU fraud relating to the bypassing of rules on public tenders for European Commission offices outside of the EU. Mr Titford explained that he had been at a coordinators' meeting of the Budget Control Committee, where the case had been outlined by the director of OLAF. Mr Titford noted that similar stories had been heard over and over again in the eight years since UKIP had had MEPs in the Parliament, and that 'most countries seem to be involved'.

10 April 2007

Nigel Farage was interviewed on the morning of the launch of UKIP's local election campaign. Caroline Quinn asked how UKIP's 'pulling out of Europe' message could be translated for the local elections. Mr Farage said that he was pleased that people know that UKIP want Britain to be free of the EU, and that this is now a majority opinion in Britain. He said that UKIP had spent the previous year developing a broader policy base, including on issues such as tax and education, and announced that UKIP were establishing fourteen independent policy groups. Caroline Quinn asked about recent UKIP problems, including an illegal donation and a fraud investigation concerning a UKIP MEP. Mr Farage said that all parties had problems over the last few months, and that the resonance of UKIP's message would be reflected in the local election results. Mr Farage said a 'fortune' could be saved at local government level by getting rid of just two or three pieces of EU legislation – including the Working Time Directive.

8 June 2007

In an item on the European satellite project, Galileo, running into trouble, UKIP MEP Gerard Batten gave a short contribution suggesting the project was political, and that the project had a 'hidden application' – and was required for the emergent military force of the European Union.

Correspondent Jonny Dymond commented that this wasn't 'conspiracy theory craziness', and said that the military application of the technology had been 'pretty well flagged'.

Another package focused on the call by Lord Pearson of Rannoch for an independent committee to discuss the costs and benefits of Britain's membership of the EU. Lord Pearson was interviewed alongside former Labour Europe Minister, Denis MacShane. Lord Pearson said that the bill was not aimed at securing withdrawal from the EU, but for the 'first ever unbiased inquiry into the effects of our EU membership'. He said that the costs on the UK economy of EU membership were 'pretty disastrous', including the Common Agricultural Policy. Mr MacShane countered that there were endless debates in Parliament on this issue, but said he would co-chair the inquiry with Lord Pearson if he would agree to have independent economists. Lord Pearson said that the bill required the committee to be independent, and would be made up by seven people, two in favour of leaving the EU, two in favour of staying in the EU, and three with no conviction either way. Denis MacShane said that Britain isolating itself in Europe would be 'a disaster' and claimed that Lord Pearson had already won the argument, because 'there's nothing but sneering, scorn and contempt for Europe' in the national press, weekly political magazines, and from the Conservatives in Parliament.

19 September 2007

In the village of East Stoke in Dorset, a poll had been called on whether a national referendum should be held on the EU Reform Treaty, through a provision of 1972 Local Government Act. Correspondent Johnny Dymond talked of 'a mixture of high principle and low skulduggery' being involved, before introducing John Barnes, a parish member who had initiated the vote. Mr Barnes was questioned on what was wrong with the parliamentary debate on the Treaty. Mr Barnes said it was high time that people speak up and tell them what they want. Mr Dymond put it to him that this was nothing to do with a campaign on parish democracy, and 'everything to do with the United Kingdom Independence Party', who were trying to organise a 'rolling series of referenda'. Mr Barnes was asked how he responded to this, and Mr Dymond added, 'You're a member of UKIP yourself, aren't you?' Mr Barnes agreed he was a UKIP member, but said that the whole referendum was being held under the auspices of the Campaign Alliance for Referendums in Parishes. The final question was on the predicted result for the exercise, with Mr Barnes responding that he believed the parishioners of East Stoke would 'see common sense', and 'do what is necessary at the allotted time'.

3 October 2007

A report focused on the impact of a possible snap general election on the minor parties. The package began with UKIP's chairman, John Whitaker, canvassing support on the fringe of the Conservative Party conference in Blackpool. Correspondent Iain Watson outlined UKIP's performance at the last Euro Elections but pointed out the party had never made a breakthrough at Westminster. Mr Whitaker said that it would be hard for UKIP to get up to speed should an election be called, although the party had about a hundred candidates 'selected, adopted and ready to go'. Mr Watson pointed out that UKIP had performed badly in two recent by-elections, attaining sixth place in each, but Mr Whitaker said that he felt the EU was now back on the agenda. Mr Whitaker noted that on the 18 and 19 October, the EU would be signing up to the finalised version of the new European Constitution at a summit in Lisbon.

4 October 2007

John Humphrys interviewed UKIP leader Nigel Farage, ahead of his party's annual conference. The introduction posed the question, 'Do we care about them any longer?', and the interview began with the suggestion, 'you've sort of peaked, haven't you really?' Mr Farage accepted the party had 'not had a very good time since 2004,' but that UKIP was 'very much still there', and would be fielding

hundreds of candidates, were a snap election to be called. He said that his party were the only ones saying that the best people to govern Britain are the British people themselves, and that membership of the EU could be replaced by 'a simple trade deal'. He said also that 'only a tiny percentage of the population' had supported UKIP at its inception, but that now 'half the country absolutely agrees with what UKIP stands for'. The discussion moved on to the question of a referendum on the Reform Treaty, with Mr Farage arguing that the majority of people didn't wish to see more laws transferred to Brussels, and that 75% of British laws were made over in Brussels. He added that his party had received 2.7 million votes in the 2004 European Elections. Mr Humphrys pointed out that UKIP's performance at the UK general election in the following year had been relatively poor, and Mr Farage replied that this was a consequence of the 'first past the post' system, and that he was confident for a strong performance at the 2009 European Elections. Mr Humphrys accused UKIP of being a 'one trick pony', to which Mr Farage responded with a list of policies which would be discussed at UKIP's annual conference, including flaws in the green tax agenda, more referendums, and a five year moratorium on further immigration into the UK. Mr Humphrys pushed him on the immigration issue, and Mr Farage said that, 'we cannot now control our borders and stay part of the European Union', and that since 2004 Britain had witnessed the greatest immigration ever seen. Mr Humphrys said that this proved his earlier point, that the party was a 'one trick pony', because in order to stop immigration Britain would have to leave the EU. Mr Farage replied said the question of Britain's EU membership wasn't just another issue like taxation, or law and order, and that open borders with Eastern Europe would remain whether a Labour or Conservative government was in power. Mr Humphrys concluded by asking, 'vote UKIP, leave Europe?', and Mr Farage agreed, 'Vote UKIP and get the government of your own country back, absolutely.'

19 October 2007

On the day after the Reform Treaty was signed in Lisbon, Nigel Farage was interviewed again. The introduction stated that, while there was huge public support for a referendum on the Treaty, some – like The UK Independence Party – wanted to go further, and have a referendum on 'whether we should be in or out of Europe'. Nigel Farage began by saying that it was over 30 years since the British people had been asked, and that in 1975 they had been told this was about 'free trade and friendship'. He said that the new treaty made 'the European Union a country', and added that there were 27 million voters, under the age of 50 who had never had an opportunity to express an opinion on the matter. Sarah Montague suggested that there was a good chance that the public, even though opposed to the treaty, would say, 'we want to be in' when asked about EU membership, and asked if it wouldn't make more sense to argue for a referendum solely on the treaty. Mr Farage said he would be happy if a referendum was held on the treaty, but said he felt Gordon Brown would think a referendum on EU membership would be more winnable, and cause splits in the Conservative Party. He added that UKIP wanted, like Switzerland to be friendly with the EU and to trade with it, but not be governed by it. Mr Farage was asked if he thought there was a chance of a referendum on the question of 'in or out', and he said he thought there was a very good chance, and that pressure to have a referendum was going to be enormous. Sarah Montague suggested that the prime minister might say that it was too complicated to talk about the treaty alone, because, 'that is why we have a parliamentary democracy'. Mr Farage said that the government had been elected on the promise of a Constitution referendum on, and that the document signed in Lisbon was '96% the same as the old Constitution'. Ms Montague said that although polls suggested the public wanted a referendum and would vote against the treaty, there seems to be more power given to Brussels, Europe becomes wider and deeper, 'and yet the British people have gone along with it. Mr Farage said that the major parties don't discuss the issue at general election, and it was difficult, when an election is fought without the EU being discussed. He pointed out that in the European Elections the party had received

three million votes, which no fourth party had ever achieved, and that UKIP were 'winning the argument.'

21 November 2007

A report noted that UKIP were claiming that the European Commission was trying to include questions about women's sexual partners in a proposed Europe-wide census. UKIP MEP Derek Clark said that he had the document in front of him, and that it asked for details of a woman's 'first consensual union', and 'consensual union' was 'the upmarket word for sex'. Liberal Democrat MEP Liz Lynne, interviewed alongside Mr Clark argued that there had been some confusion in the translation, and the Commission had actually been referring to cohabitation. Mr Clark continued to disagree, and said that it had not been denied at his contribution in a committee meeting on the previous day. James Naughtie read a statement from a Eurostat spokesman which verified there had been a problem in the translation. Mr Clark said if it had suffered in translation, they had done 'a rotten job'.

22 April 2008

Former Conservative MP Bob Spink announced his decision to join The UK Independence Party, and was interviewed from Westminster. Sarah Montague began by asking Mr Spink what he would say to the 22,000 Conservatives that had voted for him to represent them. Mr Spink replied that he would 'follow to the letter' his manifesto promises, and that he wished the other parties – including the Conservatives – would do the same. Mr Spink said that he believed the Tories were being disingenuous on the EU Constitution, 'They heap criticism on the other parties for bringing it forward, and yet they refuse point blank to do anything about it if they get power themselves.' He said this was a dishonest position to hold with the public. Ms Montague countered that some would consider it to be dishonest to be elected as a Conservative, and subsequently join UKIP without re-standing for the post in a by-election. Mr Spink replied that he had been elected in his own name, reiterated that he was following 'every letter' of his manifesto, and said that he had worked hard for his constituents and would continue to do so. Mr Spink outlined plans to help UKIP develop 'a good set of domestic policies to go alongside their very excellent and popular policies on Europe.'

21 June 2008

Yesterday in Parliament reported on a call by Conservative MP Christopher Chope for an independent audit of the costs and benefits of EU membership. The package featured a contribution from Conservative MP Philip Davies, who spoke about his membership of the Better Off Out campaign, 'which is trying to highlight how we would be financially better off out of the European Union. He said it was striking that the 'the people who are most fanatic supporters' of Britain's EU membership were also 'the most fanatic objectors' to the bill.

