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**Function of Pragmatic Markers  
in Newspaper Articles  
The Guardian and The Independent.  
Based on Pragmatic Research.**

**Funkce pragmatických markerů  
v novinových článcích  
The Guardian a The Independent.  
Pragmatický výzkum.**

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V Českých Budějovicích 29. duben 2011

Kateřina Martincová

**Declaration:**

I hereby declare that this diploma thesis titled “Function of Pragmatic Markers in Newspaper Articles The Guardian and The Independent. Based on Pragmatic Research.” and the research to which it refers, are the result of my own work and that all used sources are quoted in the enclosed bibliography.

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## **Abstract**

The thesis deals with occurrence and function of pragmatic markers in newspaper articles. The analysis is focused on 30 newspaper articles, which were published on the front page of the British newspapers The Guardian and The Independent. Discourse markers are examined in direct and indirect speech. The analysis is based on pragmatic research. The second chapter deals with introducing the terminology, which is important for understanding the thesis. Then, the newspaper environment is described - the attention is paid to background knowledge of newspaper articles and last but not least to the journalists. The term “pragmatic marker” is observed. Individual pragmatic markers are examined from the quantitative as well as qualitative approach in direct and indirect speech. The results of the analysis are summarised in the last chapter.

## **Anotace**

Diplomová práce se zabývá výskytem a funkcí pragmatických markerů v žánru novinových článků. Analýza je zaměřena na 30 novinových článků, které byly vytištěny na přední straně britských novin The Guardian a The Independent. Pragmatické markery jsou zkoumány v přímé i nepřímé řeči. Práce je založena na pragmatickém výzkumu. Druhá kapitola se zabývá terminologií, která je důležitá pro pochopení celé studie. Dále práce popisuje prostředí novin – pozornost je zaměřena na pozadí novinových článků, jejich části a v neposlední řadě na autory článků. Další kapitola se soustředí na pojem „pragmatický marker“. Následuje rozbor jednotlivých pragmatických markerů jak z kvantitativního tak z kvalitativního hlediska v přímé i nepřímé řeči. Výsledky výzkumu jsou shrnuty v poslední kapitole.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

LDCE      Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

## **Introduction**

This diploma thesis focuses on the functions of pragmatic markers in 30 newspaper articles being published in the newspapers The Guardian and The Independent. They were collected in between July and October 2008. The analysis is based on pragmatic research.

The topic has been chosen after dealing with discourse analysis at a Pragmatics Course at the University of South Bohemia. Further study of Sociolinguistics and Language and Gender continued during an exchange year at University Augsburg, Germany. My experience while living abroad (the United Kingdom and Germany) has been a great motivation to analyse spoken language not only in face-to-face conversations, but also in a written form of books, tabloids or serious newspapers.

Since many years of studying English and British culture in general, I have become aware of the fact that newspapers play a very important role in a society. Having the chance to live in the United Kingdom for nine months, I have become interested in how serious newspapers like the Guardian reflect the language of ordinary people. Furthermore, whether the language of ordinary people can be somehow reflected in “newspaper language”. On the other hand, it is interesting to compare the language being used in the articles published in the Independent, which is considered a tabloid. Thus, I have decided to focus my thesis on the articles, which are devoted to politics.

Surely, it would be interesting to deal with how the articles and their message influence the readership and its opinions. However, this analysis pays attention to the pragmatic markers (being used in direct speech as well as in journalist’s utterance) and their functions. In a newspaper article, as in any other written text where it is not possible to confront the writer with questions

concerning the message of his article, it can lead to misunderstandings on the side of the readers.

I assume that the role of the journalists is vital here. Their personal experience, beliefs, political views and background knowledge are, without any doubt, reflected in the text. Moreover, they decide what interviews will be published, what is important to mention and what can be missed out in the article.

In conclusion, the following are the main aims of the thesis as well as the structure.

**Main aims of the thesis:**

- 1, the function of pragmatic markers in all articles
  - a, the function of pragmatic markers in direct speech
  - b, the function of pragmatic markers in indirect speech(journalist's utterance)
- 2, the results will be compared

**Structure of the thesis**

1. Chapter 2 presents the basic terminology which is important for understanding the analysis which follows
2. In Chapter 3 the editors are introduced as well as the topics, basic information about the Guardian and the Independent are included
3. Chapter 4 examines the term "pragmatic marker"
4. In Chapters 6, 7,8 pragmatic markers and their functions are analysed
5. Last Chapter summarizes the results of the pragmatic research

## **Discourse and Newspapers**

In Chapter 2 am going to focus on the relevant terminology, which will serve as basic information for the following Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

### **1.1 Pragmatics**

While dealing with discourse, it is necessary to mention the basic term of pragmatics. According to the entry in LDCE (2000: 1105) “pragmatics is a study of how words and phrases are used with special meanings in particular context”. Thus Yule states (1996: 3) “pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning, of how more gets communicated than said, of the expression of relative distance”. In his view, it is pragmatics that allows humans into the analysis. On one hand, it can be appealing because it is about how people make sense of each other linguistically. But on the other hand, it can be a frustrating area of study because it requires us to make sense of people and what they have in mind. Moreover, Yule (1996) claims that analysing a human concept in a consistent and objective way is extremely difficult. Furthermore, it is even more difficult to analyse written language while intonation, body language and face-to-face contact are missing. Last but not least, Fairclough (1993:10) argues that “pragmatics often appears to describe discourse as it might be in a better world, rather than discourse as it is”.

### **1.2 Discourse**

Discourse is described as a type of communication, which can be written or spoken. Thus Fairclough asserts that (1995:56), “a discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view.” Bell (1998: 2) shares a similar opinion while mentioning that “discourse is considered primarily in relation to social contexts of language use”.



According to Yule (1996: 83) discourse analysis covers an extremely wide range of subjects. Yule's opinion is shared by Fasold (1990: 65) who states that "the study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use". As there are many types of communication, there are also many types of discourse. Without further consideration, every day teachers experience classroom discourse, reporters or editors deal with media discourse in the newspapers, TV reporters participate in political discourse. Media discourse, the discourse to be analysed here, is a very general term. Therefore it can be divided into subclasses, such as radio debates, newspaper reporting, a political interview, etc.

### **1.3 Media discourse**

Living in the 21st century, one cannot imagine the society without the media such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television or the Internet. There is no doubt that those media influence our lives – not just how we spend our free time, but also the way we think and, especially, what we think. Since the newspapers are not the only possibility to get informed about what is happening in the world, the invention of television and, moreover, the Internet has been crucial for the development of society.

As the number of people using mass media has increased in the recent years, the interest in media discourse has followed. Bell (1998: 3, 4) gives four reasons for this. Firstly, he says that media are a rich source of readily accessible data for research and teaching. Secondly, media usage influences and represents people's use of and attitudes towards language in a speech community. Thirdly, media use can tell us a great deal about social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communication. And fourthly, the media reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life.

Media have, without any doubt, power over the society. On one hand, it can be a great source for getting new information. People save time while finding required data online instead of going e.g. to a library. The Internet offers a 24-hours access to information from nearly every possible field of life, science, medicine, news etc. included. On the other hand, as far as I'm concerned, people believe too much in what media communicate and, unfortunately, lose their own judgement.

In my opinion, one should ask himself whether information we receive through the media are valid and reliable. The question is how much people get manipulated by what they read in newspapers, watch on TV or listen on the radio. Norman Fairclough, one of the founders of critical discourse analysis (which I will deal with later in the thesis), has been always concerned with language and its power in society and media.

From my point of view, the influence of media on society can be seen from two different perspectives. Firstly, as stated by Bell above, media can influence society as it not only informs, but also entertains. Secondly, media can influence e.g. children, teenagers and uneducated people the most in a psychological way. As we can witness every day, TV provides young generation with films full of violence. Although the Internet is seen as a modern and fast source of information, it also provides information of a dangerous source. In the last couple of years, there have been many attempts of young people to kill their classmates by making their own bombs. All the instructions were provided on the Internet. The question is whether our society influences the media or whether the media possess all the power themselves.

The analysed articles have all been presented in the oldest type of media, namely newspapers. The articles are possible to find online – nearly all newspapers have their webpage nowadays. Politics is the topic which all articles have in common. The purpose of the articles is to provide information.

### **1.3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Having the majority of the research produced during the 1980s and 1990s, Norman Fairclough - the British discourse analyst – is understood to be its leading contributor. In *Media Discourse* (1995:54) he describes language as “a socially and historically situated mode of action...it is socially shaped, but is also socially shaping – or socially constitutive”. The tension between these two sides of language use is what critical discourse analysis examines. Furthermore, Fairclough (1995b) describes critical discourse analysis as an approach which focuses on ways of social and political domination presented in a text or talk. In his opinion, language and power are linked.

Bell and Garrett (1998:6) add that it is the media that “are a particular subject of CDA analysis because of their pivotal role as discourse-bearing institutions”.

Though, as this thesis focuses on discourse analysis of pragmatic markers in the newspaper, CDA cannot be applied here as analysing social and political domination is beyond the scope of this thesis.

## **1.4 Newspapers**

The thesis presents a discourse analysis of pragmatic markers in newspaper articles; one should devote a particular attention to newspapers and their audience. Reah (1998: unit three) describes newspapers “as not simply vehicles to deliver information to their readers, they present them often in a way that intend to guide the ideological stance of the reader”.

She also argues that newspapers do market research to be aware of the profile of their readership. Moreover, it is used by the newspaper to create a system of shared values, i.e. newspapers identify and address their readers by reporting stories in a way that evoke particular response and establish a set of shared values. They are usually in opposition to another group who shares

different sets of values. Furthermore, this process is used in the area of party politics as we can experience at readers of the Guardian and the Independent.

In addition, Sally Johnson (2007:3) gives a very controversial opinion on newspapers and media in general. She argues that “a lot of what media has to say about is either trivial or simply wrong”. In her opinion, the general public has no role, they are passive and uncritical to information that has been previously selected, and as she mentions “potentially distorted”.

#### **1.4.1 Newspaper Article**

Newspaper article is an article published in a print form in newspapers, magazines or academic journals; nowadays articles published online are popular at readers. They can include photographs, statistics, graphs, interviews, debates, etc. To attract a large number of readers, a “catchy” headline is usually included.

In general, articles can be divided into two main categories: news and features. News deal with the fact that current news is timeless and immediate, while features discuss news connected with topics, which are human oriented. Usually, they are written for a longer period of time, and based on a background material or a research.

While writing a newspaper article, it requires a different style of writing form than when writing a story. The newspaper article has all the most important information in the first, opening paragraph. It includes facts considering a person being present, what happened where and when, why and how it happened. The reason is logical, not everybody reads articles to the very end. Therefore, it is important to include all important facts in the first paragraph.

A newspaper article is a unique item for discourse analysis. Whereas while analysing a political interview on TV, the analysis is different – both the interviewer and the interviewee can be seen, the intonation of their discussion

can be analysed as well as their gestures and way of speaking. From my point of view, the question of power and dominance can be derived from the way the moderators and, for example, politicians behave while asking and answering questions, their turn-taking or over-lapping, etc.

While analysing newspaper articles where the main topic is politics (can include political interviews, discussions etc.), all features mentioned above are missing. Readers are left to fully depend on journalists in terms of punctuation, the most important information of the message and the attitude toward the situation itself.

In my opinion, a political interview published in newspapers is different from interviews being transmitted on TV or radio. Firstly, it is a written discourse which takes place before the actual article is written. Questions are written in advance; answers can be noted down in hand or recorded by a dictation tape recorder. Nowadays questions can be sent by interviewers per email to make the process of creating an article faster. Not only are the paralinguistic features missing, but also the intonation is absent. Secondly, the politicians can decide which questions they wish to answer, they very often avoid sticking to the point. Furthermore, journalists choose only some parts of the interview; they comment the situation from their own perspective.

Based on the literature dealing with newspapers (Aitchison 2003, Cornbleet 2001, Fowler 1998, Johnson 2007), newspapers are considered to be the oldest as well as the most traditional and formal type of mass media. They represent more intellectual and serious type of media in comparison with the radio, TV or the Internet. Though, we should take into consideration what newspapers journalists work for.

Nowadays three different types of newspapers can be found: the broadsheet, the tabloid and the Berliner. The broadsheet has always been judged as an intellectual newspaper. On the contrary, tabloids are seen as less formal, but popular for their less serious topics. The Berliner differs from the broadsheet and the tabloid in its size and content. Last but not least, online

newspapers should be mentioned. In the time of financial crises, people prefer reading news online – it saves money as well as time. Moreover, online web pages are kept updated so that readers get the latest updated information as soon as they are available.

These are just some of many differences while analysing political interviews on TV and in newspaper articles. As stated above, a newspaper article is “special”. It is a written discourse; sometimes a part of an interview or opinions on different subjects are included.

## **1.5 Spoken and Written Discourse in Newspaper Articles**

This thesis analyses 30 articles, 15 of them were published on the front page of The Guardian, the second half being published on the front page of The Independent. They were collected in the time period from July 2008 to October 2008. Even though it is a written discourse, there are items of spoken language included. This spoken language represents opinions of the interviewees.

All analysed articles include direct as well as indirect speech. As the articles were written by six different journalists, the occurrence and their functions vary. Moreover, the number of interviewees differs. Interviewees are mostly politicians, MPs, spokesmen etc. In general, they are people who are trained and experienced in giving speeches and expressing themselves clearly.

### **1.5.1 Spoken discourse**

Based on studying theoretical literature (Cornbleet 2001; Reah 1998, McCarthy 2006), speaking can be described as following – it takes place in real time, it is interactional and conducted face-to-face. Pauses, hesitation, false starts and fillers are consequences of the conversation, which is spontaneous. Hence, grammar is affected as one uses simple clauses, ellipsis, contractions or

straightforward word order etc. Moreover, lexis of the speech becomes simple, general and vague.

In my view, the intonation plays a very important role while understanding - what is being communicated – if the interlocutor is angry, stressed or happy and calm. Moreover, from the speaker's voice we can distinguish his or her sex, approximate age, educational status and possibly even personality. However, speakers can suffer from disadvantages while exposing their own feelings. They have to speak clearly and respond immediately to whichever their interlocutors react.

This point is also supported by Vachek (1976: 121) who claims that “spoken language is a system of signs that can be manifested acoustically and whose function is to respond to a given stimulus (which, as a rule is urgent) in a dynamic way, i.e. the response should be quick, ready, and stressing the emotional as well as the intellectual side of the facts concerned.”

From my point of view, it is also the body language, which influences perception of the hearer and the speaker. Urbanová in (2003:20) works with the term “paralinguistic features”. As this study concentrates on written language, precisely on newspaper articles including parts of interviews, analysis of paralinguistic features is not possible.

### **1.5.2 Written discourse**

Written language, on one hand, as Brown and Yule mention (1991: 4), “is, in general, used for primarily transactional purpose”, this means to inform. On the other hand, they also argue that written language can be used to maintain social relationships while writing “thank you” letters etc. According to Goody (1977: 17) written language has storage function which enables communication over time and space. He also claims that it shifts language from

oral to the visual domain, the words and sentences are examined out of their original context.

Vachek (1976:121) describes written language as “a system of signs which can be manifested graphically and whose function is to respond to a given stimulus (which, as a rule is not urgent) in a static way, i.e. the response should be permanent (i.e.preservable).

As Goody (1977) assumes written language has its advantages. For readers, it is possible to read articles again and again. The most important information is mentioned in the first paragraph, the sentences are complete. However, there are several things which might make our analysis complicated.

When a newspaper article is written, the writer expects it to be read by others. However objective the article is, the perception and interpretation of each text is essentially subjective. This is stressed by Brown and Yule (1991: 11) when they say that “different individuals pay attention to different aspects of texts.”

A newspaper article is a written discourse. Even though there are parts of interviews included, it is the decision of editors what is going to be published. Editors have the power, not only over what will be written in articles, but also over what parts of interviews will be published.

Writers control everything. Bell (1996) shares the same opinion while stating that written texts traditionally imply a remote reader, who is unable to influence the flow of discourse. Unlike speakers, there is a possibility to pause between each word with no fear of being interrupted by interlocutors. Writers have time to choose particular words; they can look phrases up in a dictionary or surf the Internet to get required data, reorder what has been written or change their minds about what they wish to express. As it can be seen, writers are not under time pressure as much as speakers are. In the past, writers used



to have no access to readers' feedback. Thank to web pages and articles being published online, there are blogs to each article where readers can leave their comments.

Readers have to rely on writers completely. The editors are also responsible for the transcription of answers. Therefore, punctuation plays a vital role in such cases. Unfortunately, as we will see later in the analysis, not all writers pay a sufficient attention to graphic signs. Consequently, it can lead to confusion of readers and misunderstanding of what is being communicated.

As I have stated above, a newspaper article consists of direct and indirect speech. As Brown and Yule discuss (1991: preface) the writer is at the centre of the process of communication – he communicates and interprets. Thus Coulmas (1986: 1 – 3) “the purpose of speech reporting is to convey what another speaker said”. He points out that the reporter lends his / her voice to the original speaker and conveys what he /she said while adopting his point of view, as it was. Moreover, he claims that “it is not the reporter's speech, but remains the reported speech whose role is played by the reporter”.

In indirect speech, firstly, Coulmas states (1986: 3) that the reporter “comes to the fore”. He relates a speech as he would relate any other event: from his point of view”. This might lead to potential ambiguities in reported speech. Secondly, he argues that (1986: 10) “the writing itself influences the way how speech reporting is carried and understood”. Brown and Yule add (1991) that punctuation, capitalisation, paraphrasing should be performed in written language. As we are going to examine the data, there is a little attention paid to the punctuation in the newspapers, which, sometimes, makes the analysis difficult.

While reading newspaper articles, one cannot oversee the fact that apart from direct and indirect speech, there are also journalists' opinions, views and facts concerning the topic included. For this analysis, “journalist's utterance”

will be used to unite two aspects of a newspaper article – namely the indirect speech (Mr Brown said that....) and the reporters' gathered facts and their own "hidden" opinions and attitudes.

### ***1.5.2.1 Conclusion***

There are numerous factors where spoken and written discourse differs. Firstly, speech is supposed to be only transitory, whereas writing is designed to be permanent. This is the reason why articles deal with many more details than we are used to transmit in a spoken conversation. Generally, people don't remember details correctly. This aspect of communication is obviously what written language is designed for.

Secondly, as stated above, speaking takes place in real time and is spontaneous. Writing, on the other hand, can take place over a longer period of time. Writers take their own time in the construction; it can be rewritten several times. The sentences are complete; the lexis is rich and well-organised.

Thirdly, while speaking with somebody, it is necessary to pay attention to what the other person says and be able to react to possible questions immediately. In the case of reading, Goody stresses (1977:124) that "the fact that it takes a visual form means that one can escape from the problem of the succession of events in time, by backtracking, skipping, looking to see who-did-it before we know what they did."

Last but not least, unlike writers, speakers can understand their interlocutors better than writers their readers. During a conversation it is possible to understand the circumstances better not only because of the intonation, but also because of the body language – it means facial expressions, postural and gestural features.

## **Corpus Description**

### **1.6 Article Description**

As for the analysis, finding a suitable data was not an easy task. The condition, namely that all analysed articles will be printed on the front page of newspapers, seemed to cause any major problems at the beginning. While searching for the required data, I have found out that as newspapers try to attract their readership as much as possible while using large photos, “catchy” headlines etc. on their front pages, they shorten their articles as much as possible. Though, after a long consideration, I have decided to analyse 15 articles from The Guardian and 15 articles from The Independent. To make the analysis valid, it is necessary that all editors share a common ground. As all of them worked at the time of collecting the articles for The Guardian or The Independent, 30 of them have been chosen (see Appendix I, II). The articles have more in common:

1. All articles are newspaper articles.
2. They were all published in The Guardian or The Independent:
  - A, all 30 articles were published on the front page
  - B, they were published from July to October 2008
  - C, they were collected from Monday to Saturday to cover the weeks’ topics
  - D, both The Guardian and The Independent are newspapers published in the United Kingdom; the variety of English is British English

3. The articles were chosen so that they share the same topic – namely politics. Though, each journalist focuses on a particular field of politics. In this analysis, The Guardian is represented by Patrick Wintour, Alan Travis and Nicolas Watt. On the contrary, The Independent's journalists are Andrew Grice, Michael Savage and Stephen Foley.

The particular topics of their articles are as following:

***A, The Guardian***

- 1, Patrick Wintour – unions, party politics including Gordon Brown, David Miliband, Alistair Darling, Peter Mandelson, George Osborne, recession
- 2, Alan Travis – BBC as part of political propaganda
- 3, Nick Watt – party politics including Alistair Darling, Gordon Brown and David Cameron

***B, The Independent***

- 1, Andrew Grice – party politics including Alistair Darling, David Cameron, David Miliband, recession, George Osborne
  - 2, Michael Savage – politico-economical articles
  - 3, Stephen Foley – politico-economical articles
4. The articles were published within four months. The articles in the Guardian were published from 18<sup>th</sup> July 2008 to 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2008. The articles being published in the Independent were published from 1<sup>st</sup> July 2008 to 20<sup>th</sup> October 2008.
  5. All articles can be found online on the web pages [www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) and [www.theindependent.co.uk](http://www.theindependent.co.uk).

6. Each article is of a different length. The length of an article is usually determined by the fact that it appears on the front page. Recent trends in newspapers prefer pictures, “catchy” headlines etc. to newspaper articles. This is also the reason why this collection of articles was not easy to choose. Especially, front pages of the Independent are covered with pictures, cartoons etc. – the articles about politics, written in many cases by Andrew Grice, were the only ones which appeared as text.

## **1.7 Journalists**

As far as I am concerned, the role of journalists plays a vital role while writing articles. The journalists being chosen for this analysis come from the United Kingdom. While doing a research to seek as much background information as possible about the individual journalists, I have come to a conclusion that in comparison with politicians – there are not many sources of information about them. Therefore, only a limited amount of data is presented.

From my point of view, the following information about journalists can be considered important for the result of this analysis.

1. Political views
2. Age
3. Career and experience
4. Education

The information has been found mainly on the web pages of the newspapers. I assume that newspapers and their political views influence also the information they present. Therefore I am going to deal with the history and attitudes of the newspapers towards the political spectrum.

## *Newspapers' Description*

### **1.8 The Guardian**

The Guardian is published from Monday to Saturday - since September 2005 in the Berliner format. It is said that thank to the size, the paper is easy to read on public transport.

Originally, it was founded by textile traders and merchants; therefore it had a reputation as “an organ of the middle class”<sup>1</sup>. Generally, articles in The Guardian are to the left of the political spectrum. This reflects the newspaper’s readership – according to a survey in June 2000 there were 80% of Guardian readers the voters of the Labour Party. Later study in 2004 showed that 44% of Guardian readers were Labour voters, 37% Liberal Democrat voters.

Nowadays it is possible to read all news online. The web page [www.guardian.co.uk](http://www.guardian.co.uk) is the second – most popular UK newspaper site with more than 18.5 million users a month.

#### **1.8.1 The Editors of the Guardian**

##### ***1.8.1.1 Patrick Wintour***

Patrick Wintour is a political editor of the Guardian. He is known for “his contacts inside the Labour government”<sup>2</sup>. After a career as the paper’s chief political correspondent from 1999 – 2006, he was appointed a political editor after Michael White.



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1 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Guardian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Guardian)>

2 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrick\\_Wintour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrick_Wintour) >

Generally, his family can be characterised as interested in working for newspapers. Patrick Wintour's sister, Anna, works as an editor of American *Vogue*. On the contrary, his father Charles was an editor of the *Evening Standard*.

At the moment, Patrick Wintour is married to Rachel Sylvester, a journalist at The Times.

### ***1.8.1.2 Alan Travis***

Alan Travis is the Guardian's home affairs editor. He is the author of "Bound and Gagged"<sup>3</sup>, a history of British obscenity.



### ***1.8.1.3 Nicholas Watt***

Nicholas Watt is the Guardian's "chief political correspondent"<sup>4</sup>.



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3- < <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/alantravis> >

4 - < <http://www.guardian.co.uk/profile/nicholaswatt> >

## 1.9 The Independent

Launched in 1986, The Independent is one of the youngest UK national daily newspapers. Originally a broadsheet, The Independent was created at a time of tension in British journalism. Since September 2003, it has been published as a tabloid. At the beginning of 2008, an online edition *www.theindependent.co.uk* was relaunched.

As stated above, The Independent was established in 1986 and its founders intended “that the political stance would reflect the centre of the British political spectrum”<sup>5</sup>. Their aim was to win the attention of readers from The Times and The Daily Telegraph. Though, at the moment, The Independent is a competitor to The Guardian – it focuses on the left – wing views. According to a survey from 2004, 39% of readers voted for Liberal Democrats while 36% supported the Labour Party.

In Chapter 3 I have dealt with the problem while choosing the articles. The aim of this thesis is to analyse articles being published on the front page. Readers can find there the most important day news concerning, in the case of this analysis, politics (international as well as British), business recession etc. On the contrary, this does not apply for the Independent. After its switching in format, the Independent has become “known for its unorthodox and campaigning front pages, which frequently relied on images, graphics or lists rather than traditional headlines and written news content”<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, finding a suitable sample of data for the analysis was not easy.

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5 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Independent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent)>

6 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Independent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent)>



Moreover, in 2007 Alan Rusbridger, editor of the Guardian, reported on the front pages: “The emphasis on views, not news, means that the reporting is rather thin, and it loses impact on the front page the more you do that”<sup>7</sup>. The idea of images was also criticised by Tony Blair who described The Independent as a “*viewpaper*”<sup>8</sup>, not a newspaper.

## 1.9.1 The Editors of the Independent

### 1.9.1.1 Andrew Grice

Andrew Grice has been a journalist for 25 years. Before becoming a political editor in The Independent, he used to work for The Sunday Times. He published a column “The Week in Politics”<sup>9</sup> which appears on Saturdays. He regularly comments on Today in Politics.



### 1.9.1.2 Michael Savage

Michael Savage is a political correspondent for The Independent. In 2008 he won the Cudlipp Award for new journalists and was also nominated as “Young Journalist of the Year in 2009”<sup>10</sup>.



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7 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Independent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent) >

8 - < [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Independent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent)>

9 - < <http://andrewgrice.independentminds.livejournal.com>>

10 - < <http://michealsavage.independentminds.livejournal.com>>

### ***1.9.1.3 Stephen Foley***

Stephen Foley is Associate Business Editor of The Independent in New York. While working for the paper, he has covered various sections from the UK stock market to personal finance etc. Since 2006 he has been reporting on business from Manhattan. In 2009 he was named “Business and Finance Journalist of the Year”<sup>11</sup> at the British Press Award.



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11 - < <http://stephenfoley.independentminds.livejournal.com/18582.html>>

## 1.10 Concluding Remarks

As there is a lot of online information being published about politicians, famous people etc., the Internet sources concerning the journalists are limited. Though, they share a common ground:

1. All of them work for the British newspapers.
2. All of them are experienced journalists.
3. All of them are journalists whose articles appear on the front page of the newspapers and their length, in comparison with others, is usually not shortened.
4. All of them worked at the time of collecting the data for The Guardian or The Independent

The utterances made by a variety of interviewees are included mostly at the end of the articles. The articles include a headline, their length as well as occurrence and functions of discourse markers, typical for spoken and written discourse, vary, as we are going to examine in the following chapters.

The articles:

1. All were printed in the British newspapers.
2. All were collected in between July and October 2008.
3. All were published on the front page.
4. All include direct as well as indirect speech (journalist's utterance).

## **Pragmatic markers**

In Chapter 5 I am going to focus on pragmatic markers from the linguistic point of view. While I was collecting theoretical literature concerning the topic of pragmatic markers, I have surprisingly come across many papers of linguists who contribute in the field of discourse markers. Though, as there are many linguists who deal with discourse and discourse markers, logically there are many opinions on their classification as well as definitions.

During the analysis, I often considered the following questions – is there any list of pragmatic markers to follow? Do they carry any meaning? What are their functions? What do they refer to? How do we detect them in a discourse? What is the difference between discourse markers in spoken and written discourse?

With the help of several linguists, I am going to answer some of the questions raised above:

1. Research has not yielded a definitive list of discourse markers in English or any other language (Jucker 1998).
2. Pragmatic markers are considered to have little or no propositional meaning (Brinton 1996).
3. Pragmatic markers are examples of non-truth-conditional meaning (Blakemore 2004).
4. The key function of discourse markers is that they signal to the receiver, independently of content, what is happening, where the discourse is, where it is going, whether it has finished, whether utterances follow smoothly from what has been uttered before or whether some kind of disjunction is occurring: they are therefore a system of management of what is said or written (McCarthy 1993).

5. Pragmatic markers refer to a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode (Blakemore 2004).
6. Pragmatic markers are optional (Brown and Yule 1983).
7. Pragmatic markers mark the beginning of a turn and the end of it (Carter 2001).
8. Pragmatic markers are a feature of oral rather than written discourse and are associated with informality (Brinton 1996).

In the following chapters, discourse markers in spoken and written discourse will be examined. Therefore, I have decided to work with theories on pragmatic markers by two linguists – firstly, it is Deborah Schiffrin and her analysis of spoken discourse markers. Secondly, while analysing written discourse and its typical discourse markers, I am going to base my analysis on works of Michael McCarthy. Though, other linguists and their views will be taken into consideration.

In my view, one of the biggest obstacles, when detecting markers in any discourse, is to be able to identify them. Schiffrin, however, mentions (1987: 314) the following factors that might help by identifying markers in a discourse. She describes a discourse marker as following:

1. It has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence.
2. It has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance.
3. It has to have a range of prosodic contours, e.g. tonic stress.
4. It has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse.
5. It has to be able to operate in different planes of discourse.