21 October 2008

UKIP leader Nigel Farage was interviewed on news that Baroness Ashton would become Britain's new commissioner for trade. He argued that Baroness Ashton was not qualified for the position, as she had spent no time in the private sector and was not 'a big hitter' on the British or European stage. John Humphrys suggested to Mr Farage that it was 'odd' that UKIP, with its policy of withdrawal, was suggesting someone more powerful ought to be appointed commissioner. Mr Farage said that he didn't want Britain's trade policy decided in Brussels, but given that the UK was part of the EU, they needed someone competent with business experience. He suggested Baroness Ashton had been giving the role as a reward for pushing the Lisbon Treaty through the House of Lords without a referendum. He said the EPP was split down the middle regarding Baroness Ashton's appointment.

19 November 2008

Nick Griffin of the British National Party was interviewed concerning news that the entire BNP membership list had been posted on the internet. James Naughtie put it to Mr Griffin that his plan to use the Human Rights Act to defend the privacy of the BNP's members was something of a paradox, given that the BNP opposed this legislation. Although this legislation is Council of Europe rather than EU legislation, Mr Griffin stated, 'It's a piece of European legislation, we'd withdraw from Europe, so we would get rid of that piece of legislation, but as it's there, we will happily use it if we can.' Mr Naughtie also noted comments on the BNP website, which suggested that the leak of the membership list might frighten 'thousands of UKIPers, members of UKIP whom you expect to join the BNP at some point', but the leak was 'water off a duck's back to the stout hearts of the British National Party'.

4 December 2008

UKIP Leader Nigel Farage was interviewed on news that the government was planning new laws governing when police can ask for identification. Mr Farage said it was not part of British culture to be stopped on the street and asked to produce papers, and this would make us 'more like our European neighbours'. Mr Farage said the proposals would do nothing to help in the fight against terrorism. At the end of the item, Mr Farage said that part of the Lisbon Treaty was that the whole area of Justice and Home affairs becomes an EU competence, and we were heading towards a situation where we would all have EU identity cards.

13 December 2008

A Parliamentary report focused on a debate by peers into where EU Legislation comes from. EU UKIP peer Lord Willoughby de Broke said that lifting the veil of the EU revealed a 'poxed and wizened hag', and criticised that the European Commission should retain the sole right of legislation. He added that the Scrutiny Sub-Committees were pointless, and said, 'the unsavoury truth, really, is that the vast majority of our law now is made in Brussels by our real government there, leaving our elected MPs with ever less to do'.

8 May 2009

UKIP Leader Nigel Farage was interviewed on the launch of his party's European election campaign. Mr Farage argued that Britain's membership of the EU was too expensive, and the country should not be paying £40m a day into an organisation whose accounts had not been signed off for fourteen years in a row. He brought up the issue of immigration from Eastern Europe, and James Naughtie commented, 'Sounds like you're in a scrap with the BNP for votes'. Mr Farage denied this and explained that of the 69 UKIP candidates, five were Black or Asian. James Naughtie brought up the issue of recent UKIP difficulties, including the expulsion of one MEP for 'fiddling expenses' and another member who was jailed for Housing Benefit fraud. Mr Farage said they had had some bad apples, but despite these difficulties had been the leading voice of opposition in the European Parliament over the previous five years. Mr Naughtie asked to what extent UKIP was interested in 'being constructive' in the European Parliament. Mr Farage argued that UKIP had provided a constructive role on the Lisbon Treaty, and added that the majority of British people now supported the UKIP position of wanting free trade with Europe, but not to be part of the Union.

30 May 2009

An opinion poll in The Times suggested that UKIP would gain more votes than Labour in the European Election. An essay by Europe Editor Mark Mardell stated that 'most members of the European Parliament regard UKIP as profoundly unserious pranksters with a weird obsession', and had been accused of 'criminal betrayal' by former UKIP member Robert Kilroy-Silk. Mr Mardell continued,

reminding listeners that David Cameron had referred to the party as 'fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists', and noted that Nigel Farage had dismissed the notion that UKIP were 'the BNP in Blazers'. Mr Mardell also mentioned that of the dozen UKIP MEPs elected in the last European elections, Robert Kilroy-Silk had 'disappeared from the political scene' and two others had been expelled, with one jailed for fraud and one awaiting trial on similar charges. He noted, 'UKIP condemns the EU gravy train, but a good proportion seem to have prominent gravy stains all down their blazers'. Mr Mardell then repeated the 'BNP in Blazers' accusation, saying, 'If not the BNP in blazers, then there is something of the golf club militant about UKIP', and spoke about the risk of UKIP becoming part of the EU institution as 'the licensed court jester' who make withdrawal 'look like a lost cause for mavericks'. There followed an interview with Nigel Farage, who was first questioned on accusations that he had 'done very well out of the EU', through claiming up to £2m in expenses. Mr Farage clarified the point, explaining that MEPs receive set allowances, and explained that this money had been used for UKIP campaigning. Mr Humphrys suggested that despite the money spent on these campaigns, UKIP had been 'entirely ineffective' in influencing legislation. Mr Farage countered that Mark Mardell's essay had been grossly unfair, and that UKIP had played a major role in the French and Irish referendums. He said that UKIP occasionally missed pieces of legislation in the European Parliament, because some days they are asked to vote on up to a thousand amendments in the space of an hour. Mr Humphrys raised once more the accusation that UKIP were 'the BNP in Blazers', because they were 'hugely opposed to immigration, any more immigration'. Mr Farage said this was ludicrous, and said his party was not opposed to immigration, but that immigration should be controlled. He argued that Britain had signed up for unlimited immigration from the whole of Eastern Europe, and UKIP was the only party that voted against this in the European Parliament. Mr Humphrys noted that UKIP had 'made no impact at Westminster so far' and asked when precisely UKIP would pull Britain out of the EU, if they were in government. Mr Farage said that this would happen 'the very next day', and UKIP would sack themselves as MEPs and negotiate a free trade agreement akin to Switzerland's. Mr Farage said finally that he would like to see UKIP cause an 'earthquake' in the European election, which would send a message to the big party leaders. He added he would like the leaders to go into the next general election promising the British people a referendum on whether they should be part of the EU or not.

This final comment by Mr Farage was also used in a bulletin report at 8am.

8 June 2009

In bulletin items reporting on the results of the European Parliamentary Elections, Andrew Brons from the BNP said on the election of two MEPs from his party, 'I regard this as a first step towards the United Kingdom, the British people, getting freedom from the European Union dictatorship,' and BNP leader Nick Griffin said, 'Hundreds of thousands of voters have given their verdict on the dam of lies of the old party, and tonight the British National Party has breached those dams of lies, the waters of truth and justice and freedom are once again flowing over this country'.

Later bulletins also included a soundbite from Nigel Farage of UKIP who said, 'We've beaten the governing Labour Party, and this is the message: Gordon Brown, you broke your promise on a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, it's time you went and I think UKIP has delivered the coup de grace. So goodbye Gordon!'

In an election report at 6.48am, Nick Griffin of the BNP said in a soundbite contribution that he felt people had voted for the party because they were desperately worried about mass immigration. He added that the election of two British National MEPs meant that Gordon Brown's time was up as

prime minister. In the same report, there was a soundbite from the BNP's Andrew Brons's victory speech.

At 7.25am, a report noted that UKIP was celebrating coming second in the European election. Sarah Montague put it to UKIP leader Nigel Farage that the UKIP vote had only increased by 0.3%, and so the result was less about UKIP doing well and more about Labour doing badly. Mr Farage replied that this was, according to critics, 'the second fluke in a row', and that people had voted for his party because they agreed with them. Sarah Montague suggested that UKIP had done well because people were 'hacked off with the main parties' over the expenses row, but added that Mr Farage had boasted during the campaign of taking £2m in non-salary expenses and allowances, and asked him if he would be making his expenses claims public. Nigel Farage explained that MEPs don't have claims, they have allowances. Sarah Montague pushed further on the issue, asking 'can you tell us what money you have taken out of the European taxpayer?'. Mr Farage replied that each MEP costs the UK taxpayer £1.25m a year, and UKIP were saying 'get rid of the lot of them'. Sarah Montague's final question on what message prime minister Gordon Brown should take from being beaten into third place by UKIP. Mr Farage said that Mr Brown had 'always derided us', and it was 'time Gordon Brown went'. He said he was confident that many Labour backbenchers would be campaigning to get rid of Mr Brown.

At 8.10am, Nick Griffin of the BNP was interviewed alongside Labour's Harriet Harman. Mr Griffin spoke about the percentage increase in the BNP vote, and talked of the 'deceitful media campaign' against the party during the election period. However, the majority of the interview with Mr Griffin concentrated on BNP policy and comments he had allegedly made denying the Holocaust, and featured nothing of substance on EU matters.

29 September 2009

James Naughtie reported from the Labour Party conference in Brighton, and visited a fringe meeting of the Labour Euro Safeguards Campaign. This included a discussion with Labour MP and withdrawal supporter Austin Mitchell, who spoke about the poor attendance of fringe meetings generally. James Naughtie asked if the Euro Safeguards Campaign would still hold a meeting at next year's conference, given the low turnout. Mr Mitchell joked that he would still be there, 'in my geriatric way, on my crutches, I shall be saying, 'be suspicious of this organisation and defend British democracy'.

19 October 2009

The Transport Department had announced it was consulting on the possible end of imperial measurements for width and height on British roads, without their metric equivalents being shown alongside. Derek Clark, UKIP MEP for the East Midlands, was interviewed alongside Robin Paice of the UK Metric Association. Mr Clark said he wasn't against the use of metric measurements on safety grounds, as long as these were 'in smaller characters but good enough for people to read'. He added the move was 'the end of a wedge', and talked about the 'good old EU principle of start something off, leave it lying fallow, gradually work people round to it, and then bring it in.' Mr Clark said it was all part of the EU 'drawing us into a continental mind set'. Mr Naughtie asked him he would still like to be buying things in a shop for 'nineteen and eleven pence ha'penny'. Mr Clark said that metric money had been brought in 'with a bang', whereas metrication on the roads was being done 'by stealth', and this is why he opposed it.