Concerning the functions of discourse markers, McCarthy devotes them creditable attention (2006). He suggests the following:

1. Discourse markers not only organise the discourse but can indicate degrees of formality and people's feelings towards the interaction.
2. Discourse markers often indicate power relationships in the ways they are used to structure and control the discourse.
3. Discourse markers are to signal coherent links between one part of a topic and the next part.
4. In spoken language, discourse markers are to mark topic boundaries, indicating the beginning or the end of a topic or a transition from one topic or bit of business to another.

Last point by McCarthy is supported by Sternström (2004) who claims that discourse markers, concerning marking the boundaries, can be described as hedges, fillers and emphasizees.

### **1.11 Discourse Markers Analysed in the Thesis**

As I started to inquire for discourse markers present in spoken as well as written discourse, there were two conditions I wanted the analysed discourse markers to fulfil. Firstly, I was looking for discourse markers that all linguists, whose views on discourse markers I have studied, would share. Secondly, it was the frequency of the individual markers as there were several discourse markers, which are considered as typical discourse marker for spoken discourse, e.g. *now*, *of course*, *but*, but they occurred only once in the whole corpus.

These are the discourse markers being chosen for the analysis. In spoken discourse, following discourse markers are going to be examined: *and*, *because*, *but*, *or*, *so*, *well* and *you know*. They are all treated as discourse markers by Aijmer(2004), Brinton(1996) and Schiffrin(1987).

The second part of the analysis will observe written discourse. As I have tried to detect typical discourse markers for written discourse, analysed by McCarthy(2006b), to my great surprise – there were no written discourse markers found. McCarthy(2006b:58) divides discourse markers according to their functions in a text. Firstly, he suggests that written discourse markers can organise a text, e.g. firstly, finally, in summary, in conclusion. Secondly, he argues that, in a text, markers can be analysed which help to explain, exemplify or rephrase, e.g. in other words, for example, so to speak.

In the analysed articles and their indirect speech (journalist’s utterance), no such a word has been found. On the contrary, typical discourse markers for spoken discourse appear there. Furthermore, it supports McCarthy’s suggestion in (1993:180) as he claims that “spoken discourse markers present in a text play a major role in our judgement of the degree or spokenness present in the text”.

From my point of view, discourse markers and their functions can vary depending on individuals. Therefore, their analysis can become subjective as each individual has its own perception of what is being said. Though, I will attempt to follow the above stated definitions on discourse markers and base my examination on them. As for the analysis, I have set up goals I would like to focus on during the analysis.

### **1. Quantitative Approach**

- a. Which marker is the most frequent in spoken discourse?
- b. Which marker is the most frequent in written discourse?

### **2. Qualitative Approach**

- a. What are the functions of discourse markers in spoken discourse?
- b. What are the functions of discourse markers in written discourse?

**3. Approach to all Journalists**

- a. Who is the most frequent user of pragmatic markers?

**4. Approach to Newspapers**

- a. Which newspaper use discourse markers more frequently?

**5. Approach to Genre**

- a. When and why are discourse markers used in spoken discourse?
- b. When and why are discourse markers used in written discourse?



## **Analysis of Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech**

In Chapter 6 I am going to deal with numbers as well as detailed description of functions concerning pragmatic markers in direct speech. I am going to pay attention to total numbers, the functions of pragmatic markers will be carefully examined – a quantitative as well as qualitative approach will be applied.

### **1.12 Quantitative Approach – Direct Speech**

In this part of the thesis I am going to focus on numbers in direct speech – the total number of expressions, the total number of pragmatic markers and their frequency in all articles in direct speech will be analysed.

According to Brinton (1996) pragmatic markers appear with high frequency. Hence, one would assume that occurrence of pragmatic markers in direct speech to be analysed here will be high. Though, as direct speech in newspapers, which represents statements and utterances of interviewees, is influenced by journalists – the number of pragmatic markers is limited in comparison with e.g. transmitted political interviews from TV or radio.

As there are 15 articles from the Guardian and 15 articles from the Independent to be examined – firstly, I am going to analyse the articles and direct speech from the Guardian. The articles published in the Independent and their analysis will follow. Politics is the common ground for all articles as well as the fact that all articles were published on the front page, and their authors are of British origin.

### 1.12.1 The Guardian

After a longer consideration, I have chosen three journalists from the Guardian – Partick Wintour (Article N. 1 – Article N.10), Alan Travis (Article N.11) and Nick Watt (Article N.12 – Article N.15).

**Table I: The Guardian – Total Number of Expressions in Direct Speech, Total Number of Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech, Total Number of Pragmatic Markers in 100 Expressions and Frequency – depending on the journalist**

<b>THE GUARDIAN</b>	<b>Expressions</b>	<b>Pragmatic markers</b>	<b>PM/100 expressions</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>Patrick Wintour</b>				
Article N.1	0	0	0	0
Article N.2	161	6	3.726	27
Article N. 3	126	4	3.174	32
Article N.4	32	1	3.125	32
Article N.5	166	4	2.409	42
<b>Article N.6</b>	<b>164</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0.609</b>	<b>164</b>
Article N.7	123	1	0.813	123
Article N.8	157	3	1.910	52
Article N.9	118	4	3.389	29
Article N. 10	210	3	1.428	70
<b>Alan Travis</b>				
Article N.11	158	6	3.797	26
<b>Nicolas Watt</b>				
<b>Article N. 12</b>	<b>304</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4.605</b>	<b>22</b>
Article N. 13	141	2	1.418	71
Article N. 14	68	1	1.470	68
Article N. 15	193	4	2.072	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>2121</b>	<b>54</b>		

Based of the figures from Table 1, it can be seen that the number of expressions in direct speech as well as the number of discourse markers differs. Therefore, I have decided to count how many discourse markers can be found in 100 expressions of direct speech. My attempt is to make it more visible,

which journalist uses more discourse markers in this type of discourse. Frequency counted in round numbers follows. The lower the frequency is, the more frequent the journalist is when using discourse markers in direct speech.

In the articles from the Guardian there are 2121 expressions to be analysed. In the further analysis, I am going to examine 54 pragmatic markers which have been detected in direct speech.

From Table 1 it is obvious that Nick Watt is the most frequent user of pragmatic markers, using approximately 5 discourse markers/100 expressions of direct speech (Article N.12). He is followed by Alan Travis (Article N. 11). On the contrary, Patrick Wintour uses the least number of discourse markers/100 expressions in direct speech in Article N. 6(not even one discourse marker in 100 expressions of direct speech).

To compare the three journalists of the Guardian, the most frequent user of pragmatic markers in direct speech is Nick Watt (Article N.12), the second is Alan Travis (Article N.11) and the last most frequent user is Patrick Wintour (Article N.2). Concerning the least frequent user of pragmatic markers in direct speech is Partick Wintour (Article N.6), followed by Nick Watt (Article N.13).

### **1.12.2 The Independent**

As I was looking for suitable data for my analysis in the Independent, I have decided to choose 15 articles by three journalists writing for this British newspaper – namely Andrew Grice (Article N.1 – Article N. 10), Michael Savage (Article N. 11 – Article N. 13) and Stephen Foley (Article N.14 – Article N.15).

During the analysis, the same problem appeared as in the case of the Guardian. The articles are of a different length; their number of expressions in direct speech as well as number of pragmatic markers varies. Therefore I have

applied the same procedure, to be precise – I have counted how many pragmatic markers can be found in 100 expressions of direct speech.

**Table 2: The Independent – Total Number of Expressions in Direct Speech, Total Number of Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech, Total Number of Pragmatic Markers in 100 Expressions and Frequency – depending on the journalist**

<b>THE INDEPENDENT</b>	<b>Expressions</b>	<b>Pragmatic markers</b>	<b>PM/100 expressions</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>Andrew Grice</b>				
Article N.1	243	2	0.823	121
Article N.2	164	3	1.829	55
<b>Article N. 3</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
Article N.4	475	9	1.894	53
Article N.5	71	2	2.816	36
Article N.6	77	0	0	0
Article N.7	142	3	2.112	47
Article N.8	354	8	2.259	44
Article N.9	137	0	0	0
<b>Article N. 10</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3.821</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>Michael Savage</b>				
Article N.11	100	0	0	0
Article N. 12	140	1	0.714	140
Article N.13	175	2	1.142	87
<b>Stephen Foley</b>				
Article N. 14	0	0	0	0
Article N. 15	92	1	1.086	92
<b>Total</b>	<b>2570</b>	<b>37</b>		

Concerning the total number of expressions being used in direct speech in the articles of the Independent, there are 2570 expressions to be examined. Further in the thesis, I am going to pay attention to 37 pragmatic markers used in the direct speech and their functions.

In Table 2, two most important facts have been highlighted. On one hand, it concerns the most frequent user of pragmatic markers, namely Andrew Grice (Article N.10), who uses approximately 4 pragmatic markers/100

expressions in direct speech. On the other hand, Andrew Grice is also the least frequent user of pragmatic markers in direct speech as can be seen in Article N.3, where 243 expressions were used, but no pragmatic marker was found.

### **1.12.3 Social Status**

In my opinion, the use of pragmatic markers can vary according to speakers' social status. I assume that journalists being chosen for this analysis are experienced editors whose language differs from journalists "beginners". Their use of language is more precise and well-structured. Moreover, the number of pragmatic markers used in their articles is less frequent than by their younger colleagues. Furthermore, the topic plays a vital role here.

Politicians, on the other hand, should pay more attention to their use of language. Generally, it is expected that they will express their opinions clearly and precisely. As we can experience nowadays, such a quality is hard to be found.

To sum up, the frequency of pragmatic markers is individual as each member of society has its own idiolect (Cornbleet and Carter 2001). As presented in Chapter 2, a newspaper article is considered "unique" in many perspectives. The frequency of pragmatic markers in direct speech, depending on speakers, is not possible to be analysed here as the speakers vary in each article. Moreover, journalists have the power to influence and decide what will be published, they can publish parts of the interview to support certain politicians as well as ridicule the others.

### **1.13 Conclusion**

This diploma thesis examines 30 articles, 15 articles from the Guardian and 15 articles from the Independent. Each newspaper is represented by three journalists. All articles share a common ground. Firstly, the topic of all articles

is politics. Secondly, they were all published on the front page. In my view, this fact influences the frequency of pragmatic markers used in direct speech as well as indirect speech greatly. Thirdly, the articles were published in a British newspaper – in the case of this thesis, the Guardian and the Independent. Fourthly, all journalists are of British origin.

Of course, there are certain aspects, where the articles differ – they vary in their length (number of expressions in direct as well as indirect speech), and then in the number of pragmatic markers that can be analysed. For this reason, the number of pragmatic markers used in direct speech was recounted to show, what the highest frequency of pragmatic markers depending on individual journalist is in direct speech.

Concerning the number of pragmatic markers used by all six journalists, I have come to a conclusion that the most frequent user of pragmatic markers in direct speech is Nick Watt from the Guardian (see Article N.12). He is followed by Andrew Grice from the Independent (see Article N. 10). In Table 3, the order of the journalists according to their frequency of pragmatic markers used in direct speech can be studied.

**Table 3: Journalists according to their Frequency of Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech**

Journalist	Article	Expressions	Pragmatic markers	PS/100 expressions	Frequency
<i>Nick Watt</i>	12	304	14	4.605	22
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	10	157	6	3.821	26
<i>Alan Travis</i>	11	158	6	3.797	26
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	2	161	6	3.728	27
<i>Micheal Savage</i>	13	175	3	1.714	58
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	15	92	1	1.086	92

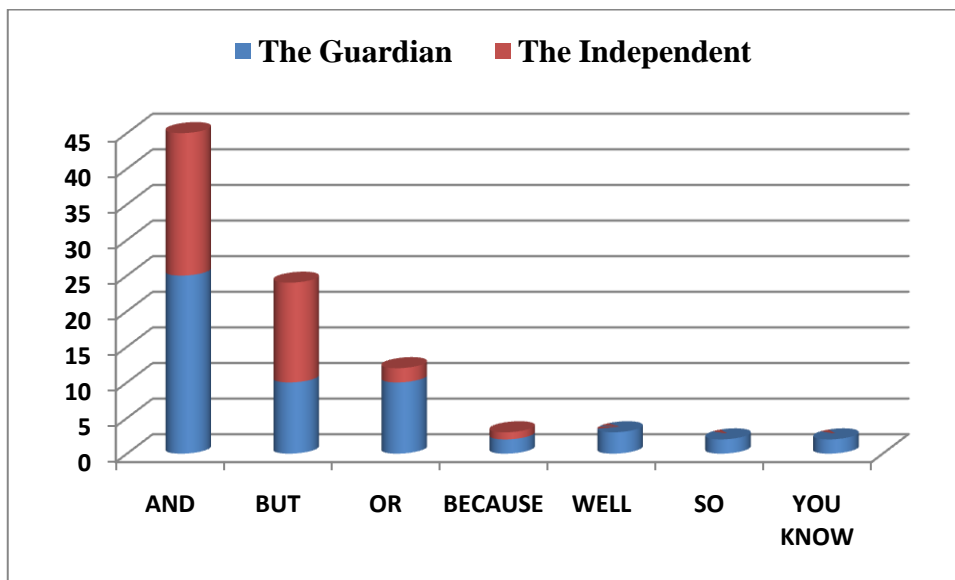
To sum up, the journalists of the Guardian are more frequent users of pragmatic markers in direct speech in comparison with their colleagues from the Independent.

Concerning the total number of pragmatic markers used in direct speech, it is the Guardian where journalists use pragmatic markers more frequently. There are 2121 expressions in direct speech to be analysed here – 54 pragmatic markers have been found. In 100 expressions of direct speech, journalists use 2.545 pragmatic markers (approximately 2.5 pragmatic markers / 100 expressions of direct speech).

On the contrary, in the articles from the Independent there are more expressions to be analysed – namely 2570, but only 37 pragmatic markers were detected. In 100 expressions of direct speech, it represents only 1.4 pragmatic markers (approximately 1.5 pragmatic markers in 100 expressions are used).

In conclusion, the Guardian and its journalists use pragmatic markers more frequently in direct speech than the journalists of the Independent. This is a very interesting result, as the Independent is considered to be a tabloid, and therefore more pragmatic markers would be expected to be examined there than in the serious newspapers like the Guardian.

**Figure 1: Occurrence of All Pragmatic Markers in Direct Speech**



## **Qualitative Approach – Direct Speech**

On the contrary to the quantitative approach, which examines figures – the qualitative approach analyses pragmatic markers according to their function. As the number of pragmatic markers found in the corpus in direct speech is limited, the variety of pragmatic markers is not very rich.

After a longer consideration, I have decided to analyse pragmatic markers which appeared in the corpus at least twice. Pragmatic markers and their functions will be analysed in the following order according to the alphabet:

*1, And*

*2, Because*

*3, But*

*4, Or*

*5, So*

*6, Well*

*7, You know*

### **1.14 AND**

Schiffrin (1987) describes *and* as a pragmatic marker, which has two roles in talk. Firstly, it coordinates idea units. Secondly, it continues a speaker's action. She argues that *and* has both roles simultaneously.

*And* is not just the first pragmatic marker to be analysed in this thesis, but also the most frequent. It supports Schiffrin's opinion, as she mentions



(1987:128) that *and* is “the most frequently used mode of connection at a local level of idea structure”.

In the articles of the Guardian, *and* is used in 25 utterances in direct speech. In the Independent, *and* occurs in 20 utterances only. As each article includes direct speech representing opinions and views of different interviewees, it is impossible to analyse what interviewee is the most frequent user of the marker.

**Table 4: Total Number of *And* in Direct Speech, Total Number of Expressions in Direct Speech and Frequency of *And* in 100 Expressions of Direct Speech - depending on the newspaper**

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Total Number</b>	<b>Total number of Expressions in DS</b>	<b>AND/100 Expressions</b>
<i>The Guardian</i>	25	2121	<i>1.178</i>
<i>The Independent</i>	20	2570	0.778

Table 4 shows the frequency of *and* counted for 100 expressions of direct speech. In direct speech of the articles in the Guardian, the pragmatic marker *and* is used more frequently than in the articles of the Independent.

Schiffrin examines *and* together with *but* and *or*, as she calls them discourse connectives. According to Schiffrin (1994: 141 - 150), *and* can be described as:

1. a discourse coordinator, which marks different kinds of units at different levels of discourse structure
2. a marker of speaker’s continuation, often displays an upcoming utterance as part of a not yet completed interactional unit, when speakers want to convey that they have more to say, possible to use to link questions in a question agenda

3. a marker

- which marks the speaker's continuation as a preferred option
- which is used when speakers share a turn space to add ideas
- which can connect reasons in an explanation, or pieces of support in an argument

Concerning position of *and* in an utterance, McCarthy (1993:176) argues that *and* "frequently occurs sentence-initially, just as it often occurs turn- and utterance-initially in spoken data".

Before the analysis, I am going to examine the meanings of *and* described in LDCE (2000: 42). As Longman Dictionary is focused on contemporary English, spoken as well as written English is included.

1. You use *and* to join words or sentences.
2. You use *and* to mean "then, afterwards".
3. You use *and* to say that something is caused by something else.
4. You use *and* to introduce a sentence, comment, question (spoken).
5. You use *and* between repeated words to emphasize what you are saying.
6. You use *and* when you want someone to add something to what they have just said (spoken).

### **Analysis of *And***

Firstly, I am going to analyse the occurrence of *and* in direct speech in the articles of the Guardian. Secondly, I am going to focus on the occurrence of *and* in direct speech in the articles of the Independent.

### **Contextual Analysis**

In contextual analysis, pragmatic markers are examined in the context – the preceding as well as following utterances are analysed. As direct speech is

incomplete, the questions asked by journalists are presented indirectly and there is little attention paid to punctuation, the analysis becomes more difficult.

In addition, as being stressed in the previous chapters, journalists have the power over articles. As I am going to demonstrate in the following examples – utterances of interviewees can differ depending on the journalist and the newspaper.

In example (1), written by Patrick Wintour from the Guardian, the situation of a press conference in London is described. Mr Miliband, Gordon Brown's ally and a member of the Labour party, is being asked whether Mr Brown is the person to lead the Labour government "through the current economic turbulence". Patrick Wintour publishes Mr Miliband's answer as following:

(1) **App.I, Art.III, 132 -134**

He asked rhetorically: *"Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? **Yes, absolutely.** We have got a leader, we have got a good leader, we have got a leader who has good values and I think he can lead a very strong team."*

In the following example (2), written by Andrew Grice from the Independent, the same conference as well as the answer of Mr Miliband is noted.

(2) **App. II, Art.IV, 213 – 216**

Furious Brownites said Mr Miliband failed to quell such speculation at a press conference yesterday, although the Foreign Secretary said Mr Brown has the "values and the vision" to run the country successfully. *"Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? **Yes, I'm absolutely certain about that,**" he added.*

In the examples (1, 2), the answer and also the attitude towards the whole problem of Mr Brown's leadership of the Labour party from Mr Miliband's point of view is introduced differently to readers. What is the real

answer of Mr Miliband concerning the problem? Both journalists decided to interpret Mr Miliband's answer in two different ways – each decided to pick up different points in Mr Miliband's interview that they found, maybe, more interesting depending on their political opinion, or the political attitude of the newspapers they work for.

To sum up, the analysis works with spoken discourse being transmitted as written discourse. As we cannot prove, what was really said, we have to fully depend on the interpretation of the journalists. Direct speech, which is quoted in quotation marks, does not always have to represent what was uttered or whether it was said in the order presented in the articles. This opinion is supported by Goody (1977:118), who claims that “reproduction of oral sequences is rarely if ever verbatim”. Punctuation is another obstacle, which this analysis has to take into consideration. As the examples (3, 4) show, journalists may note same comments using different punctuation.

(3) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. V, 267 – 273**

The shadow chancellor, George Osborne, said: *"This is a short-term survival plan for the prime minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. **They've had months to prepare, and on the day it's launched, they can't even tell us how much it costs, or where the money's coming from.** Most families will not be helped and the micro measures announced are overshadowed by today's gloomy news that the OECD is predicting a recession in Britain in the second half of this year - the only country that it makes that prediction about."*

(4) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.V, 308 – 311**

George Osborne, the shadow Chancellor, said of the package: *"This is a short-term survival plan for the Prime Minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. **They've had months to prepare and they can't even tell us how much it costs, or where the money's coming from.**"*

## *The Guardian*

### **Patrick Wintour**

Here, the pragmatic marker is used 15 times. As there are ten articles by Patrick Wintour to be analysed, *and* does not occur in each article. Nevertheless, on average every 84<sup>th</sup> expression is an *and*. In all utterances, the pragmatic marker appears in the middle position. In Article N.9, the highest frequency of *and* is detected.

### **CONNECTION OF REASONS**

The pragmatic marker *and* helps to connect the reasons of Mr Darling to call for general elections as he expresses his opinion concerning the topic.

#### **(5) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.II, 107 – 109**

The Conservative leader, David Cameron, urged Brown to call a general election. *"I think we need change in this country, and that's how change should come about,"* he said.

### **SUPPORT**

In my opinion, this *and* emphasises the qualities of Gordon Brown being a good leader of the Labour party as David Miliband expresses his support for Mr Brown to be the head of the party.

#### **(6) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.III, 132 -134**

He asked rhetorically: *"Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? Yes, absolutely. We have got a leader, we have got a good leader, we have got a leader who has good values and I think he can lead a very strong team."*

### **CHANGE OF SUBJECT**

Prior to this *and*, David Miliband describes his previous experience with elections. Suddenly, he turns his attention to audience (to journalists in this case as he was interviewed at a press conference) with a possible attempt to blame them for not believing in his actions in the past. As far as I am concerned, he changes the topic of his utterance.

**(7) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.III, 135 – 138**

Asked directly to rule himself out for the leadership Miliband said: "*It is a never ending game,*" adding: "*I went through this for two or three years before last year's election **and** none of you believed a word I said then, and actually it turned out to be true.*"

**ADDITION OF INFORMATION**

*And* in the following example refers to the previous example. After blaming the journalists for not believing in his words, David Miliband adds that even though he was not trusted, he was right after all.

**(8) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.III, 135 – 138**

Asked directly to rule himself out for the leadership Miliband said: "*It is a never ending game,*" adding: "*I went through this for two or three years before last year's election and none of you believed a word I said then, **and** actually it turned out to be true.*"

**TIME TO THINK**

In my view, in the following example *and* has the meaning of hesitation. Alistair Darling talks about an upcoming financial crisis and he gives consequences of the situation. Suddenly, he pauses (Patrick Wintour even uses graphic signs to show his readers Mr Darling's hesitation) before he continues.

**(9) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.V, 246 – 251**

Darling insisted that he remained optimistic, but continued to echo his assessment, given in a Guardian interview at the weekend, that Britain faced "arguably the worst" economic conditions in 60 years. "*We are facing difficult times - we are in a situation where you are facing the combination of the credit crunch with high oil and food prices **and** ... this is unique, the IMF has said we haven't seen this since the 1930s,*" he said.

## CONNECTION OF EVENTS, CONTRAST

George Osborne describes the weakness of Mr Brown's plan to fight the recession. As he talks about the problem the Labour party has to deal with, he uses *and* to connect events. In the case of the second *and*, he creates a contrast between the two utterances. Firstly, he talks about a situation of families. All of a sudden, he mentions financial figures being published on that day. In my opinion, the function of *and* in the second example is to make a contrast.

### (10)Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art. V, 267 – 273

The shadow chancellor, George Osborne, said: *"This is a short-term survival plan for the prime minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. They've had months to prepare, and on the day it's launched, they can't even tell us how much it costs, or where the money's coming from. Most families will not be helped and the micro measures announced are overshadowed by today's gloomy news that the OECD is predicting a recession in Britain in the second half of this year - the only country that it makes that prediction about."*

## REPETITION

I suppose that in (11), Gordon Brown gives reasons why ministers will meet more frequently following the financial crisis. He stresses the fact that it is necessary to change policies. Moreover, it is the way that needs to be changed.

### (11)Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.IX, 522 – 523

Explaining the new body, Brown said: *"Quite simply, we do not need just to change policies but the way we make decisions and the way we govern."*

## ASSURANCE

In my view, in the following utterance *and* has a meaning of assurance. Funding of political parties is always a topic being connected with controversy. Here, allies of Mr Deripaska intend to deny Mr Deripaska's willingness to

donate money to the Conservative party, they try to ensure public that there are no such intentions what so ever.

(12) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.X, 597 – 599**

Allies of Deripaska weighed in against Osborne's implication that he initiated talks, saying the billionaire *"has never donated to any political party in Britain **and** he has no intention of doing so"*.

### **Alan Travis**

Next, the article by Alan Travis is going to be analysed. As only one article by this journalist has been chosen for this analysis – the pragmatic marker ***and*** does not occur so often. Though, there are three pragmatic markers ***and*** being examined. Concerning the position of the marker in an utterance, one pragmatic marker of ***and*** can be analysed in the front position, the other two are in the initial position. In the article, every 53th expression is an ***and***.

### **CONNECTION OF EVENTS**

In example (13), the pragmatic marker appears in the front position. Moreover, the following example is not an utterance made by a speaker, but a report. Though, I have decided to include it to the analysis of direct speech. Firstly, in the article the utterance is marked by quotation marks. Secondly, the pragmatic marker ***and*** used here in the front position is more typical for spoken, not for written discourse. In my view, ***and*** has a function of a connector. Even though, the example concerns a quoted report, ***and*** is used in the front position as if the authors of the report have forgotten to mention an important fact. This is typical for spontaneous speech, but not for a report which is usually written in advance and is possible to rewrite several times.



(13) Alan Travis, App.I., Art.XI, 631 – 634

The report, headed, Challenging violent extremist ideology through communications, says: *"We are pushing this material to UK media channels, eg, a BBC radio programme exposing tensions between AQ leadership and supporters. **And** a restricted working group will communicate niche messages through media and non-media."*

**SUPPORT, CONTRAST**

The first *and* supports the fact that Al-Qaida members are not heroes, it emphasizes that they have no answers either. On one hand, the second occurrence of *and* might show a contrast. On the other hand, it can be time filler as the two utterances differ in their coherence.

(14) Alan Travis, App.I., Art.XI, 641 – 643

The Whitehall propaganda unit is collecting material to target these vulnerabilities under three themes. They are that al-Qaida is losing support; *"they are not heroes **and** don't have answers; **and** that they harm you, your country and your livelihood"*.

**Nick Watt**

Finally, the articles by Nick Watt from the Guardian are going to be examined. The pragmatic marker *and* is used seven times. There are four articles to be analysed. As *and* does not occur in each article, on average every 101<sup>st</sup> expression is an *and*. In Article N.12, *and* occurs most frequently. In the front position, the pragmatic marker appears four times, three times *and* will be found in the initial position.

**SUPPORT**

The pragmatic marker *and* helps to support Mr Darling's comment on the seriousness of the financial situation in Britain. He wants to emphasize that the situation is even more dramatic than people might expect.

(15) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 699 – 702

In a candid interview in today's Guardian Weekend magazine, Darling warns that the economic times faced by Britain and the rest of the world "*are arguably the worst they've been in 60 years*". To deepen the sense of gloom, he adds: "**And** *I think it's going to be more profound and long-lasting than people thought.*"

**ADDITION**

The following *and* adds more information to Mr Darling's statement concerning the need of the Labour party to rediscover their enthusiasm. As he points out, this is the reason of their failure with voters being very angry with them.

(16) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 703 – 707

The economic backdrop presents Labour with its toughest challenge since the 1980s. "*We've got our work cut out. This coming 12 months will be the most difficult 12 months the Labour party has had in a generation,*" he says. But Labour has been lacklustre. "*We've got to rediscover that zeal which won three elections, and that is a huge problem for us at the moment. People are pissed off with us.*"

**ASSURANCE**

*And* in the following utterance signifies an attempt of Mr Darling to ensure the audience that Mr Brown will connect with his voters, even though he has not been able to do so far.

(17) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 739 – 741

Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: "*Er, well. Well, it's always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative.*"

## ASSURANCE, ADDITION

*And* in the middle position is used by Lord West to emphasize the fact that the need will come – he wants to ensure the listeners that it will happen. The second *and*, used in the initial position, is uttered by Lord West to add information, moreover, consequences to what happens when legislation is done too quickly.

### (18) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XV, 883 – 889

Lord West, the home office minister, warned peers of the dangers of voting against the plan. *"If we get it wrong we could all live to regret it. When the need for more than 28 days arrives — and it will — we can either have a well considered and debated back-pocket measure in place ready to make available to prosecutors, or we will be forced to release terrorists on to the streets unless some hurried legislation is passed. And we all know hurried legislation in a period of emergency is bad legislation. Whoever is in power will find it a very uncomfortable moment."*

## *The Independent*

### Patrick Wintour

In the articles by Patrick Wintour, the pragmatic marker *and* occurs 18 times. On average, every 115<sup>th</sup> expression is an *and*. The pragmatic marker occurs in Article N. 10 most frequently. *And* occurs only in one utterance in the front position, otherwise it can be found in the initial position.

## CONTRAST

I suppose that *and* in (19) describes a contrast between the two parts of the utterance. On one hand, the person talks about a soft support. On the other hand, he mentions fighting back.