20 October 2009

A bulletin item noted that the European Parliament would, for the first time hold a version of Question Time, modelled on Prime Minister's Questions at Westminster. UKIP leader Nigel Farage

noted that with 22 official languages, there wouldn't be 'the great repartee' or humour because of the time-lag of the interpreters, so it would be difficult to get the elements of theatre.

23 October 2009

In a report on Nick Griffin's appearance on BBC1's Question Time, a short soundbite from Mr Griffin included him making the claim that he was unable to talk about allegations of Holocaust denial because of 'European Law'.

20 November 2009

Bulletins reported that Herman Van Rompuy had been selected as EU President, and Baroness Ashton High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. A soundbite from UKIP's Nigel Farage referred to them as 'two political pygmies', and said the EU would now be derided by the rest of the world. He added that, having passed the Constitutional Treaty, they would continue taking power from national governments in the EU.

A package reported on hustings for The UK Independence Party's leadership. The first candidate Nikki Sinclaire spoke only on her wish for UKIP to speak more on domestic issues, and she made no comments on the EU. Mike Natrass, MEP for the West Midlands said that there was effectively one party in Westminster, as all the main parties had the policy, 'let's get ruled by the EU and lose our sovereignty completely'. Alan Wood also did not mention any elements of EU policy, and spoke only about UKIP needing to win seats in a general election. Gerard Batten, MEP for London, also commented on UKIP's potential for domestic success, but added, 'I also talk about unconditional withdrawal from the European Union, no deals with so-called Eurosceptics from other parties'. Lord Pearson of Rannoch explained that he had an idea for a T-shirt with 'Better Off Out' written across the front, and said his strength for the party would involve raising money from large donors.

28 November 2009

Lord Pearson, newly-elected UKIP leader was interviewed on news that he had offered the Conservatives a deal at the next general election if the Tories promised to hold a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty. Lord Pearson explained that a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty would essentially be an 'in or out' referendum, and once this referendum was won, UKIP would disband as the UK would be out of the EU. He said that Lord Strathclyde, the Conservative Leader in the House of Lords had agreed to pass on the proposal to David Cameron, but the Conservatives had not responded to the offer. Justin Webb suggested this was an autocratic move, and went behind the backs of party members. Lord Pearson said that some party members might be unhappy at first, but would have been happy if they had achieved a referendum and won it. Justin Webb noted that UKIP were now going to target the Conservative Party in the general election, and this would have the consequence of making the Liberal Democrats powerbrokers in a hung parliament. Lord Pearson said he hoped he could achieve a hung parliament, as this would 'gum up the system nicely'. He added that most of British national law was now made in Brussels. Justin Webb said that this was disputed. Lord Pearson said the German government said that 84% of national law was made in the EU, and he was happy to go with the figure of 70%. He noted that the EU was planning a Common Financial Policy.

Bulletins noted that Lord Pearson, newly-elected UKIP leader had revealed that the party had offered not to fight the Conservatives at the next general election if the Tories promised to hold a referendum on the ratified Lisbon Treaty. The 8am bulletin carried a soundbite from the interview with Lord Pearson undertaken earlier in the programme.

13 April 2010

Bulletins noted that The UK Independence Party had launched its general election manifesto, and was campaigning for withdrawal from the European Union. The 7am bulletin carried a soundbite from UKIP's David Campbell-Bannerman, who said, 'A lot of people do not realise that we have 120,000 laws and directives from the EU, and 72% of our laws now come from the European Union, and we're paying £45 million a day to be part of this. So it is affecting our finances, our laws, the way we lead our lives. And that's why it's so central to this domestic election.'

Lord Pearson, UKIP leader, was interviewed at 8.45am. John Humphrys began by asking 'Why should we leave Europe' (sic). Lord Pearson argued that it would be impossible to do anything about the two main issues of the election – the economy and immigration – while remaining a member of the EU. He added that the cost of EU membership had been put at £120bn a year in a report by the Tax Payers' Alliance. Mr Humphrys said the UKIP claim that three quarters of British laws were made in Brussels was simply not true, and the House of Commons Library had put the figure at 6%. Lord Pearson said the government had admitted several times that the majority of UK business regulations come from Brussels. Mr Humphrys said that 75% of the laws in Europe were made by the European Parliament, and the rest came from the Commission. Lord Pearson said that the Mr Humphrys hadn't understood how the regulatory process works, but Mr Humphrys interrupted him and moved quickly on to a question on a different matter. Mr Humphrys put it to Lord Pearson that there was 'page after page' of spending increases in the UKIP manifesto, and that most of where this money would come from was unspecified. Lord Pearson made arguments about the amount of money that could be saved through the reduction of over-regulation from the EU, and the cost of EU membership itself.

23 April 2010

On the morning after the televised leaders' debate on Foreign Affairs, UKIP's Nigel Farage contributed to a package which dealt with the smaller parties' response. Mr Farage said that there was consensus among the three parties in that they had agreed not to discuss that the EU has a Foreign Minister and was setting up embassies around the world, or that it costs £45m a day for the UK to be part of the EU. He said the general election was a charade, in that only ten minutes of the debate was spent on an institution which makes 75% of UK laws.

30 April 2010

Nigel Farage was interviewed on the morning after the televised leaders' debate on the Economy. Evan Davis asked how much the country would lose in year one of a UKIP government. Mr Farage said that UKIP would stop paying the European Union £45m a day, and Mr Davis argued that this figure was 'bogus' as it was a gross rather than a net figure. Mr Farage said money would also be saved through the abolition of quangos, and cuts in bureaucracy throughout the public sector.

5 May 2010

A short package on immigration featured a soundbite from Nigel Farage, who argued that it was impossible for Britain to take control of its own immigration policy and remain part of the EU.

16 October 2010

A package on the UK Independence Party's leadership hustings featured four party members, but only two spoke on EU matters. The soundbite contributions from Nigel Farage and David Campbell Bannerman focused on an internal UKIP disagreement, and neither made reference to the European Union. The two other candidates did mention the EU in their contributions, but neither made an explicit case for British withdrawal. Economist Tim Congdon mentioned UKIP's European Election successes, but the focus of his short contribution was on achieving success for the party domestically.

Fourth candidate Winston McKenzie said, 'Their fruits, their apples, bananas, pears, oranges, everything go the . . . yams, green bananas, everything goes to rot in the streets, while we turn our faces – all heads turn to Europe and down the straight we go like sheep'.

6 November 2010

Nigel Farage was interviewed on the programme following his re-election as party leader. Evan Davis attempted to draw comparisons between UKIP and the Tea Party Movement in the United States. Mr Farage made the point that the Tea Party movement were part of the Democratic Party in the US, whereas UKIP were a separate party which had achieved 2.5m votes in the last European Elections and a million votes in the general election. He added that David Cameron had 'given up on virtually every Conservative principle' and UKIP had a chance of picking up many more votes and applying pressure for a referendum on Britain's EU membership. Evan Davis said that it was unlikely, even with an alternative vote system, that it would be 'an uphill struggle' for UKIP to gain a single Westminster seat. Mr Farage argued that UKIP had come from 'nowhere to second' across the UK in the last European elections, and that UKIP was the party saying what most people think, regarding border control and the '£50m a day being poured down the EU drain'. Mr Davis returned to the subject of the Tea Party in the US, and asked why UKIP hadn't made a similar breakthrough in the UK. Mr Farage said he was confident that UKIP's policies were popular amongst the British people. Mr Davis asked if UKIP was a 'party for angry people', and suggested that 'anger is really the motivating force for the party, isn't it?' He concluded by asking Mr Farage, 'Are you angry'. Mr Farage said he wasn't, and that he was a businessman who had turned to politics because the political class were not putting the national interest first.

Appendix 2: Words Spoken Directly on the Issue of Withdrawal

The full transcripts of each contribution by the 69 withdrawalist speakers who appeared on the Today programme between 2005 and 2010 were analysed, and the sections of their contributions which dealt specifically with withdrawal were isolated to provide detailed word count figures.

23 March 2005 – Interview with Roger Knapman on Britain’s EU Budget Rebate

ROGER KNAPMAN: And you have to decide, we all have to decide whether we think that British tax payers' money should be spent for the benefit of British schools, British hospitals and British pensioners, or whether we should ship it abroad at ever increasing rates.

ROGER KNAPMAN: All we say, in UKIP is that we want British tax payers' money spent for the benefit of the British people.

15 April 2005 – Interview with Roger Knapman on the UKIP General Election Manifesto Launch

ROGER KNAPMAN: No, the Conservatives want to stay in the European Union. I was in the European Parliament the other day, when the president, and sadly, yes, we have a president, was telling us that immigration is a Europe-wide problem and will be solved on a Europe-wide basis: collapse of Mr Howard’s argument. He cannot, if he wishes to stay in the EU, have an independent national immigration policy full stop.

20 April 2005 – Interview with John Whittaker on UKIP and the General Election

JOHN WHITTAKER: Let me just finish the point, please, you know they are all steadfastly ignoring the fact that our real government’s in Brussels, and that’s where most of our law comes from, and why for instance none of them can control immigration – the European Union has seen to that.

JOHN WHITTAKER: I don’t agree with that at all. In fact, although European Parliament itself is pretty irrelevant, given the current state of affairs, where most of our laws come from Brussels, our own parliament is pretty irrelevant as well. We have to start somewhere

JOHN WHITTAKER: We’ve been a party for ten years, we’re going to stay until this government, until this country is self-governing again.

25 April 2005 – Interview with Trevor Coleman, UKIP in a General Election report from Falmouth

TREVOR COLEMAN: Certainly not, there’s no difference between the three traditional parties on Europe, they are all three committed to the European project, the Conservative Party was the party which took us, by deceit, into the European Union back in 1972 and has signed three of the five treaties that have damaged this country. Now, we are the only credible party, if you’re considering self-government and coming out of Europe.

TREVOR COLEMAN: Well, I'm not finding that, but coming back on the point that Stanley's just made, the bottom line is this: that the British people in their own land should be able to govern themselves completely without any kind of conditions from anywhere else. And if the candidates standing here, Stanley Johnson and his leader will publicly say that they will take us out of the European Union, and restore self-government to this country, I'm quite prepared to stand down.