(19) Patrick Wintour, App. II, Art.II, 84 – 85

One said: *"This poll reinforces what a lot of Labour MPs think – that Tory support is soft **and** we could fight back **and** win under another leader.*

**REPETITION, SUPPORT**

Mr Lewis, the Health minister, talks about his reasons for joining the Labour Party. The first **and** connects the repeated phrase "I wanted". The second **and** supports Mr Lewis' intentions previously mentioned. In my view, he wants to ensure his listeners about his noble motives and values.

(20) Patrick Wintour, App. II, Art.IV, 238 – 243

Mr Lewis added: *"We are not here to be a bunch of technocrats. I joined the Labour Party, like most of my colleagues, because I wanted to make a difference, **and** I wanted to change the world for the better. **And** obviously I wanted to do that in a way that was consistent with progressive values. How many people out there really believe any more that that's what people like me are about? That's what we need to turn around."*

**CONNECTION OF REASON**

In example (21), Mr Lewis comments the situation in the Labour Party with Mr Brown as the leader. He describes the Labour Party as being divided. This he sees as a possible problem at the elections. Moreover, he gives a reason for the Labour Party not to stay back, but to fight. In this example, **and** is followed by *therefore* which signifies connecting reason.

(21) Patrick Wintour, App.II, Art. IV, 253 – 257

He added: *"When you're the underdog, you have a choice – you can either lie down and die, or you can come out fighting with a passion and a purpose, which stirs your friends and shakes the confidence of your opponents. We have to recognise that New Labour has a problem now with definition. Old Labour doesn't have answers, **and** therefore the only way forward right now is bold Labour.*

## **ADDITION**

In my opinion this *and* adds more information to what Mr Cameron states about being ready to become a prime minister. As he adds, it is difficult to prove someone is suitable to do such a job. Moreover, he considers such assumption arrogant, as he argues in the following statement – it is not about being ready, but about character and judgement.

### **(22) Patrick Wintour, App. II, Art. VIII, 428 – 430**

Mr Cameron said: *"You can't prove you're ready to be prime minister – and it would be arrogant to pretend you can."* He admitted that experience was important in the global financial crisis but argued that "character and judgement" mattered more.

## **CONNECTION OF EVENTS**

Here, the pragmatic marker *and* connects events of a statement by Mr Rothschild as he tries to describe what happened during an evening at his house. As far as I am concerned, I find the description confusing as there appear a lot of people being included in the affair of donation money to the political party.

### **(23) Patrick Wintour, App. II, Art. X, 585 – 589**

The statement said: *"Mr Goodwin recalls that the subject of a donation by Mr Deripaska's UK company also arose briefly while we were on the boat, but the conversation gained no traction. At dinner at my house later that evening, the subject again came up in conversation, and Mr Osborne was interested in whether and how such a donation could be secured."*

## **ASSURANCE**

David Cameron expresses his opinion concerning the affair, which was connected with donating of his political party. In example (24), *and* can be understood as an assurance as well as repetition. In my opinion, Mr Cameron would like to ensure that not accepting the money was a good judgement for

the party. Though, as can be seen, he repeats the same phrase in the second part of the utterance. It is possible he would like to emphasise that it was not just a good decision to refuse the money, but also to give clear evidence of what happened during the donation affair. As we are given a limited access to what different interviewees express, the analysis becomes limited as well.

**(24) Patrick Wintour, App. II, Art. X, 615 – 617**

Mr Cameron said: *"It was the right judgement for the Conservative Party not to take any money, **and** it was the right judgement today to... explain very clearly all the meetings that took place."*

**Michael Savage**

Next, three articles by Michael Savage are going to be examined. The pragmatic marker ***and*** occurs only in Article N. 13.

**ADDITION**

In my view, ***and*** in example (25) adds more information concerning the security services that test a new technology at the airport. A security source describes the condition when the situation will get back to normal – in case that the security services will be satisfied with the function of the new technology.

**(25) Michael Savage, App. II, Art.XIII, 734 – 737**

*"The technology is there, which will allow these scanners not only to test for liquids but also to determine if those liquids are dangerous or not,"* said a security industry source. *"At the moment, that technology is being tested by the security services. **And** when they are happy that it works, the ban will be lifted."*

## **Stephen Foley**

The last to be analysed here are two articles by Stephen Foley. As in the previous analysis by Michael Savage, the pragmatic marker *and* occurs here only once again.

### **SUPPORT**

In the last example (26), President Bush, the former president of the USA, uses *and* to support his actions towards the challenges.

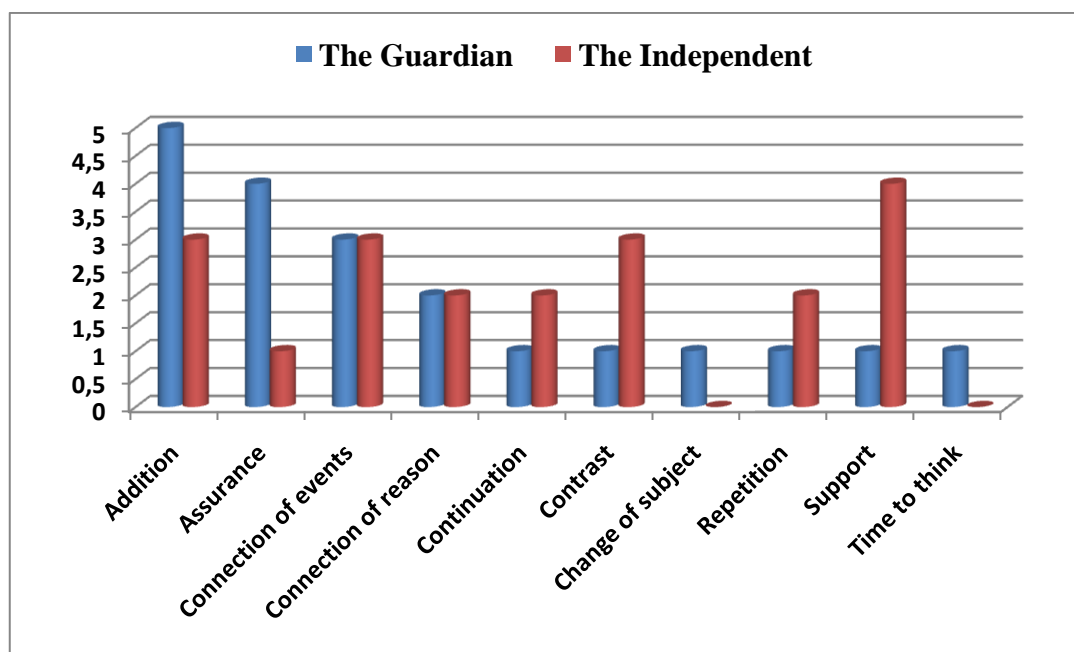
#### **(26) Stephen Foley, App.II, Art.XV, 871 – 873**

The cost of rescuing the financial system, President Bush said, was less than the cost of letting it fail. *"These are unprecedented challenges, and we're responding with unprecedented action,"* he said.

#### **1.14.1 Concluding Remarks**

In the analysis, examples of different meanings and use of the pragmatic marker *and* has been introduced. As newspaper articles deal with limited access to spoken discourse (interviews and utterances of interviewees are not published complete), the placement analysis is not included. Journalists have the power over how to structure interviewees' utterances – they influence the message of their articles as well as punctuation. This plays a very important role while analysing written discourse as it has been shown at the beginning of this analysis. Therefore, it was not always easy to determine the precise meaning of the marker.

Figure 2: Pragmatic Functions of *And* in all articles



In Figure 2 different meanings of the pragmatic marker *and* in all articles are compared. The most frequent meaning of *and* is addition (The Guardian), the second most frequent meaning is support (The Independent), followed by assurance (The Guardian). Concerning the most frequent user of the pragmatic marker *and* in direct speech, the results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: The Highest Frequency of Pragmatic Marker *And* – depending on the journalist

Journalist	Newspaper	Article	Total Number of And	Frequency
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	The Independent	N.10	4	39
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	The Guardian	N.9	3	39
<i>Alan Travis</i>	The Guardian	N.11	3	53
<i>Nick Watt</i>	The Guardian	N.12	4	76
<i>Stephen Foyle</i>	The Independent	N. 15	1	92
<i>Michael Savage</i>	The Independent	N.13	1	175



### 1.14.1.1 The Guardian

In the articles from the Guardian, the pragmatic marker *and* occurs 25 times. The most frequent user of *and* is Patrick Wintour (Article N. 9), followed by Alan Travis (Article N.11) and Nick Watt (Article N.12).

Concerning different meanings of *and* in the analysis, the most frequent meaning of *and* is addition. Figure 3 shows different meanings of *and* in direct speech used in the articles of the Guardian. Table 6 a,b,c pays attention to individual meanings in the analysed articles.

Figure 3: Pragmatic Functions of *And* – The Guardian

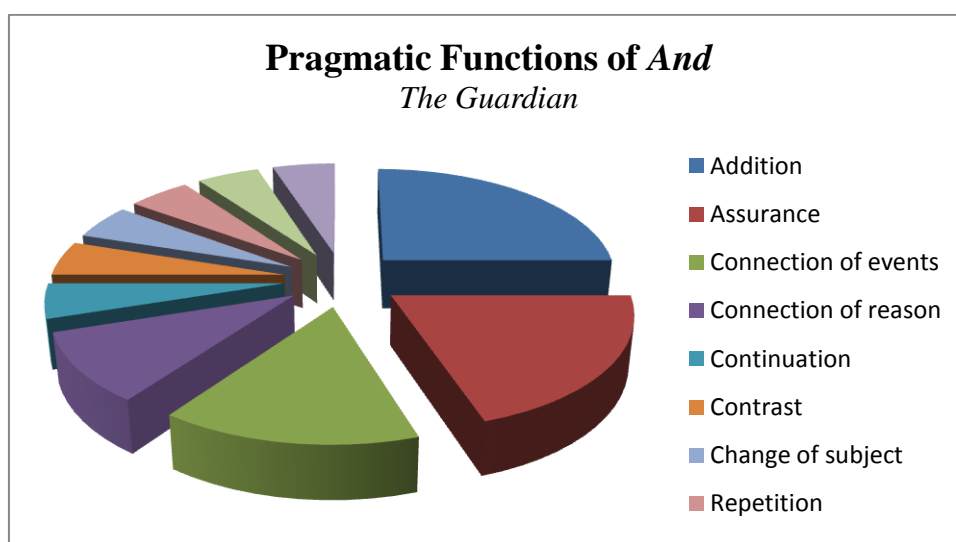


Table 6a: Meanings of *And* in Direct Speech in the Guardian - depending on the journalist

JOURNALIST	Connection of Reasons	Support	Change of subject	Assurance
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	2	3	1	1
<i>Alan Travis</i>	-	1	-	-
<i>Nick Watt</i>	-	1	-	3

**Table 6b: Meanings of *And* in Direct Speech in the Guardian - depending on the journalist**

JOURNALIST	Time to think	Addition	Contrast
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	1	3	1
<i>Alan Travis</i>	-	-	1
<i>Nick Watt</i>	-	2	-

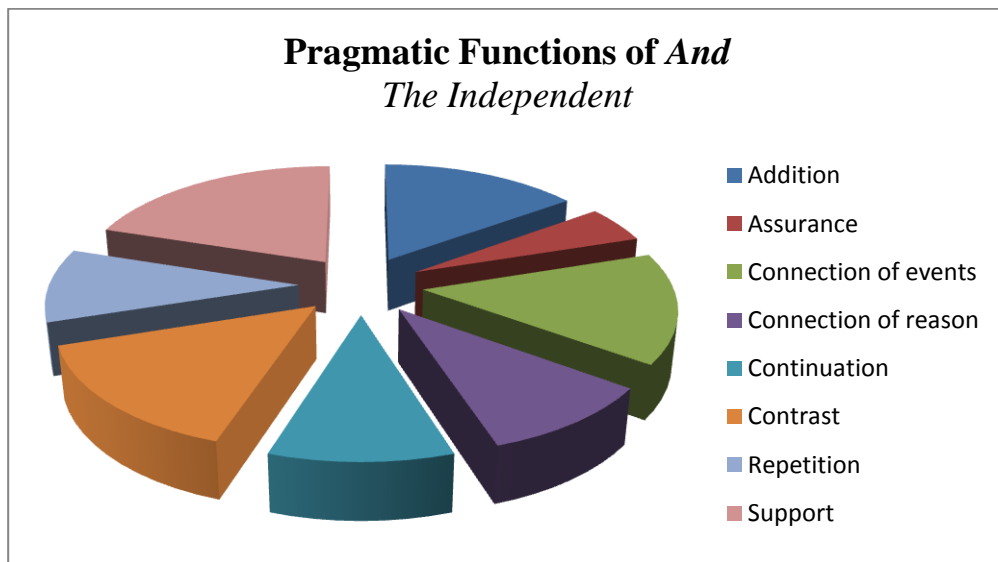
**Table 6c: Meanings of *And* in Direct Speech in the Guardian - depending on the journalist**

JOURNALIST	Connection of Events	Repetition	Continuation
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	1	1	1
<i>Alan Travis</i>	1	-	-
<i>Nick Watt</i>	1	-	-

#### 1.14.1.2 *The Independent*

In the Independent, the pragmatic marker *and* was examined in 20 utterances. Andrew Grice is the most frequent user of *and* (Article N. 10), followed by Stephen Foyle (Article N.15) and Michael Savage (Article N.13).

**Figure 4: Pragmatic Functions of *And* - The Independent**



Concerning different meanings of *and* in the analysis, the most frequent meaning of *and* is support. In Figure 4 different meanings of *and* in direct speech used in the articles of the Independent are shown. Individual meanings of *and* are analysed in Table 7 a, b.

**Table 7a: Meanings of *And* in Direct Speech in The Independent – depending on the journalist**

JOURNALIST	Connection of Reasons	Support	Assurance	Contrast
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	2	3	1	3
<i>Michael Savage</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	-	1	-	-

**Table 7b: Meanings of *And* in Direct Speech in The Independent – depending on the journalist**

JOURNALIST	Connection of Events	Repetition	Continuation	Addition
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	3	2	2	2
<i>Michael Savage</i>	-	-	-	1
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	-	-	-	-

## 1.15 BECAUSE

*Because* is the second pragmatic marker being analysed in this thesis. Unlike the frequency of the previous examined pragmatic marker *and*, *because* occurs in three articles in the corpus – in Article N. 12 and Article N.15 by Nick Watt from the Guardian and in Article N.4 by Andrew Grice from the Independent. Nick Watt is the most frequent user of *because* in direct speech.

As all analysed pragmatic markers are examined by Schiffrin in *Discourse Markers*, *because* is no exception. She describes *because* (1994:191) as “a marker of subordination”. There are several functions Schiffrin uses in her analysis of *because*:

1. *Because* tends to introduce sentence topics which play a subordinate role in the discourse.
2. *Because* can mark a motive for an action.
3. *Because* can be used to preface information when the status of that information as shared background knowledge is uncertain and when that information is important for understanding adjacent talk.
4. *Because* conveys a meaning of “cause”.

## CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

### *The Guardian*

#### Nick Watt

#### TIME TO THINK

I suppose that *because* in (27) is used to give Mr Darling more time to think about his reply for his question. As the pragmatic marker is followed by a comma, the punctuation indicates that Mr Darling pauses before he continues in his utterance.

(27) Nick Watt, App.I, Art. XII, 708 – 710

*"We really have to make our minds up; are we ready to try and persuade this country to support us for another term? **Because**, the next 12 months are critical. It's still there to play for."*

**RESULT**

In my view, the pragmatic marker in (28) means a result of Mr Smith, the home secretary, as he speaks at the parliament. Addressing Mr Speaker, he gives evidence why he is not ready to be passive concerning the national security.

(28) Nick Watt, App I, Art. XV, 856 – 859

*"I do not believe, as some Hon Members clearly do, that it is enough to simply cross our fingers and hope for the best," Smith told parliament. "Mr Speaker, that is not good enough. **Because** when it comes to national security, there are certain risks I'm not prepared to take."*

***The Independent***

**Andrew Grice**

**MOTIVE FOR AN ACTION**

In my opinion, in (29) Mr Lewis describes his motives while joining the Labour Party. Not only did he want to make a difference, but his wish was to change the world for the better.

(29) Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. IV, 238 – 243

Mr Lewis added: *"We are not here to be a bunch of technocrats. I joined the Labour Party, like most of my colleagues, **because** I wanted to make a difference, and I wanted to change the world for the better. And obviously I wanted to do that in a way that was consistent with progressive values. How many people out there really believe any more that that's what people like me are about? That's what we need to turn around."*

## 1.16 BUT

*But* is characterised by Schiffrin(1994) as a discourse coordinator. In the thesis, it is the second most frequent pragmatic marker to be analysed in direct speech of all articles. Moreover, it is the only pragmatic marker (from the list of pragmatic markers analysed in direct speech) being examined in indirect speech as well later in the study.

The pragmatic marker *but* has been studied by many different linguists (Schiffrin: 1994, Blakemore: 2004, McCarthy: 1993). Its function as well as position in an utterance has been examined.

Firstly, let us have a look at the entry from LDCE (2000:173), where the meanings of *but* are described as following:

1. You use *but* to mean in spite of something, or not as you would expect.
2. You use *but* to add another statement to one that you have already made, to say that both things are true.
3. You use *but* like however, to explain why something did not happen, why you did not do something.
4. You use *but* after negative to emphasize that the second part of the sentence is true.
5. You use *but* to express strong feelings such anger, surprise etc.
6. You use *but* to emphasize a word or statement.
7. You use *but* to change the subject of conversation.

Concerning the occurrence of *but* in an utterance, the pragmatic marker is very frequent in spoken English, where it often occurs at the beginning of a sentence. Though, it is also used in writing. According to the entry in LDCE (2000:173), *but* does not usually occur at the beginning of a sentence. As we are going to analyse the indirect speech (journalist's utterance) later in the study, we will come to the opposite conclusion.

As it has been stated above, *but* is one of the most studied pragmatic markers in discourse analysis. What makes *but* such a popular pragmatic marker to be examined? One possible answer can be given by Blakemore (2004:228) who argues that “native speakers of English find it more difficult to pin down what *but* or *well* mean than to say how they are used“. This can be a great motivation for those, who desire to understand the meaning of *but* in different occurrences in discourse.

Concerning the analysis of *but* by Schiffrin (1987:152 - 177):

1. *But* marks an upcoming unit as a contrasting action.
2. *But* can be interpreted as speaker’s effort to return to the prior concern.
3. *But* is interchangeable with anyway and however.
4. *But* can preface disagreements – whether they are disagreements which challenge, defend, or both.
5. *But* marks an upcoming unit as a contrast.
6. *But* marks speaker’s return to a point.

Taking into consideration Blakemore’s opinion on *but* (2004:224 – 225), she argues that “but encodes a conceptual representation of a relation of contrasting“.

The pragmatic marker *but* occurs more frequently in the articles of the Independent as there are 14 pragmatic markers of *but* to be analysed. In the Guardian, the pragmatic marker *but* occurs 10 times. *But* occurs most frequently in Article N. 8 by Andrew Grice from the Independent. Though, the most frequent user of the pragmatic marker is Patrick Wintour (Article N.4) from the Guardian.

## CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

### *The Guardian*

#### **TIME TO THINK**

Here, the meaning of *but* in (30) is not obvious. As the utterance of the spokesman could have been shortened, it is not easy to analyse the graphic signs preceding the examined pragmatic marker. Do they refer to the spokesman's hesitation or do they represent a long utterance that has been cut out? Furthermore, why is the pragmatic marker transcribed in brackets? As I have stated in previous chapters, while analysing newspaper articles I am left to examine only what journalists find important to publish. In my view, *but* in the following example is used by the spokesman to gain some extra time to think about what to say next. Even though, the interviewed person is a spokesman – it does not necessarily mean that spokespeople can react immediately to all questions they are asked. In my opinion, the preceding punctuation indicates a pause.

#### (30) **Patrick Wintour, App. I, Art.IV, 206 – 209**

*A spokesman for the Council of Mortgage Lenders said: "Stamp duty acts as a material disincentive to moving and reforms would help first-time buyers ... [But] removing stamp duty only addresses buyer confidence, not the wider problems in the financial markets."*

#### **EMPHASIS**

I suppose that *but* in (31) signifies an emphasis. Miliband's ally asks a rhetorical question which he immediately answers. *But* is preceded by a negative reply. From my point of view, the interviewee has an intention to emphasize what might happen when no action will be taken.



(31) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.VIII, 443 - 449**

Downing Street will be encouraged by the poll in the Sun. But ministers said confusion over the reshuffle showed that Brown would struggle to build on the success of the speech. Some ministers, who had been prepared to leave Manchester rallying behind a rejuvenated Brown, were believed to be wrestling with their consciences. One Miliband ally outlined the dilemma: *"Would it look good to have no one on the bridge of the ship as it heads for the rocks? Probably not, **but** the danger is that if we do nothing we are heading for opposition for a long time."*

**ADDITION**

In the following example, *but* adds more information about what needs to be changed according to Mr Brown in terms of his decisions made on the field of British politics.

(32) **Patrick Wintour, App. I, Art.IX, 522 – 523**

Explaining the new body, Brown said: *"Quite simply, we do not need just to change policies **but** the way we make decisions and the way we govern."*

**CHANGE OF SUBJECT**

In (33), Mr Darling describes his story while being confronted by a British citizen at a petrol station. He paraphrases what the man asked him. Here, *but* changes the subject of the man's utterance. On one hand, the man discusses the oil prices. On the other hand, he suddenly changes the topic of his utterance and confronts Mr Darling with a question.

(33) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 715 – 719**

Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. *"I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: 'I know it's to do with oil prices - **but** what are you going to do about it?' People think, well surely you can do something, you are responsible - so of course it reflects on me."*

## REFUSAL

**But** in (34) means a refusal. Mr Darling expresses his view on possible reshuffle in the government of Mr Brown. He refuses such a possibility.

(34) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 724 – 726

*"You can't be chopping and changing people that often," he says. "I mean, undoubtedly before the end of the parliament he will want to do a reshuffle, but I'm not expecting one imminently. I do not think there will be a reshuffle."*

## *The Independent*

### ADDITION

In my opinion, **but** in the following example is used by Baroness Prosser to add more information about the character of Mr Brown.

(35) Andrew Grice, App. II, Art.I, 65- 72

Baroness Prosser, a former Labour treasurer, urged Mr Brown to do more to tackle the party's severe financial problems. She told BBC Radio 4: *"I think we need the Prime Minister himself to take this on his shoulders and say, 'This is a worse situation than we have been in ever and therefore as Prime Minister and leader of the party I need to get stuck in here'."* Asked if a change of leader would bring back Labour's missing donors, she replied: *"No, I don't think so. We have Gordon. He is well known to everybody. He is not exactly a sunbeam, but that is his style. He is very solid, very reliable, very committed to a good Labour agenda."*

### SUMMARY

In (36), I suppose **but** in this example helps to sum up Mr Lewis' opinion on what needs to be done by the Labour Party not to lose more voters – namely to stay loyal to the leader of the party, Mr Brown.

(36) Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. IV, 244 – 249

If Labour failed to do so, *"the seductive, 'it's time for a change' message will work for Mr Cameron. We need to be the change... more of the same won't do."* Asked if his fellow ministers were loyal to Mr Brown, he replied: *"The test of any political party, any cause, is in the bad time and not the good time. We now face the ultimate test. People have a decision to make. **But** there's one thing that's absolutely clear, it's that the public don't vote for divided parties."*

**EMPHASIS**

Prior to this *but*, Mr Cameron tries to deny being too negative in the current economical crises. He gives reasons, why he thinks Britain and its citizens can survive. In my view, he uses the pragmatic marker to emphasize the fact that the Brits always survive because of who they are, not because of what government they have.

(37) Andrew Grice, App. II, Art. VIII, 461 – 464

Despite the economic gloom, Mr Cameron sought to avoid criticism for being too pessimistic. *"I know we are living in difficult times but I am still optimistic," he said. "We can and will come through. We always do. Not because of our government. **But** because of the people of Britain."*

**CHANGE OF SUBJECT, DISBELIEF, SUMMARY**

In example (38), three different meanings of *but* occur. Firstly, the pragmatic marker *but* means a change of subject. Mr Darling is not believed to be ready to become the next prime minister. He gives evidence of historical situation in 1979. Possibly, he does not like talking on the subject. *But*, in the second utterance, expresses a disbelief by Yvette Cooper as she gives her opinion on Mr Cameron's speech. Mrs Cooper expresses her view as she asks a question being connected with what she missed in the speech. The meaning of the last pragmatic marker *but* is Mrs Coopers' summary of the whole speech made by Mr Cameron.

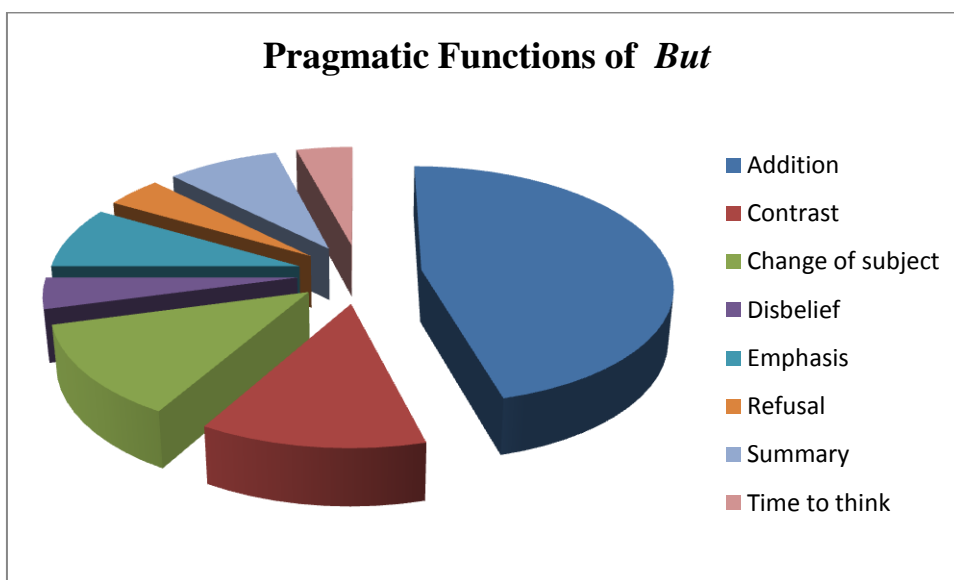
(38) Andrew Grice, App. II, Art.VIII, 470 – 479

Mr Cameron invoked the memory of Margaret Thatcher to counter Labour's claims that he was not ready to lead the country. "In 1979, James Callaghan had been home secretary, foreign secretary and chancellor and then prime minister. **But** thank God, we changed him for Margaret Thatcher. If we listened to this argument about experience, we would never change a government ever. We'd have Gordon Brown as Prime Minister forever." Last night, a Labour minister said the party was happy to compete with Mr Cameron on questions of character and judgement. Yvette Cooper, the Chief Treasury Secretary, said: "David Cameron always makes a smooth and polished speech, **but** where was the substance? Cameron says he is a man with a plan. **But** all we got was warm words and easy populism."

### 1.16.1 Concluding Remarks

In the analysis, I have presented different meanings of the pragmatic marker **but** in the articles of the Guardian as well as the Independent. At the beginning of this part of analysis, I have looked at several obstacles I had to deal with during the thesis. Firstly, it is the pronunciation that is not always clear (see Example 30). Secondly, one cannot be sure what parts of utterances have been missed out or modified to serve the purpose of the journalists.

Figure 5: Pragmatic Functions of **but** in all articles



The most frequent meaning of *but* is addition. Figure 5 shows different pragmatic functions of *but* in direct speech in the articles of the Guardian and the Independent. Table 8 a, b follow – the pragmatic marker *but* is examined in detail depending on the journalist and meaning.

**Table 8a: Meanings of *But* in Direct Speech in All Articles**

Journalist	Addition	Time to think	Change of subject	Emphasis	Total
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	3	1	1	1	<b>6</b>
<i>Alan Travis</i>	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<i>Nick Watt</i>	1	-	1	-	<b>2</b>
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	5	-	1	1	<b>7</b>
<i>Michael Savage</i>	2	-	-	-	<b>2</b>
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>17</b>

**Table 8b: Meanings of *But* in Direct Speech in All Articles**

Journalist	Refusal	Disbelief	Summary	Contrast	Total
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<i>Alan Travis</i>	-	-	-	1	<b>1</b>
<i>Nick Watt</i>	1	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	-	1	2	2	<b>5</b>
<i>Michael Savage</i>	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	-	-	-	-	<b>0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>

## 1.17 OR

In the thesis, *or* is the third most frequent pragmatic marker. In the Guardian *or* occurs in 10 utterances, in the Independent the pragmatic marker appears only two times in the articles by Andrew Grice. The most frequent user of *or* in direct speech is Patrick Wintour in Article N. 2 from the Guardian.

Even though *or* is a coordinator like *and* and *but* (Schiffrin, 1994), its functions differ from the one of *and* and *but*. Firstly, *or* is not a marker of a speaker's action toward his own talk, but of a speaker's desire for a hearer to take action. Generally, *or* is more hearer-oriented, it usually provides hearers a two-way choice between accepting one member of a disjunct, or both members of a disjunct. Not only can *or* mark different pieces of support, but it can also represent a speaker's effort to elicit from a hearer stance toward an idea unit. To sum up, *or* is used to gain a response of some kind.

As Schiffrin (1994:177) describes the functions of *or*, she also divides *or* into two categories. On one hand, she works with a term "exclusive or" where only one member of the disjunct can hold. On the other hand, she describes the second category as "inclusive or" where either one member, or both members of the disjunct can hold.