3 May 2005 – Interview with Roger Knapman on UKIP and the General Election

ROGER KNAPMAN: Well it leaves us waiting until half past two this afternoon, when we have a press conference exactly on this subject, and of course the reason it's not being talked about is because the Lib-Lab-Con are pretty ashamed of their record to date, and are afraid to tell the British public that only 30% of our laws are now made in Westminster.

ROGER KNAPMAN: But it is, I would have thought, a little unsatisfactory that our sovereignty should be decided by a French referendum.

ROGER KNAPMAN: Well, that's not quite what the treaty says, if five or more say 'no', then we go back to the drawing board, but what I'm trying to say is, Europe is just as relevant to a general election as to a European Election. And that's what we've got to remember, because most of the business in the House of Commons in the course of the next twelve months will have a European flavour, and it's very important, therefore, that we have UKIP MPs who are articulating the only message that most people want to hear, which is 'no'.

ROGER KNAPMAN: We have a Britishness test. Now first of all, we're not Little Europeans we want to trade worldwide.

ROGER KNAPMAN: You suggested Little Englanders, I'm saying the 'yes' people, the Lib-Lab-Con, are Little Europeans, they want to tie us to the slowest growing economies almost in the world, and we want Britain to be independent, free, and free to trade worldwide.

18 May 2005 – Interview with Nigel Farage of UKIP and Derek Scott of Labour on the European Constitution Referendum 'No' Campaign Launch

NIGEL FARAGE: Then what I'd like to see is a really big open honest debate about what the European Union is for, and whether we actually need these political structures or not, and I think that a big thumping no vote in several countries may well lead to that.

NIGEL FARAGE: Yes, of course, that's our opinion, we want to replace membership of a political union with a genuine free trade agreement, and that's what people thought they were voting for thirty years ago. Yes, it's clear what we stand for, but we need to have a national debate about this, because we've just been through a general election where the three parties ignored the issue completely.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, we didn't during the general election campaign. And I think for the first time, opinion polls show that there is a majority of Britons who would rather have a simple free trade agreement, rather than membership of a political union.

17 December 2005 – Interview with Nigel Farage on EU Summit

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, I mean, do British tax payers really want to pay for new sewers in Budapest and a new underground system in Warsaw? I suspect not. I suspect they'd rather have new district hospitals at home.

8 April 2006 – Interview with Nigel Farage on David Cameron's comments on UKIP

NIGEL FARAGE: He's turned his back on low taxation, he's turned his back on talking about the European question, he's running away from issues such as 'should Britain govern her own trade policy?'

8 April 2006 – Bulletin soundbite from Nigel Farage on David Cameron's comments on UKIP

NIGEL FARAGE: He's turned his back on low taxation, he's turned his back on talking about the European question, he's running away from issues such as 'should Britain govern her own trade policy?'

26 April 2006 – Interview with Philip Davies, Conservative Party, on the Better Off Out campaign

PHILIP DAVIES: Well, this is a growing campaign, I think this is something where the public have been ahead of the politicians for a considerable amount of time, and about 40% of people in many opinion polls say they would prefer us to be out of the European Union. Unfortunately there's only a very small number, a handful of MPs in parliament who have been advocating that, and I think that it's time that we had much more of an open debate.

PHILIP DAVIES: Well, I've been advocating withdrawal from the European Union for a while now, this isn't something new for me, but David Cameron made it perfectly clear during the leadership election for the party that he was perfectly relaxed about people on the backbenches advocating withdrawal from the European Union, and he should be commended for allowing a mature and adult debate to take part on a vital issue like this.

PHILIP DAVIES: Well he has, that's his opinion, it's not one that I happen to share as it happens, but what's important is the issue of the European Union and having an adult debate, and that's what we intend to start off today with our Better Off Out campaign.

PHILIP DAVIES: No not at all, this is nothing to do with the local elections next week, this is a cross-party issue, there are Labour MPs concerned about our membership of the European Union as well as some Conservative MPs, so this is nothing to do with that, this is a campaign that's been launched by an organisation called the Freedom Association today, as a prominent member, supporter of withdrawal from the European Union. I'm merely supporting that particular campaign that they've decided to launch today.

15 June 2006 – Interview with Roger Knapman on EU Heads of Government Summit

ROGER KNAPMAN: Well, it's certainly the European chariot here is stuck in the mud, but it doesn't really matter, because currently in the UK only three people out of ten believe that continued membership is a good thing, that's by the commissioners' own poll, and which will be discussed this weekend. So only three people out of ten

ROGER KNAPMAN: 70% either don't know, or would pull out. And more than half would pull out, by their own poll

ROGER KNAPMAN: Well not so, this is the single issue, but I'm telling you the commissioners had their own poll, it is being published. In Austria only 31% think continued membership is a good thing, in the UK, the second most sceptical country, it's 33%. And it's only UKIP expressing that point of view, and I thank you for pointing that out.

ROGER KNAPMAN: Well, he can only give his powers away once. He's given most of them away, two thirds of the laws are already made over here, and I've no doubt that you should be asking him very shortly what proportion of our laws will be made in Brussels by the time this weekend is over.

ROGER KNAPMAN: No I don't think so. One can have cooperation between governments, rather than integration. And if a government can't make its own laws then it ceases to be a government, doesn't it, by definition.

7 October 2006 – Bulletin soundbite from Nigel Farage on UKIP's Annual Conference

NIGEL FARAGE: UKIP is now a broadly-based, fully fledged political party. We're not just campaigning on getting out of the EU,

24 October 2006 – Interview with Nigel Farage on Auditors Refusing to sign off the EU's Accounts

NIGEL FARAGE: Twelve years of failure, and there's not a sane person on the planet who would bet against it being a thirteenth next year, and it gives lie to the old argument that we can change the EU from within and make it better. We simply can't.

NIGEL FARAGE: Every year we hear, 'it's getting better, there are vast improvements' – we come down to a fundamental problem, and that is that the government of Europe is the unelected European Commission, they are accountable to nobody, and it's just not good enough blaming the auditors, and blaming the member states for what's going wrong. The fact is, we have a system here that's proving itself to be un-reformable.

NIGEL FARAGE: Yes, member states are. But that does not get away from the fact that it's the Commission itself that is the government of Europe. These are the people that should be directly accountable for the money. And we have a system that simply doesn't work.

14 December 2006 – Essay from Daniel Hannan as part of Today’s ‘Christmas Repeal’ Poll

DANIEL HANNAN: I’m Daniel Hannan, Conservative MEP for South East England, and the law I’d most like to scrap is the 1972 European Communities Act. In 1972, most of us thought that Europe would be mainly concerned with cross-border issues, like trade, competition, pollution. We didn’t imagine for a moment that Brussels would become the main source of legislation in this country, decreeing what hours we work, what taxes we pay, what we plant in the ground and fish from the sea, who settles on our territory, what we buy and sell, and in what units. The tendrils of Euro-legislation curl into even the unlikeliest crevices, regulating matters which you would have thought couldn’t possibly have a cross-border dimension. The ban on mineral supplements and herbal remedies – Brussels. Car seats for twelve year olds – Brussels. The rigmarole we have to go through to open a bank account – Brussels. In fact, brace yourself for an astonishing statistic – eighty per cent, eighty per cent of the laws in the member nations are proposed by unelected Euro officials. I’m no anti-European, I speak French and Spanish, I’ve lived and worked all over the continent. It’s precisely because I believe in European values like freedom, democracy and pluralism that I’ve given up on the EU. The alternative? Well, look at the wealthiest countries in Europe – Norway, Iceland, Switzerland, all inside the European Free Trade Area, but outside the EU, and all managing to sell more per head to the EU than Britain does. Oh, and for the privilege of giving up our democracy, we pay Brussels £12bn a year – enough to scrap inheritance tax, and capital gains tax, and still have enough left over to abolish stamp duty. In the ninety seconds that I’ve been talking, we’ve handed over thirty-five grand – so I’ll shut up!

10 April 2007 – Interview with Nigel Farage on the Launch of UKIP’s Local Election Manifesto

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, we’ve been very good at getting the UK Independence bit known – people know we want Britain to be free of the European Union, and I’m pleased that is now a majority opinion in this country.

NIGEL FARAGE: Independence. Independence.

8 June 2007 – Interview with Lord Pearson of UKIP and Denis MacShane of Labour on Lord Pearson’s Implications of Withdrawal Bill.

LORD PEARSON: Well, I know the word ‘withdrawal’ frightens the lemmings, but actually this is not a bill to withdraw from the European Union, what this bill asks for is the first ever completely independent unbiased inquiry into the effects of our EU membership, in fact what life might be like outside it, for our economy, for our constitution, and for our defence and national security.

LORD PEARSON: Yes, I mean it would look at our economy, and the effect on our economy of our EU membership, which is clearly pretty disastrous, and it would also look at the costs, for instance the costs of the extra costs that we bear for our food under the Common Agricultural Policy, all those areas it would look at. The government has always refused any form of cost-benefit analysis of our EU membership, it has always stonewalled the request, it has always said that the advantages of our membership of the European Union are so wondrous and beautiful that any analysis would be a waste of time and money.

LORD PEARSON: Well, the bill requires it to be independent. The bill requires the chancellor of the exchequer to nominate a seven-man committee of inquiry, two of whom appear to him to favour

staying in the European Union, two of whom appear to him to favour leaving it, two of whom don't appear to him to have any particular conviction either way, and that applies also to the chairman, who cannot serve unless at least five members of the committee agree that he is independent and should chair it. So, of course we want this committee to be completely independent, and what is really rather interesting is why our political establishment and our Europhile friends don't want it. I'm afraid the answer can only be because they would not welcome the result.

LORD PEARSON: Well then, let him support the bill. I mean, it could I don't suppose I should serve on the committee, but Denis would be welcome to serve as one of the people who favour staying in the European Union, you could find someone certainly from the Conservative shadow cabinet who would probably join him in that capacity.

4 October 2007 – Interview with Nigel Farage on the UKIP Party Conference

NIGEL FARAGE: We're still the only people saying that we think the best people to govern Britain are the British people themselves. And we can only do that by having a simple free trade deal with the European Union, and get back to making our own laws in Westminster.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well no, I don't agree with that. When we started off saying this, it was considered to be extremist, mad, bad, and only a tiny percentage of the population supported us. Look at the opinion polls now, you'll see half the country absolutely agrees with what UKIP stands for.

NIGEL FARAGE: They want a referendum on that, because they don't want, the majority of them, to transfer yet more powers. But the fact is, 75% of our laws today aren't made in Westminster, aren't made with the British government, they're made over in Brussels.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, you know, first past the post elections are not very easy. But I can assure you that when the 2009 European Elections come along again, I have no doubt that we will not only score the votes we got before, but get very many more. You know, the modern way in a globalised economy is not to be stuck inside a European Union.

NIGEL FARAGE: Five year moratorium. We have no idea how many people are living in this country, and the key point to get across is that we of course now cannot control our borders and stay part of the European Union. We have opened the doors since 2004 to the biggest migration this country has simply ever seen.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, the whole question of Britain's EU membership isn't just another issue like taxation, or law and order. This is, this is well, that's the point to hammer home, isn't it? It wouldn't matter whether we had a Labour government or a Conservative government, we would continue to have open borders to the whole of Eastern Europe, all the while we stay part of the EU.

NIGEL FARAGE: Vote UKIP and get the government of your own country back, absolutely.

19 October 2007 – Interview with Nigel Farage on the EU Reform Treaty

NIGEL FARAGE: Because it's over thirty years since the British people were asked, when they were asked in 75, they were told that we could be part of a European Community that was about free trade and friendship. Well, here in Lisbon, we've agreed a treaty that makes the European Union a country, a country called Europe now exists, once this treaty goes through, there's no legal debate

or argument about that, and I would also point out that there are 27 million voters, people like me, who are under 50, who've never had the opportunity to express our opinion on this.

NIGEL FARAGE: I would be very happy if we had a referendum on this treaty, but I suspect that this government is not going to have a referendum on the treaty, I suspect the only referendum that Gordon Brown will concede is the one on whether we're in or out of the European Union, because he will think that's more winnable. He'll also know that he'll split the Conservative Party, his opposition, from top to bottom, and we're not frightened of it. If we're going to have the big debate in the United Kingdom, we're not frightened of it, we're ready to take part in that debate, and we want, like Switzerland, to be friendly with the EU, to trade with the EU, but not to be governed by it.

NIGEL FARAGE: I think there's a very good chance of that. I think the pressure to have a referendum is going to be enormous, but if he has it on the treaty, I think he knows that two thirds plus are going to vote 'no', when it comes to membership, at the moment the polls show that its 50-50, but look, let's have the debate.

21 June 2008 – Soundbite from Philip Davies in Yesterday in Parliament on calls for an Independent Audit of the EU

PHILIP DAVIES: I'm a member of the Better Off Out campaign, which is trying to highlight how we would be financially better off out of the European Union. But isn't it not striking that the people who are the most fanatic supporters of our membership of the European Union are also the most fanatic objectors to my honourable friend's bill. And would he not, does he not agree with me that it shows that if this kind of audit did take place, that people would see the European Union for what it really is?

21 October 2008 – Interview with Nigel Farage on the Appointment of Baroness Ashton as British Trade Commissioner

NIGEL FARAGE: Look, listen, you know I do not want Britain's trade policy decided in Brussels, I don't believe that's in our interest.

NIGEL FARAGE: I would love to go and talk to the European Union Commission about trade policy and about why we should be repatriating it to member states, absolutely.

19 November 2008 – Interview with Nick Griffin of the BNP on his party's plans to use the Human Rights Act to defend members' privacy, following the publication of a party membership list

NICK GRIFFIN: It's a piece of European legislation, we'd withdraw from Europe, so we would get rid of that piece of legislation, but as it's there, we will happily use it if we can.

13 December 2008 - Soundbite from UKIP peer Lord Willoughby de Broke in Yesterday in Parliament on the scrutiny of EU legislation

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE: The unsavoury truth, really is that the vast majority of our law now is made in Brussels by our real government there, leaving our elected MPs with ever less to do.

8 May 2009 – Interview with Nigel Farage on the launch of UKIP’s European Election Manifesto

NIGEL FARAGE: We’re saying that it’s too expensive being in the EU, that we should not be paying £40 million a day into an organisation whose accounts have not been signed off for 14 years in a row, and we’re saying that, here we are, you’ve just had Joanna Lumley on the program, and one of the points that she's been making is how is that a Romanian rapist can come and live in Britain, where at Ghurkha veteran can't – well, the answer, Joanna, is because we’re members of the European Union and we have a total open door to the whole of Eastern Europe, and we want to have a proper debate about immigration and asylum in this country, because the fact is that we cannot control these things all the time that we stay part of a European Union.

NIGEL FARAGE: And goodness me, it’s needed. I mean, this EU is so undemocratic, so antidemocratic, that it just bulldozes aside these results. And that’s the reality that I think the British public are beginning to wake up to, and that perhaps that is why we go into these European elections with a majority of British people supporting the UKIP position, who want friendship and free trade and to be good neighbours with Europe, but not to be part of this union.

30 May 2009 – Interview with Nigel Farage on UKIP and the European Election

NIGEL FARAGE: The very next day. No question about it. And we would sack ourselves as MEPs and we would then renegotiate a sensible free trade agreement, rather like the one that Switzerland has. This is absolutely vital, it’s a majority view in this country, and I believe it will grow. And what I would really like to see is if UKIP can cause an earthquake next Thursday, if we can really send a loud and clear message to the big party leaders, I would like them to go into the next general election promising us, the British people, the right that we can have a referendum to decide whether we’re part of this Union or not.

30 May 2009 – Soundbite from Nigel Farage in a bulletin item on UKIP and the European Election

NIGEL FARAGE: What I would really like to see is if UKIP can cause an earthquake next Thursday, if we can really send a loud and clear message to the big party leaders, I would like them to go into the next general election promising us, the British people, the right that we can have a referendum to decide whether we’re part of this Union or not.

8 June 2009 – Bulletin Soundbite from Andrew Brons of the BNP following the party winning two seats in the European Elections

ANDREW BRONS: I regard this as a first step towards the United Kingdom, the British people, getting freedom from the European Union dictatorship, thank you.

ANDREW BRONS: Despite the lies, despite the money, despite the misrepresentation, we've managed to win through. I regard this as a first step towards the United Kingdom, the British people, getting freedom from the European Union dictatorship, thank you.

8 June 2009 – Soundbite from Andrew Brons of the BNP in a feature item on the European Elections

ANDREW BRONS: I regard this as a first step towards the United Kingdom, the British people, getting freedom from the European Union dictatorship, thank you.

8 June 2009 – Interview with Nigel Farage on UKIP coming second in the European Elections

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, you know, according to all the experts this is the second fluke in a row that we've produced. Look, people vote for us because they agree with us. They agree with us that we should be friendly with Europe, we should trade with Europe, be good neighbours, but not have our laws made there.

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, they won't listen to that, because they want a career out of this, and they believe in the European Union. We believe that Britain should be part of a global economy, let's trade with Europe, but not be part of these institutions.

20 November 2009 – Soundbites from Gerard Batten and Lord Pearson on UKIP's Leadership Election

GERARD BATTEN: I'm the MEP for London. I believe the way to get domestic election success is really through policy development. I also talk about unconditional withdrawal from the European Union, no deals with so-called Eurosceptics from other parties.

LORD PEARSON: I think one of my brightest ideas at the moment is a T-shirt with 'Better Off Out' written across the front.

28 November 2009 – Bulletin soundbite from Lord Pearson on a UKIP offer to the Conservative Party to disband in return for a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty

LORD PEARSON: We offered that if we got a clear written promise with an agreed wording for a referendum on whether we stayed in or left the European Union – in other words with the Lisbon Treaty ratified then we would stand down for the general election. And then, when we had the referendum, which we believe we would win, we would then be out of the European Union, and then at that point, it would have been up to UKIP, but it would probably have disbanded.

28 November 2009 – Interview with Lord Pearson on a UKIP offer to the Conservative Party to disband in return for a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty

LORD PEARSON: Well, the version in The Times is slightly paraphrased and condensed. What we did was, we offered that if we got a clear written promise with an agreed wording for a referendum on whether we stayed in or left the European Union – in other words, as you say, with the Lisbon Treaty ratified, because a referendum on that treaty is a referendum on 'in or out' – then we would stand down for the general election, providing we had this absolutely clearly in writing, because obviously there's quite a bit of distrust around. And then, when we had the referendum, which we believe we would win, we would then be out of the European Union, and then at that point UKIP would have,

well, it would have been up to UKIP, but it would probably have disbanded, because there wouldn't have been, its main point would no longer be in existence.

LORD PEARSON: Well, his reaction was, 'were we sure we were right? Surely it would have been very difficult to win this referendum, with the new prime minister against us'. But it would have had to be an absolutely free vote in the Conservative Party, and as you know, most of the Conservative activists are actually with us on this now.

LORD PEARSON: He said, 'I'll talk to David, yes sure'. Don't forget, I mean, what we were really saying is, 'Look, we are prepared, we will put our country before our party, will you do the same?' and really we cannot be told now by the Conservative Party, who didn't even answer this offer, that we are somehow going to be damaging them at the next general election. They've left us no option now, they've taken the referendum of the agenda.

LORD PEARSON: Well this is true, and of course, you know, there will be elements of the party this morning that, at first sight, when they read The Times, will be unhappy with this. But when they come to see what the offer really was I mean, the wording would have been, 'Do you want to continue in free trade and friendly collaboration with the other countries of the EU, but leave the Treaties of Rome?' We never finally agreed the wording, of course, because they never came back to us.

LORD PEARSON: Well, Nigel Farage, the previous leader, had made no secret about this policy for some time. I don't think it ever went through the National Executive Committee, I don't know. But you can't, you can't achieve something like this by putting it first to the membership. The membership, if we'd got this, the membership – and we'd got the referendum and we'd won it – I think the membership would have supported us.

LORD PEARSON: No, I think if we can achieve a hung parliament, we start to achieve a realignment in British politics. And that realignment has, at its heart, leaving the European Union. Because we can't do any of the things we want to do, about immigration and many other policies, if we stay in the European Union. And therefore, if we can force a hung parliament, we gum up the system nicely, and the idea that the British people want the smack of firm government from Westminster is surely a bit of a sick joke now. They don't. The British people are fed up with all this regulation and endless laws from Brussels and Westminster. Don't forget, most of our national law is now made in Brussels in a secret process.