In addition, I am going to look at definitions of *or* in LDCE (2000:997), which are as following:

1. You use *or* to compare.
2. You use *or* to warn or advise someone that if they do not something, something they do not want will happen.
3. You use *or* to correct something that you have said or to give more specific information.
4. You use *or* to explain why something happens or to show that something must be true.

## CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

### *The Guardian*

#### **CONTRAST, WARNING**

In (39), the pragmatic marker *or* occurs four times. In my opinion, the first three examples of *or* signify a contrast. I suppose Mr Kenny gives a speech in front of Labour MPs. He compares reality of life with the reality in the party – both have two sides. The fourth pragmatic marker *or*, in my view, means a warning.

#### **(39) Patrick Wintour, Example App. I, Art. II, 85 – 91**

But in a sign of a discipline breakdown, and a weakening of Brown's authority, Paul Kenny, the GMB leader, called for Labour MPs to stage a confidence ballot in the autumn to clear the air. Kenny told MPs: *"It is put up or shut up time. They either support Gordon Brown through to the next election, or they actually get rid of him. That is the reality of life. The MPs have got to make a strong decision as to whether they want to go into an election with Gordon Brown or have a [leadership] contest. Labour must change or we are finished."*

#### **ADDITION OF INFORMATION**

I suppose, *or* in (40) helps to add more information. Conditions on donation money to political parties are discussed. Mr Osborne reports on Mr Feldman's explanation under what two circumstances it is possible, in terms of law, to donate money in the UK.

#### **(40) Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.X, 573 – 578**

Osborne said that in the discussion on the terrace of the villa: *"Rothschild suggested to Feldman that his friend Mr Deripaska could be interested in making a donation."* Osborne in his account said: *"Feldman at this point made clear there are very strict rules on donations to political parties in the UK. Feldman explained a political donation is only lawful if you appear as an individual on the UK electoral roll, or if the donation comes from a legitimate UK trading company."*

## *The Independent*

### CONTRAST

In the following example, *or* is used as contrast. Mr Lewis, the Health minister, discusses the fact whether Mr Brown would lead the Labour Party into the next elections. Here, he mentions two choices the party has – it can give up, or fight.

(41) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.IV, 253 – 257**

He added: "*When you're the underdog, you have a choice – you can either lie down and die, or you can come out fighting with a passion and a purpose, which stirs your friends and shakes the confidence of your opponents. We have to recognise that New Labour has a problem now with definition. Old Labour doesn't have answers, and therefore the only way forward right now is bold Labour.*"

### ADDITION OF INFORMATION

In (42), the pragmatic marker *or* is used to add more information. George Osborne criticises Mr Darling's housing package as the preparations have taken months – neither price, nor where the money come from have been made public.

(42) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.V, 308 – 311**

George Osborne, the shadow Chancellor, said of the package: "*This is a short-term survival plan for the Prime Minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. They've had months to prepare and they can't even tell us how much it costs, or where the money's coming from.*"



### 1.17.1 Concluding Remarks

In this part of analysis, I have examined the pragmatic marker *or*. As the occurrence of *or* is not frequent, I have detected three meanings of this pragmatic marker – namely contrast, addition and warning. The meaning of addition is the most frequent. In Table 9, meanings of *or* depending on the journalists are shown.

**Table 9: Meanings of *Or* in Direct Speech in All Articles**

<b>Journalist</b>	<b>Contrast</b>	<b>Addition</b>	<b>Warning</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	3	2	1	<b>6</b>
<i>Alan Travis</i>	1	1	0	<b>2</b>
<i>Nick Watt</i>	1	0	1	<b>2</b>
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	1	1	0	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>

## 1.18 SO

Next, I am going to analyse the pragmatic marker *so*. It appears only twice in the corpus – Nick Watt is the most frequent user of *so* in direct speech as there are two examples in Article N. 12 in the Guardian.

While dealing with pragmatic markers, Schiffrin(1994:191) describes the pragmatic marker *so* as following:

1. *So* is a complementary marker of main idea units.
2. *So* is a marker of main units by focusing on two discourse units.
3. *So* conveys a meaning of “result”.
4. *So* can be used to preface information whose understanding is supplemented by information which has just become shared background.
5. *So* can mark an action which has just been motivated: request and account, compliance and justification, claim and grounds.
6. *So* marks speaker-continuation as an alternative to participant change in potential transition locations in talk.

McCarthy (1993) adds that *so* often occurs as a signal of closure of the text or as a point where topic may change.

## CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

### *The Guardian*

#### **RESULT**

In example (43), *so* means result. Alistair Darling describes a situation in a restaurant while being badly treated by the staff. During an interview, Mr Darling shares his story with journalists, stressing that the waiter’s comment on the amount of alcohol resulted at drinking just one bottle of wine during the whole evening. As we cannot examine the following utterances of Mr Darling,

it is not known whether he might have wanted to change the subject of the interview.

**(43) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 711 – 714**

Darling was given a personal taste of the austere climate when ticked off by a waiter for ordering a second bottle of wine during a meal with his wife, Maggie, and another couple. *"The waiter came over and said 'too much wine' in a loud voice. **So** we stuck to one bottle for the entire meal."*

**TIME TO THINK**

As being mentioned in the previous example, Mr Darling experiences unpleasant situations while being exposed to British citizens in public places. He tells a story of being asked by a stranger at a petrol station. Firstly, he communicates what questions he was asked. Secondly, he adds his own view on the problem. *So* in example (44) is used by Mr Darling to gain time to think. The pragmatic marker *so* is followed by another pragmatic marker, namely *of course*. Concerning the punctuation, *so* is preceded by a hyphen, which might suggest that the speaker, Mr Darling, might not know what to say at the current moment.

**(44) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 715 - 719**

Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. "I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: *'I know it's to do with oil prices - but what are you going to do about it?'* People think, well surely you can do something, you are responsible - **so** of course it reflects on me."

## 1.19 WELL

*Well* is the next pragmatic marker where occurrence is not frequent. In the analysis, *well* appears only three times in Article N.12 by Nick Watt from the Guardian. Nick Watt is the only as well as the most frequent user of the pragmatic marker well.

As McCarthy (1993:176) describes, *well* “often occurs near the beginning of the text, anticipating or offering a response to a predictable reaction of the reader“. *Well* is also examined by Schiffrin(1987), who defines well as a „marker of response“.

Next, I would like to take into consideration the entry from LDCE (2000:1625), where *well* is described as following:

1. You use *well* to pause or give yourself time to think before saying something.
2. You use *well* to express surprise or amusement.

Based on the entry of LDCE, *well* is more common in spoken English than in written English. In the case of our thesis, two explanations of *well* have been chosen to be applied on the examples which follow.

### CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

#### **TIME TO THINK**

In example (45), Darling tells a story of being addressed by an unknown citizen at a petrol station. First of all, he reports what the man asked him, and then he comments on what people might think about him. In my opinion, *well* is used to give Mr Darling time to think about what people’s opinion might be on him. He is an important person in politics, it is the time before the elections and therefore correct usage of words, especially when talking to people (“the possible voters”) has to be thought about carefully.

(45) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 715 – 719**

Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist struggling with the rising cost of petrol. *"I was at a filling station recently and a chap said: 'I know it's to do with oil prices - but what are you going to do about it?' People think, **well** surely you can do something, you are responsible - so of course it reflects on me."*

**SUPRISE**

Darling, the chancellor and an old friend of Mr. Brown, is, without any doubt, very surprised by the question of a journalist. Not only does he use the interjection "er" at the beginning of his utterance. It is difficult for him to think about what to say next; therefore he uses *well* again to get some more time to think. Moreover, he uses another pragmatic marker, namely *you know*, to gain even more time for his reply.

(46) **Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 739 – 741**

Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: *"Er, **well. Well**, it's always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."*

## 1.20 YOU KNOW

Pragmatic marker *You know* is the last pragmatic marker to be analysed in this thesis. It occurs only two times in Article N.12 by Nick Watt from the Guardian. Nick Watt is once again the only as well as the most frequent user of the pragmatic marker *you know*.

While dealing with discourse analysis focused on politics for a long time, *you know* is usually among pragmatic markers frequently uttered by politicians. Moreover, it is typical for spoken discourse; therefore one would expect the pragmatic marker to occur more often, as the corpus deals with more than 4000 expressions in direct speech.

Based on the entry in LDCE (2000: 781), *you know* has the following meanings.

1. You use *you know* to emphasize a statement (spoken).
2. You use *you know* when you need to keep someone's attention, but cannot think of what to say next (spoken).
3. You use *you know* when you are explaining or describing something and want to give more information (spoken).

### CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

#### **TIME TO THINK**

Concerning the two examples of *you know* in the corpus, they correspond with the meanings in mentioned above. In (47), Alistair Darling is taken by surprise while being asked why Mr Brown cannot communicate Labour's mission to voters. This is the first and only example in the corpus, where a politician is exposed to immediate response. Moreover, his reaction is noted down and transmitted with all his hesitation and uncertainty to the readers. His reply starts with an interjection "er", followed by the pragmatic marker well (it appears twice in sequence), and finally he uses the pragmatic

marker *you know*, which is afterwards followed by a pause. As it can be seen from the occurrence as well as frequency of different pragmatic markers, Mr Darling does not know how to answer the journalist's question. The pragmatic marker *you know* helps him to gain even more time to think about his reply for the question. In my opinion, he is unsuccessful in doing so as the answer does not really answer what the journalist asked about.

**(47) Nick Watt, App.I, Art.XII, 739 – 741**

Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: *"Er, well. Well, it's always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."*

**EMPHASIS**

In the second example where the pragmatic marker *you know* is used in the corpus, Mr Darling tries to describe why he does not like personal interviews. He connects this fact with the reason why he thinks of himself as not "a great politician". From my point of view, he uses *you know* to emphasize the statement. Possibly, he might draw the attention of the journalists as well.

**(48) Nick Watt, App.I, Art. XII, 742 – 745**

Darling even describes himself as "not a great politician". Saying how he usually avoids personal interviews and photographs, he says maybe *"that's why I'm not a great politician. You know, I'm not very good at looking at pictures and subjecting them to the equivalent of textual analysis"*.

## 1.21 Concluding Remarks

Chapter 7 deals with functions of discourse markers *and*, *because*, *but*, *or*, *so*, *well* and *you know* from the qualitative approach. *And* occurs in direct speech of this thesis as the most frequent discourse marker. It functions mostly as addition, assurance or support (see Figure 3,4). It is followed by *but*, which helps to add information or is used to introduce contrast (see Figure 5). The third discourse marker depending on its occurrence in direct speech is *or* (see Table 9). Discourse markers *because*, *so*, *well* and *you know* are examined in detail as their occurrence in spoken discourse of this thesis is very low.



## **Analysis of Pragmatic Markers in Indirect Speech**

In this part of the thesis, I am going to attempt to examine pragmatic markers typical for indirect speech in the articles (journalist's utterance). Firstly, I would like to pay attention to differences I have detected while analysing the two types of discourse. Secondly, I will focus on pragmatic markers in indirect speech in detail.

Before the analysis of written discourse markers, I had examined the spoken discourse first. Personally, I consider spoken discourse more interesting to examine as spoken language gives evidence about many different aspects of everyday life. When people speak, e.g. on the street, it is easier to elicit from their utterances how old they are, what they possibly do for a living, their place of origin or their immediate mood. On the contrary, when reading a newspaper article, as it is the case of this analysis, to answer the above mentioned questions, I presume, would be highly impossible.

As Chapter 7 dealt with spoken discourse being transmitted as written discourse, I have examined only a limited number of pragmatic markers and their functions typical for this type of discourse. Moreover, the number of pragmatic markers in indirect speech (journalist's utterance) being analysed in this thesis is less frequent than in direct speech.

From my point of view, the occurrence of pragmatic markers in "journalist's utterance" being analysed in the articles of the Guardian and the Independent is not very frequent. On one hand, as I have stressed in Chapter 2, journalists are independent in terms of time and language tools while writing articles. Therefore, they can examine them in detail – they are given power to publish what they find important. Though, I would assume that they will try to show their readers where the discourse is. According to McCarthy (1993:172), this is the key function of discourse markers. He claims that discourse markers

are a “system of management of what is said and written”. To my surprise, such indicators are not present in the chosen corpus.

When one deals with relevant literature focused on spoken discourse markers, there are many linguists who work in the field of pragmatics and discourse analysis, e.g. Schiffrin, Aijmer, Brinton, Urbanová. On the contrary, there are not many linguists who treat written discourse markers with sufficient attention. Firstly, there are several linguists who mention written discourse markers in their works (Aijmer 2004, Biber 1988). However, such attention as Schiffrin (1987) devoted to analyse spoken discourse markers and their functions cannot be found in the field of analysis of written discourse markers. Secondly, as there are different references to written discourse markers – neither a list of written discourse markers, nor a list of their functions can be studied as by Schiffrin. Though, there has been one linguist who dedicates more attention to written discourse markers (or spoken discourse markers in written texts) than any other, namely Michael McCarthy (1993, 2006).

## 1.22 Quantitative Approach

Unlike the quantitative approach applied while analysing discourse markers in direct speech, such an approach focusing on figures cannot be used in here. Even though, the corpus of approximately 23 000 expressions has been examined (see Table 10), very few discourse markers have been selected. Therefore, I have decided to focus on analysing them in their context, rather than applying the quantitative approach as by the analysis of spoken discourse markers.

**Table 10: Total Number of Expressions in Indirect Speech – depending on the newspaper**

Newspaper	<i>The Guardian</i>	<i>The Independent</i>	Total
<i>Indirect Speech</i>	11069	11102	<b>22171</b>

## 1.23 Qualitative Approach

Next, I am going to examine written discourse markers in detail, analysing them in context. As the analysis of written discourse markers will follow, what is the difference between spoken and written discourse markers apart from what discourse they occur in? Firstly, spoken discourse markers are usually short, monosyllabic words like *and*, *but*, *well* or two-word expressions like *you know*, *of course* etc. Secondly, they can appear in any position within a sentence – front, middle or final position. Thirdly, they do not have to be divided within sentences by commas to be detected as discourse markers. Fourthly, spoken discourse markers are used spontaneously while people might be exposed to unexpected questions, unpleasant topics they would like to avoid etc.

Regarding the above mentioned description of spoken discourse markers, let us have a look at written discourse markers instead. While studying the relevant literature, written discourse markers can be described as more syllabic words, e.g. *however*, *firstly*, or they are phrases, e.g. *in summary*, *in conclusion* (McCarthy 2006). They usually appear sentence-initially, and they are possible to detect within discourse by using commas. Last but not least, they are not used spontaneously, though on purpose.

After I have devoted a great amount of time to examination of the articles from the corpus, I decided to analyse the following discourse markers in “journalist’s utterance” concerning the following aspects: they are all divided by commas within their sentence, they are all part of “journalist’s utterance”, and they all appear more than once in the corpus.