13 April 2010 – Bulletin Soundbite from David Campbell Bannerman on UKIP's General Election Manifesto Launch

DAVID CAMPBELL BANNERMAN: A lot of people do not realise that we have 120,000 laws and directives from the EU, and 72% of our laws now come from the European Union, and we're paying £45 million a day to be part of this. So it is affecting our finances, our laws, the way we lead our lives. And that's why it's so central to this domestic election.

13 April 2010 – Interview with Lord Pearson on UKIP's General Election Manifesto Launch

LORD PEARSON: The three old failed parties and the political class generally are absolutely determined not to talk about the cost of our EU membership, which has been put at up to £120 billion a year by the Taxpayers' Alliance and even if you look at the net cash that we send to Brussels, on the

government's own figures for 2008, that comes to £6.6 billion or £18 million a day. And I don't know about you, but I get a bit lost with all the millions and trillions and billions and squandered squillions and all of that, but £6.6 billion a day a year is actually £18 million a day, and that pays believe it or not for six hundred nurses at £30,000 a year for a whole year; one week of that would have produced the money to save our post offices

LORD PEARSON: So we are talking about colossal figures on the economic side.

LORD PEARSON: Well, I'm aware that the House of Commons Library puts a much lower figure on it, I mean I think

LORD PEARSON: Well, but hold it. This surely shows why we need a cost benefit analysis on our EU membership. That will be question number one that they would have to look at and

LORD PEARSON: Hold it, hold it, the government has admitted to me in the Lords several times that the majority of all our business regulation, which does affect our economy, that comes from Brussels and the Germans have put it at 84% of all law.

LORD PEARSON: Well, the German Federal Justice Department sticks to it. And anyway, our government has that a majority of all our law affecting all our business and therefore our economy comes from Brussels and we rely on the German figure as well.

LORD PEARSON: Well, but unless you are prepared to talk about the money that can be saved, both in cash and through the reduction of overregulation, which the Commission itself in Brussels, Mr Verheugen puts at 6% of GDP, unless you are prepared to bring that into the debate and look at the cost of our EU membership and shall we take another fifty billion we can save by looking at the IOD and Taxpayers' Alliance papers, which if you look at their proposed fifty billion savings there, I mean these aren't savings at all these are just cutting out scandalous waste. So there you have, straight off, a £170 billion which is more, actually, than the £160 billion every year which is called the deficit, which is what the government is spending more than the tax take. Now, these are the figures we should be looking at, not arguing about £3 billion either way on half an increase in National Insurance. I mean, the main parties are simply, as The Financial Times said the other day, they are concentrating on some very small trees, and they are entirely avoiding the wood.

23 April 2010 – Soundbite from Nigel Farage on UKIP's response to the General Election Televised Leaders' Debate on Foreign Affairs

NIGEL FARAGE: They all agree just not to discuss the fact that the EU now has a foreign minister; that it's setting up embassies across the world; oh, and of course, they all agreed not to discuss the fact that it costs us £45 million a day to be part of it. And frankly, if that ten minute debate on EU is all we're going to have in the entire general election campaign, on a set of institutions that now make 75% of our laws, then I think the whole election is a charade, and it says to me that actually what we're voting for here, is a change of management, not a change of government.

30 April 2010 – Interview with Nigel Farage on UKIP and the General Election

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, we'll stop paying the European Union £45 million a day

NIGEL FARAGE: It's a gross figure, that's true

NIGEL FARAGE: Well, it's not bogus, because, you know, much of the money that comes back to us is spent in ways that we wouldn't choose to. But even if, Even if we go with the net figure

NIGEL FARAGE: Even if, Even if we go with the net figure, the next year are net daily payment is due to be £30 million a day, so that goes.

6 November 2010 – Interview with Nigel Farage on his re-appointment as UKIP Leader

NIGEL FARAGE: I think, that given that Cameron has given up on virtually every Conservative principle, we got a chance of picking up many more votes and it's by applying that pressure that we might get what we want, which is a referendum on our membership of the EU.

NIGEL FARAGE: Of course we should be controlling our borders, of course we shouldn't be pouring £50 million a day down the European drain.

NIGEL FARAGE: And the positive message is we want our democracy back, we want to control our own destiny, and we want the UK to be part of the global economy, not inextricably linked to the European backyard. So, no, there is a very positive vision for the future.

Appendix 4: Direct Questions put to Pro-withdrawal Speakers on the Today Programme 2005-2010

The table lists all direct questions put to pro-withdrawal speakers. Marked in yellow are those questions specifically on withdrawal. Marked in blue are questions on EU policy. The remaining questions were overwhelmingly concerned with UKIP as a political party.

Direct Questions put to pro-withdrawal speakers 2005-2010	Questions
There is pressure on Britain to give up its £3bn budget rebate, because the newer members of the EU are poorer than the UK/ UKIP response to the UK deal on the rebate	10
Suggestion that the EU has provided prosperity	1
UKIP's view French polls suggest that the 'no' vote will win the country's referendum on the EU Constitution	2
Is Nigel Farage a 'real person' or a politician?	2
Why do UKIP want a referendum on the Constitution in the UK, if the French reject it? Questions on the EU Constitution	4
Do UKIP face a problem now that the Conservatives have been focusing so hard on immigration and asylum?	1
Question on the threat to UKIP from Veritas.	1
Does UKIP have a chance in the General Election/Are they serious candidates in the Westminster Elections?	1
Will UKIP continue its policy of standing against Eurosceptic Conservatives?	1
The suggestion that UKIP are making a mockery of Westminster politics by one candidate standing in eight constituencies.	5
Europe isn't featuring as a big issue in the election campaign/the heat has gone out of the European issue since the French and Dutch Constitution 'no' votes	5
Are UKIP are taking votes away from the Conservative Party and therefore letting in the Labour Party who are more pro-EU?	1
Could UKIP not be more reasonably named 'The Little Englanders Party'?	1
Questions on UKIP's 'Britishness Test'	2
Do UKIP want the 'No' Campaign in the referendum to succeed?	1
Questions on UKIP wanting Britain to withdraw from the EU	4
Is it not more sensible for Britain to be part of the reform process within the EU rather than getting out altogether?	1
Questions on UKIP's view on the Common Agricultural Policy	3
"I don't know whether you're a loony, a fruitcake or a closet racist, Nigel Farage" put by presenter, and questions on these comments by David Cameron	3
Question on UKIP's plans to park a tank on the lawn of the Conservative Conference	1
What is new and different about the Better Off Out campaign	1
Tory reactions to the Better Off Out campaign, and whether this highlights Conservative splits on the EU.	2
Question to Philip Davies on his comments that people were turning to the BNP because of political correctness.	1
Is the EU Constitution dead after the French and Dutch referendums?	1
Question on level of support for withdrawal and why so few people vote for UKIP if there is 70% support for withdrawal	3
Will the EU try to revive the Constitution in some fashion	1
The British government doesn't have to go along with a common policy on the judiciary	1
Is it not meaningless to talk about the percentage of laws made in Brussels	1
Questions to UKIP on EU accounts, including the accounts are improving, and member states are responsible for three quarters of spending	4
Questions to Jeffrey Titford of UKIP on news that two EU officials and an Italian businessman had been arrested on fraud charges.	4

How can UKIP translate its withdrawal message for the local election campaign	2
How many local councillors UKIP have at the moment	1
UKIP problems with an illegal donation and fraud investigations, and calls for Nigel Farage to step down as leader	1
Question to Gerard Batten on whether the Galileo Project is political	1
Lord Pearson's EU (Implications of Withdrawal) Bill	3
UKIP's position on the Reform Treaty (Lisbon Treaty), and the Parish referendum on the Treaty held in Dorset in 2007	2
Will UKIP be 'caught on the hop' by a snap general election	2
Have UKIP peaked as a political party	1
UKIP have not achieved electoral success in Westminster elections	2
UKIP are a 'one trick pony'/single issue party	1
To achieve UKIP's plans on immigration Britain would have to withdraw from the European Union	1
"Why do you want a referendum on the whole question of whether we should be in Europe?"	1
Would it not make more sense for UKIP to argue for a referendum on the Reform Treaty than call for full withdrawal	1
Question to UKIP on the chances of an 'in or out' vote	1
Despite UKIP campaigning for years on Europe, more power has been given to Brussels, Europe has become wider and deeper, and yet the British people have gone along with it	1
The EU issue doesn't matter to the British people, if it did they would vote on it.	1
Questions to Derek Clark of UKIP that the European Commission is trying to include questions about women's sexual partners in an EU-wide Census	3
Questions to Bob Spink MP on why he had decided to defect from the Conservative Party to UKIP	8
UKIP's position on Baroness Ashton being appointed EU trade commissioner,	4
Whether Nigel Farage should have been appointed instead of Baroness Ashton	5
Whether it is strange that UKIP, with its aim of getting Britain out of the EU, is calling for a more powerful figure than Baroness Ashton	1
Questions on the irony of the BNP using the Human Rights Act over the publication of its membership list. This report also links UKIP and BNP	
UKIP policy on ID cards	4
Questions on UKIP's election campaign	1
Whether UKIP are in 'a scrap with the BNP for votes'	1
Question on UKIP difficulties, including fraud, expulsions over expenses.	1
To what extent are UKIP interested in being constructive in the European Parliament?	2
UKIP have done well out of the EU 'gravy train' and 'expenses', that Nigel Farage has used tax payers' money to 'peddle the interests' of the party	6
UKIP has been ineffective in terms of influencing legislation.	1
The accusation that UKIP are the 'BNP in Blazers', because of their 'huge opposition' to immigration, including UKIP's immigration policy which is tied in with EU.	3
If UKIP were in power when would they withdraw Britain from the EU (Barbed question, includes comment that UKIP has made no impact in Westminster)	1
The UKIP success in the 2009 European Election was less about UKIP well and more about Labour doing badly.	1
During the European Election Campaign, Nigel Farage had boasted of taking £2 million in non-salary expenses and allowances from the EU.	6
What message should Gordon Brown take from UKIP beating Labour into third place in the European Elections?	1
A question to Austin Mitchell about whether the Euro Safeguards campaign would still hold a meeting on the fringe of the following year's Labour conference, considering there were only eight attendees this year.	1
Question on whether, from a safety point of view, the introduction of Imperial	2

measurements on height and width measurements should be introduced.	
Metrification is happening because of children being taught this in schools.	1
"Would you still like to be buying things in the shop for 19 and 11 pence ha'penny?"/ turning back the clock.	2
Whether the metrification process should be slowed down.	1
Questions on deal proposed by UKIP that it would disband if it was able to secure a commitment by the Conservatives on the Lisbon Treaty, on the detail of the proposal and whether this was going behind the backs of the UKIP party membership.	6
Will UKIP's targeting of the Conservatives put the Liberal Democrats in as powerbrokers in a hung parliament?	1
Why should we leave Europe?	1
That the UKIP claim that three quarters of British laws are made in Brussels are not true	6
That UKIP spending plans require a huge amount of money and where this comes from is unspecified.	1
Do UKIP think there have been enough honesty in their spending plans?	1
Is the £45 million figure quoted by UKIP as being the figure paid to the EU by the UK a gross figure or a net figure?	2
Does Nigel Farage see a connection between UKIP and the Tea Party movement in the United States?	5
Question of whether it will be an uphill struggle for UKIP to get a single seat in Westminster	2
Is UKIP a party for angry people?	3

The second table distils the information from the above list into broad subject areas, and shows the number of questions together with the overall proportion of questions on each broad theme:

Direct Questions	Number	%
UKIP and Election issues/Election Strategy	34	19.3
EU Budget/ EU Accounts and Fraud	19	10.8
Withdrawal	17	9.7
UKIP expenses and allowances, whether UKIP are constructive /effective in the European Parliament	17	9.7
Questions about personality and nature of UKIP	17	9.7
European Constitution/Reform Treat/Lisbon Treaty	12	6.8
Trade Commissioner Appointment	9	5.1
Defection of Bob Spink MP from Conservatives to UKIP	8	4.5
Percentage of Laws made in Brussels	7	4.0
Metrication	6	3.4
On the deal proposed by UKIP to disband if David Cameron offered a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty	6	3.4
The costs of EU membership	5	2.8
The Better off Out campaign	4	2.3
UKIP's domestic policies	7	4.0
CAP	3	1.7
EU-wide Census	3	1.7
Galileo Project	1	0.6
Question on Euro Safeguards Campaign	1	0.6

Appendix 4: Log of other substantive mentions of UKIP 2005-2010

This log features all other substantive mentions of UKIP by Today programme presenters and other guests in the post-Wilson period. It also includes five appearances by UKIP representatives in which they made no mention of the EU, and therefore were not included as EU speakers in Newswatch's surveys.

There was one substantive interview with a main UKIP figure. David Campbell Bannerman was asked on April 5, 2006 about David Cameron's description of UKIP as "fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists". The interview was preceded by actuality from Dr Alan Sked, disgruntled founder and first leader of UKIP, who had clear sympathy for Mr Cameron's views and asserted that the party had definitely drifted to the right. Thereafter, the interviewer, Carolynn Quinn, made the main theme of her questioning that the party was "obsessed" with immigration and that there were clear direct links with BNP policy and even Hitler. Mr Campbell-Bannerman was able in three answers amounting to 550 words to rebut the claims of racism, and to say that the party had other important strands of policy. This went some way towards redressing the negative impression created by the David Cameron remarks, the contribution from Dr Sked and the line of questioning, but the main thrust of the piece was to explore and emphasise the alleged negative aspects of UKIP. This imbalance was reinforced two days later when Conservative spokesman the following day when Francis Maude was invited to comment about why Mr Cameron had made his anti-UKIP remarks. Mr Maude alleged that the party had "pretty unsavoury connections" and wanted to "turn the clock back to when Britain was all white". These were indirect allegations of racism on which UKIP received no opportunity to comment.

There was no further occasion in the entire survey period in which a UKIP member was asked to explain why he thought the immigration policies of the main parties were inadequate, though there were five brief mentions of immigration as a party policy - on April 15, 2006, October 4, 2007, May 8, 2009, May 30, 2009, and May 5, 2010. On one of these occasions, Jim Naughtie (May 8, 2009) introduced again the claimed link with BNP and racism by suggesting to Nigel Farage that he was "in a scrap with the BNP for votes".

Edward Stourton also bracketed UKIP with BNP on May 28, 2005.

28 May 2005

In a report ahead of the French referendum on the EU Constitution, Edward Stourton noted the 'No' Campaign in France featured a disparate range of political groupings, from the Communists to the National Front. He said, 'I suppose it's like the BNP and The UK Independence Party finding themselves on the same side as the Socialist Workers Party and George Galloway's Respect.'

5 April 2006

A report noted that David Cameron, despite his pledge to end Punch and Judy politics, had criticised UKIP on LBC Radio. An excerpt of the interview with Mr Cameron was played in which he stated, 'I mean UKIP, I mean it's just a sort of, you know, bunch of . . . well, they're just trying to make a bit of mischief. As far as I can see . . . Fruitcakes and loonies and closet racists mostly. The Today package then followed this with a soundbite contribution from founder and first leader of UKIP Dr Alan Sked. Dr Sked said he agreed with Mr Cameron's comments and said there had been a trend of UKIP turning to the far right before he had left it. He said that the party he had formed had been at the democratic centre of British politics with support from those who had previously voted for all three main

Westminster parties. Dr Sked said that under the present leadership, 'UKIP speaks only of immigration, it speaks about getting out of the European Union, but does nothing about it, it never gives any statements and you never hear the UKIP view of the National Health Service, you never hear the UKIP view of education, or on pensions or anything like that. All they talk about ad nauseam on their website, is immigration'. There followed an interview with David Campbell Bannerman, chairman of UKIP. He was asked by Carolyn Quinn which offended him most, the charge of being loonies, of being fruitcakes or being closet racists. Mr Campbell Bannerman said the party was able to take a joke about 'fruitcakes', but they took the charge of racism very seriously. He claimed that Mr Cameron was trying to deflect attention away from secret Conservative Party donors that UKIP was attempting to expose under the Freedom of Information Act. Carolyn Quinn referred to the earlier comments by Dr Sked that 'UKIP is obsessed with immigration, and indeed looking around the UKIP website, which has a leader article on its front page entitled 'the myth of multiculturalism' – you can see something pretty similar if you then look at the BNP website which reads, 'can you just sit there and watch as our country's being ripped apart by the forces of multiculturalism'.' Mr Campbell Bannerman argued that UKIP was not obsessed by immigration, but that it was a point that the other parties had abandoned, and that the Conservatives didn't wish to talk about this anymore. He added that Dr Sked was 'a bitter man' and said that he was responsible for introducing a BNP activist to UKIP, which was the most serious case of infiltration the party had had. Ms Quinn said, 'But if there is crossover between your website and the websites of the BNP you can see that some people might get the impression to agree with the sort of conclusion that David Cameron is drawing, about your policies – and the fact that you include a quote from Adolf Hitler on one of your websites.' Mr Campbell Bannerman reiterated that UKIP was 'not just about immigration', although he said immigration is a serious issue, and that the party was simply talking common sense on the issue. He noted that UKIP had appeared on the Today programme a month previously to talk about UKIP's policies on education, the Midlothian Question and tax. Mr Campbell Bannerman said it was a shame that David Cameron had had 'to lower the debate to this level', and said the leader of the opposition was rattled because of the weak ground he was on concerning secret donors to the Conservative Party. Ms Quinn asked if he agreed with Nigel Farage that David Cameron is an inexperienced politician, and asked if the party would be following through with their demand for an apology. Mr Campbell Bannerman said that David Cameron hadn't apologised, and UKIP leader Roger Knapman had written to Mr Cameron directly to demand an apology. Mr Campbell Bannerman said his party had consulted lawyers and had been advised this was a serious case of slander. He added that UKIP was not racist, as the party had some very good ethnic minority candidates.

7 April 2006

Conservative Party chairman, Francis Maude was asked whether David Cameron had made a mistake in describing UKIP as a bunch of 'fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists mostly'. Francis Maude said that David Cameron 'was simply saying what he thought' in contrast to politicians who 'wrap everything up and are mealy-mouthed'. Mr Maude stated that 'there are some people in UKIP who have some pretty unsavoury connections with the far right', and said that one of UKIP's founders, Dr Alan Sked, had left the party because of its infiltration by the far right. Mr Maude argued that UKIP was a party that 'wants to turn the clock back, doesn't the fact that Britain is a multiracial country, a multi-faith country, would like to return to a world where Britain is all white, and Europe didn't exist.' Sarah Montague noted that UKIP leader Roger Knapman had said the party would take legal action unless they received an apology. Mr Maude said he awaited the next communication from UKIP with great interest, and said he was unprepared to offer an apology for Mr Cameron's remarks.

8 May 2006

A newspaper review noted that The Independent had reported on the 'political contradiction', that while UKIP had opposed allowing Eastern European workers into the EU, its leader Roger Knapman was using Polish builders to renovate his home in Devon.

17 April 2007

Sarah Montague, interviewed the Shadow Chancellor, George Osborne, on the launch of an Economic Competitiveness Policy Group Report. Ms Montague put it to Mr Osborne, that, 'as UKIP, the United Kingdom Independence Party has pointed out that over half of the regulations applying to British business are from the EU, that the Conservative party would have huge legal problems if you started trying to untangle that.' Mr Osborne argued that when the EU proposes a directive or way of regulating something, it leaves it to the national governments to decide how that is actually implemented in the member states.

21 November 2007

A bulletin item noted that UKIP were complaining about a proposed EU-wide census, which would include a question on 'when a woman first had consensual union'. The report said that Eurostat had claimed this was just another term for 'unmarried partnerships', but UKIP MEP Derek Clark had said he was 'appalled' and would push for the census to be rejected altogether.

13 December 2007

On the day of the formal signing ceremony of the Lisbon Treaty, former Labour Europe Minister, Denis MacShane, suggested that Conservative plans to hold a referendum on the treaty even once it had been ratified would throw Britain into 'complete chaos'. Mr MacShane claimed that growing numbers of Conservative MPs were saying, 'we're not going to vote for a referendum on this, it's just embarrassing to go down the kind of UKIP, William Hague, Sun, road'

9 June 2008

A report noted that a third Conservative MEP was being called upon to explain how he had used his expenses. Liberal Democrat MEP Chris Davis was interviewed on his proposals that all candidates in the following year's European Elections should sign up to a pledge to have their accounts independently and annually audited. Sarah Montague put it to him that, given everything that had been said on the expenses issue, his proposal shouldn't be too difficult to achieve. Mr Davis replied, 'I think there is a momentum here to achieve that, I think UKIP will sign up to it too, and they've certainly got a few skeletons that can come out the closet',

12 May 2009

In an interview, Conservative peer Lord Tebbit focused on his call to voters in the European Election, 'don't vote for the major parties'. Mr Tebbit did not name a particular party, but in a follow up commentary BBC Political Editor Nick Robinson said, 'The only other party that would be relevant to most people who look to Norman Tebbit for guidance would be the UK Independence Party. He is only, I suspect, not recommending that, because he knows to do so would force David Cameron to demand his instant expulsion from the Conservative Party, just as Stuart Wheeler the party donor, who was involved with UKIP was expelled recently.' Later in the package, Labour peer Lord Foulkes commented, 'There's too much panic around, exemplified by what we heard earlier from Norman Tebbit. Dangerous nonsense, because the BNP is a racist party, UKIP have had their own expenses problems in the European Parliament, and when we get to that stage, we really are in danger of undermining the whole system of democracy.'

15 May 2009

In a package considering how public outrage over MPs expenses was impacting upon the opinion polls ahead of the European Parliamentary Elections, psephologist John Curtice of Strathclyde University suggested that the 'UKIP bandwagon' which had taken off 'so dramatically' during the 2004 European Elections, looked set to take off again. He noted that the Conservatives were 'discovering that that old battle between themselves and UKIP is well and truly alive once again.'

30 May 2009

During a feature on the issue of MP's expenses, John Humphrys spoke to Political Editor, Nick Robinson, about a Times poll which indicated that UKIP were ahead of Labour in voting intentions for the European Elections, and could potentially push Labour into third place. Mr Robinson said that UKIP had, until a few weeks ago, looked to be heading towards a disappointing election result compared with five years ago, 'Their party had been split, they'd lost a lot of their members, they had nothing like the high-profile charismatic leadership they had before', but there had since been an upswing in support for all the minor parties. He noted that if UKIP were to beat Labour, this would trigger 'soul searching' within the Labour Party about whether to oust the prime minister, Gordon Brown. Mr Robinson added that a UKIP success in the European Elections would also put pressure on David Cameron to become more Eurosceptic.

2 June 2009

An item in the Newspaper Review focused on a report in The Times, which looked at the 'hundreds of thousands in pensions and benefits' that would be given to MEPs standing down. The item noted that this included Den Dover who had been expelled from the Conservative Party after claiming half a million pounds in unjustified expenses, along with Ashley Mote, former UKIP MEP who was jailed for benefit fraud' and 'Tom Wise, a former UKIP MEP who is facing trial for fraud and money laundering.'

8 June 2009

A report on the results of the European Election said that Labour had been 'hammered, beaten by UKIP'. Psephologist Professor John Curtice of Strathclyde University said that Labour had come third behind UKIP, 'not because UKIP did particularly well, it's an indication of how badly Labour did.' And that the UKIP vote was expected to be up by only 0.3%. John Humphrys asked why the Conservatives hadn't increased their vote even more than they did, given that their vote increased by only 1%. Professor Curtice replied, 'the Conservatives have discovered once again, that at least in the European election many of its voters are indeed willing to vote for UKIP, and prefer to vote to UKIP than vote for the Conservatives. And that's undoubtedly I think, once again pegged them back, I guess against the fact that UKIP held their vote.'

15 September 2009

In an interview with Irish businessman, Declan Ganley, from the Irish 'No' Campaign on the Lisbon Treaty referendum, James Naughtie noted, 'What's interesting about you, particularly, in this campaign is that you don't take what we might call in UK terms a UKIP position'. Mr Ganley replied, 'Absolutely not'. Mr Naughtie went on to say that Mr Ganley was 'fundamentally pro-Europe', and wouldn't want to see Ireland coming out of the EU.

6 October 2009

In an interview with Conservative leader David Cameron, Evan Davis asked, 'Suppose I absolutely want a referendum on Europe, regardless of whether the Lisbon Treaty is ratified or not by the time the next election is held - I should vote UKIP, shouldn't I? I mean, I really shouldn't vote for you,

because you are not able to pledge that there will be such a referendum, you said you'd like to have a discussion with your counterparts in Europe about aspects of the treaty, but you're not able to say there will be a referendum on that renegotiation, which would enormously toughen the bargaining position.' Mr Cameron argued that many people had voted UKIP at the last election, but this led in a Labour government which passed more powers from Westminster to Brussels, and that Labour had promised a referendum and then withdrew this promise. He added, 'I'd say to anyone who voted UKIP, you know, do think again because all you've done is actually the opposite of what you intended.'

4 November 2009

In an package looking at the Conservative Party's policy on the EU, James Naughtie put it to former Conservative MP, Michael Portillo, that UKIP during the general election would be 'cantering up to voters and saying, look, you know where you stand with us, and if you want to send a message, if there is a Conservative government elected, if you want to send them a message, give us your vote.' Mr Naughtie suggested that this was a problem for David Cameron. Mr Portillo said that Mr Cameron had made a strategic decision, 'instead of worrying about 3% of votes that might be available to him to the right, to worry about the 20 or 30% that might be available to him in the centre. Trevor Kavanagh, political editor of The Sun, was asked how he thought UKIP would do in the election campaign. Mr Kavanagh said he thought UKIP might do 'quite well', but that the key issue exercising his readers was the state of the economy.

6 November 2009

A parliamentary report noted that the Conservative Party's new stance on Europe had been ridiculed by Labour MPs and peers. Robert Orchard reported that Liberal Democrat peer Lord Dykes had said that Britain's true interests meant staying as 'full-hearted EU members'. A soundbite featuring Lord Dykes said that this was in contrast to, 'The hysteria we witness repeatedly by members of UKIP, the BNP and quite a few Tory politicians.

16 April 2010

An item noted that since the format of the televised leadership debate had been announced, the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales had protested about their exclusion. The item also noted that UKIP had also complained about the situation. Sean Curran reported that UKIP leader Lord Pearson had written to the broadcasters insisting that UKIP be included in the debate. There followed a soundbite from UKIP's Nigel Farage who criticised the first televised debate, and argued that 'you can't put a cigarette paper between those parties on the major policies'. A second soundbite featured UKIP Chairman Paul Nuttall criticising the debate for being 'very boring' and said he suspected that most of the audience would have turned off part way through.

13 April 2010

In a report on the launch of UKIP's manifesto for the General Election, the Today programme carried a feature which examined the UKIP claim that 75% of British laws are made in Brussels. Tim Hartford, presenter of BBC Radio 4's *More or Less* said that UKIP were 'very fond' of this claim, and the source of the 75% figure was Hans Gert Pöttering who had announced it while President of the European Parliament. Mr Hartford said a German-speaking member of his team on the *More of Less* programme, had translated Mr Pöttering remarks and that he had actually said that 75% of laws come from the European Parliament rather than the Council of Ministers. Mr Hartford said that he had spoken to UKIP chairman Paul Nuttall and didn't find Mr Nuttall's rebuttal convincing, as Mr Nuttall had said that he didn't speak German himself, and that the translation had come from the European Parliament's translators. John Humphrys asked if Mr Hartford was able to put a figure on the

proportion of British laws made in Brussels. Mr Hartford said he had seen lots of attempts to put a figure on it, from as high as 85% to as low as 9%, and noted the 9% figure came from the House of Commons Library. Mr Hartford explained that the House of Commons Library were counting statutory instruments, and he noted that some laws require no statutory instruments, while in one case a single law required nine statutory instruments. Mr Hartford said, I completely understand the concern about British sovereignty leaking away to Brussels, what I don't understand is why anybody would just count the number of laws, whether it's 9%, 75%, 72%, 85%' because it depended on what the laws are. John Humphrys asked if there was a statistical way of judging whether Britain is being run by Brussels lawmakers and bureaucrats or by our own Parliament. Tim Hartford said that one way to do this would be to measure the costs and benefits of regulations from Brussels, and said that Eurosceptic think-tank Open Europe believed that 72% of the costs of all UK regulations originate from Brussels regulations, but that they didn't count the benefits and 'it could be that 72% of the benefits also come from Brussels, or 80% or 90% or 10%'. Mr Hartford concluded by saying that it was worth bearing in mind that even if Britain left the EU, then it would probably still have European regulations on the British statute books, just as China does, 'because that's kind of handy if you want to do business with the European Union.'

26 April 2010

In a general election report from Cornwall, Tom Feilden noted a 'non-conformist, bloody-mindedness of the Cornish psyche' that had made the county a Lib Dem stronghold and 'proved a boon in local and European elections for The UK Independence Party'. Political analyst Adrian Lee said that the UKIP tended to particularly well in rural resorts, and areas with retired people, and suggested because the South West contained a lot of constituencies with this particular mix, this went some way to explaining the significant UKIP vote. Mr Feilden said that although UKIP had yet to repeat its success in a general election, 'its strength poses a problem for the Tories'. He added that polling had shown that 60% of UKIP votes would otherwise gone to the Conservatives, and that the six Cornish seats being contested would have to be taken by the Conservatives if they were to win an outright majority in Westminster.

16 October 2010

A report from UKIP's leadership hustings contained four soundbite contributions from UKIP speakers. Two of these speakers commented on the EU, and have thus been included in Appendix 1. However, Nigel Farage and David Campbell Bannerman's contributions focused on a personal disagreement between the two contenders over a planned appearance on BBC1's Question Time by Nigel Farage, which Mr Campbell Bannerman had vetoed. Mr Farage said, 'Well, Mr Bannerman clearly thinks that his own ambition and his own ego matter more than the interests of the party, and frankly, I'm appalled by that. I think the act of getting hold of Question Time and saying it was all wrong and against party rules, was just an act of envy.' Mr Campbell Bannerman said in response, 'The point about this is that it was not professional for anyone of the leadership candidates to go on that programme. I would have turned it down as well, because we're in the middle of a leadership election, and people need to understand, you know, that the consequences of that decision could have been very damaging to our long term relationship, you know, I'm thinking long-term, with the BBC.'