1. *However*
2. *Spoken Discourse Markers in Written Text*
3. *But*

### 1.23.1 HOWEVER

As I was examining *but* as a spoken discourse marker, the entry from LDCE (2000:173) describes *but* together with *however*. Moreover, Schiffrin (1987) argues that *but* and *however* are interchangeable, the entry supports Schiffrin's opinion as it says that "however is used especially in more formal writing, often with commas before and after it in the middle of a sentence".

In the articles of the Independent, *however* occurs more frequently than in the articles of the Guardian. Nevertheless, the pragmatic marker occurs only five times in the whole corpus.

#### *The Guardian*

### DISAGREEMENT

In my view, *however* in (49) helps Patrick Wintour to show disagreement connected with the previous statement.

(49) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.IV, 197 – 200**

More than half the properties in the UK are worth between £125,000 and £250,000, falling within the lower stamp duty bracket. Officials believe, **however**, that suspending the duty for up to 12 months is unlikely to reverse the housing slump, and may end up proving more symbolic than galvanising.

### CONTRAST

I suppose that *however* in (50) signifies an upcoming contrast between the information. Patrick Wintour might want to catch reader's attention, while positioning the pragmatic marker into the front position.

(50) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.IV, 460 – 461**

**However**, 55% of voters think the prime minister has handled the economic situation well, against only 39% who say he has performed badly.

## *The Independent*

### **DISAGREEMENT**

The following example (51) describes the same situation as (49). In this case, it is Andrew Grice, who uses *however* to show a disagreement between the two parts of the sentence.

(51) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.IX, 486 – 491**

Lord Mandelson, the Secretary of State for Business, has ordered his officials to review all policies in the pipeline to ease the burden on firms so they are less likely to shed jobs, cut investment or go bust. The plan to extend the right to flexitime from parents of children under six to all those with children up to 16 was trumpeted by Gordon Brown and approved by Labour's annual conference last month. It looks likely, **however**, to be kicked into the long grass.

### **DISAGREEMENT**

Last but not least, *however* in (52) signifies a disagreement between the two pieces of information concerning the discussions on Mr Deripaska's yacht. In my view, Andrew Grice intends to give his readers a clear sign that a disagreement or contrast between the two facts follow.

(52) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.X, 573 – 579**

When contacted at his Manhattan home, the financier confirmed he was present during the encounter on Mr Deripaska's yacht, but declined to comment on the allegations. **However**, a close friend said: "He was party to several conversations that night. He was not taking notes and sometimes there were simultaneous conversations going on but he heard what was being said in the group including Mr Osborne and Mr Deripaska."

### **ADDITION**

Stephen Foyle, on the contrary to Andrew Grice, uses *however* to add more information concerning the financial situation in Wall Street.

(53) **Stephen Foley, App.II, Art.XIV, 809- 810**

There were signs, **however**, that the Fed was considering taking some action to aid markets by loosening conditions for lending money to Wall Street firms.

**1.23.2 Spoken Discourse Markers in Written Text**

While analysing the indirect speech, I have come across two interesting occurrences of discourse markers typical for spoken discourse. Here are the following examples.

***The Independent***

***BUT***

**ADDITION**

In (54), Andrew Grice uses a typical spoken discourse marker in his utterance. I suppose he wants to show to his readers that even more important change in “Britain’s broken society” needs to be done. **But** helps him to add more information to the previous statement made by Mr Cameron.

(54) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.VIII, 431 – 436**

Turning Mr Brown's argument on its head, Mr Cameron said "the risk" was in not making the change needed to rebuild the economy and repair Britain's "broken society". He delighted the Tory faithful by playing traditional tunes about responsibility, a smaller state and marriage. **But**, at the same time he told delegates the causes of crime had to be tackled and prepared them for some tough economic medicine.

*NOW*

**ATTENTION, ADDITION OF INFORMATION**

In my opinion, Michael Savage uses *now* in (55) to draw attention of his readers as well as he might intend to highlight the additional information concerning the tests done by government scientists.

(55) **Michael Savage, App.II, Art.XIII, 731 – 733**

Technology already deployed at Heathrow's new Terminal 5 can automatically detect the presence of liquids in carry-on bags. **Now**, government scientists are running tests to see if the scanners can be adapted to pick out those that are harmful.

*AND*

**EMPHASIS**

I suppose that Stephen Foley uses *and* in (56) to emphasize the consequences of the deal between Wall Street banks concerning the upcoming financial crises.

(56) **Stephen Foley, App.II, Art.XIV, 791 – 797**

Whatever the exact shape of the deal, it was clear that it would have profound – **and** – unpredictable consequences for the world economy. The events represent a crescendo for the year-long credit crisis, which has wiped out half-a-trillion dollars in investments held by Wall Street's biggest firms, forced governments to nationalise once-proud financial institutions and has made it ever harder for ordinary people and businesses to get loans. Failure to end the crisis soon could tip the world into a severe recession, say economists.

**1.23.3 But**

To my surprise, the most frequent conjunction in indirect speech (journalist's utterance) has been *but*. I have mentioned above that *but* is interchangeable with *however*. According to the entry from LDCE, *however* is

used in more formal texts, as newspaper articles, in my view, are. While analysing the indirect speech, I have observed the fact that in many articles by all journalists, new paragraphs begin with *but* at the beginning. This is a contrast to the entry in LDCE (2000) as it mentions that *but* does not usually appear in the front position.

Instead of organising a formal text by using, e.g. *next, firstly, finally, in sum* etc. paragraphs and, moreover, contrasts between different information presented in the articles are connected by using *but*. Though, *but* is used as a conjunction, not a pragmatic marker. (See Table 11, Examples 57, 58).

**Table 11: Total Number of *But* as Conjunction Introducing Paragraphs, Total Number of *But* as Conjunction Introducing Sentences – depending on the newspaper**

Newspaper	BUT - paragraph	BUT - sentence	TOTAL
<i>The Guardian</i>	8	11	<b>19</b>
<i>The Independent</i>	6	12	<b>18</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>37</b>

(57) **Patrick Wintour, App.I, Art.IV, 214 - 216**

*But* political pressure for the government to take dramatic steps will be increased today when a group of prominent Labour MPs, trade union leaders and pressure groups call for a windfall tax on the huge profits of energy companies.

(58) **Andrew Grice, App.II, Art.VII, 379 – 386**

Mr Brown portrayed himself as "the rock of stability and fairness" Britain needed during the financial crisis. "This is no time for a novice," he declared. That was a rebuke for both David Cameron and David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, and the front-runner to succeed Mr Brown if he is forced out. *But* ministers warned that the reaction from the voters will decide whether or not he leads Labour into the next general election. In public, they heaped praise on the speech but privately they made clear that he could still face a cabinet mutiny if his fightback fails to impress the public.



## 1.24 Concluding Remarks

In Chapter 8 I have attempt to analyse discourse markers in indirect speech (journalist's utterance). To my surprise, after analysing nearly 23.000 expressions, only a few discourse markers have been detected – namely *however, and, but* and *now*. In conclusion, a low occurrence of discourse markers in indirect speech signifies that journalists do not intent to show their readers how the discourse develops. They simply state facts, use direct speech mostly at the end of their articles, introducing the most important information in the first three paragraphs. Surprisingly, a lot of paragraphs, where contrast between information given, start with the conjunction but. As no comma precedes or follows, such a conjunction *but* cannot be analysed as a pragmatic marker.

## Conclusions

The aim of this thesis is to analyse discourse markers in newspaper articles. For the analysis, 30 articles were chosen – 15 articles from The Guardian and 15 articles from The Independent. Direct as well as indirect speech has been examined.

Concerning the articles, they share the following unifying features. Firstly, they were published in the British newspapers. Secondly, they were written by male journalists. Thirdly, they were published between July and October 2008. Fourthly, they share a common topic – namely politics. Last but not least, they were published on the front page. The last unifying feature has played a vital role while collecting the articles. Nowadays, front pages of the above mentioned newspapers present pictures, graphs, “catchy” headlines to attract their readers’ attention. Surprisingly, articles devoted to politics are among the last ones which can be found in a complete, unshortened version. To choose suitable data for the analysis, however, was not an easy task.

Before the analysis itself, I have paid attention to the relevant terminology connected with discourse as well as with corpus description. As there was a little to be found about the background of the journalists, more attention was devoted to the description of the newspapers, e.g. their political views and attitudes. Next, the term “pragmatic marker” has been looked at from different linguistic views. Furthermore, the goals of this thesis were described more precisely.

In Chapter 6 discourse markers typical for spoken discourse have been analysed. For this analysis, six discourse markers have been chosen – namely *and*, *because*, *but*, *or*, *so*, *well* and *you know*. There were two conditions I wanted them to fulfil. Firstly, the chosen discourse marker has to be treated as a discourse marker not only by Schiffrin, but also by Aijmer and Brinton. Secondly, the discourse marker occurs at least two times in the corpus.

At first, discourse markers have been analysed while applying the quantitative approach. The total number of markers in direct speech has been counted (see Figure 1), as there appear 91 discourse markers being analysed in spoken discourse. Occurrence of all discourse markers depending on individual journalists has been examined in each article. Concerning Table 3, *the most frequent user of discourse markers*, depending on their occurrence in individual articles, *has been Nick Watt from the Guardian* (Article N.12); the second comes Andrew Grice from the Independent (Article N. 10). Alan Travis is the third most frequent user of discourse markers (The Guardian – Article N.11) Table 12 shows the total number of discourse markers in direct speech used by different journalists.

**Table 12: Occurrence of Individual Discourse Markers in Direct Speech – depending on the journalist**

	And	Because	But	Or	So	Well	You know	Total
<b>The Guardian</b>								
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	15	-	6	6	-	-	-	<b>27</b>
<i>Alan Travis</i>	3	-	1	3	-	-	-	<b>7</b>
<i>Nick Watt</i>	7	2	3	1	2	3	2	<b>20</b>
<b>The Independent</b>								
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	18	1	12	2	-	-	-	<b>33</b>
<i>Michael Savage</i>	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	<b>3</b>
<i>Stephen Foley</i>	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>91</b>

As it can be seen from the table above, the highest occurrence of discourse markers have been detected in the articles of Andrew Grice from the Independent. He is followed by Patrick Wintour from the Guardian. Though, this result is influenced by the fact that the number of analysed articles by these two journalists was the highest. Ten articles by Patrick Wintour and ten articles by Andrew Grice were included into the study.

**Table 13: Total Number of Discourse Markers and Frequency in Direct Speech – depending on the total number of expressions in direct speech in the articles by Patrick Wintour and Andrew Grice**

Journalist	Newspaper	Total number/DS	Discourse Markers	Frequency
<i>Patrick Wintour</i>	The Guardian	1257	27	47
<i>Andrew Grice</i>	The Independent	2063	33	63

Even though, discourse markers occur in the articles of Andrew Grice more often, the more frequent user of pragmatic marker is Patrick Wintour (see Table 13). Every 47<sup>th</sup> expression in direct speech in his articles is a discourse marker. On the contrary, in direct speech of Andrew Grice, a discourse marker appears only as every 63<sup>rd</sup> expression.

Taking into consideration the number of discourse markers in the newspapers, *the journalists from the Guardian are more frequent users of discourse markers* than their colleagues from the Independent. In my opinion, occurrence as well as frequency of discourse markers in direct and indirect speech does not depend on the type of newspaper, but on individual journalists and the purpose of their articles.

**Table 14a: Total Number of Individual Discourse Markers and Frequency – depending on the newspaper**

Newspaper	And	Because	But	Or	So	Well	You know
<i>The Guardian</i>	25	2	10	10	2	3	2
<i>The Independent</i>	20	1	14	2	0	0	0
<b>Frequency</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>2345</b>	<b>1563</b>	<b>2345</b>

Regarding the frequency of the analysed discourse markers in direct speech (see Table 14), *and is the most frequent discourse marker in the corpus*. Mostly, it is used to add information, to assure, to support or to connect events. The second most frequent discourse marker is *but*. In the corpus, the

functions were as following – addition, contrast, change of subject etc. Or is the next discourse marker to follow – it functions as contrast, addition and warning. Discourse markers *because*, *so*, *well* and *you know* have been analysed in detail, as their frequency in direct speech was very low. Their functions were as following – because (time to think, motive for an action, result), so (result, time to think), well (time to think, surprise) and you know (time to think, emphasis).

While analysing discourse markers in direct speech, I have experienced several obstacles that made the analysis complicated. Firstly, the journalists paid insufficient attention to punctuation. During the thesis, I have pointed out that, e.g. one statement was noted differently by two different journalists. Secondly, the frequency of the discourse markers being detected in direct speech was not very high. Here, it can be stated that spoken discourse (utterances of the interviewees) is modified by journalists. As I have stated in the previous chapters, journalists have the power – they control what will be published, what language tools is suitable to use etc. Therefore, discourse markers used in spoken discourse occur on purpose. This is showed in the article by Nick Watt (The Guardian – Article N.12), where he uses a variety of discourse markers (well, so, you know) to ridicule the interviewee. His intention is to show his readers the inability of the speaker to reply immediately. This conclusion shows that occurrence of discourse markers depends on journalists – when they decide to omit them, readers have to power to influence the flow of a discourse. Regarding this fact, I have not analysed discourse markers according to their position in the sentence. In my view, one can never be sure whether the word order is the word order used by interviewees or not. Last but not least, it is not easy to analyse a discourse, where some parts are missing. Therefore, analysing functions of discourse markers is not always clear and easy.

On the contrary, Chapter 8 focuses on the analysis of typical written discourse markers. As there were not many spoken discourse markers to be analysed in the thesis, the occurrence of typical written discourse is even more limited. Surprisingly, journalists do not use discourse markers to show their readers how the discourse develops. Mostly, they just state facts – the most important information is presented in the first paragraph, direct speech can be found usually at the second half of the articles. This leads to the fact that the articles are not always coherent as readers are not shown where the discourse is.

In indirect speech (journalist's utterance), I have analysed only the discourse marker *however* in detail as it appears five times in the corpus. Additionally, typical spoken discourse markers have been analysed. Last but not least, I have paid attention to the conjunction *but*, which is used frequently to introduce contrast at the beginning of paragraphs. As it is not preceded or followed by comma, it cannot be analysed as a discourse marker. I suppose that discourse markers in indirect speech are used rather exceptionally. Moreover, it depends on individual journalists, as each individual has its own style.

In conclusion, discourse markers could not be analysed in detail in this thesis, as discourse studies many different aspects of language. Moreover, such analysis would be out of scope of this thesis. From my point of view, the limited number of discourse markers detected in the corpus can be explained as following – firstly, all articles appeared on the front page. Secondly, the common topic is politics. Thirdly, the articles are not of a great length. In my view, it would be interesting to apply Fairclough's critical discourse analysis here to study social and political dominance present in the articles, as it might help to answer the questions I have raised in Chapter 3 concerning discourse markers in indirect speech – their functions and occurrence.

## **Resumé**

Cílem diplomové práce bylo analyzovat pragmatické markery v přímé a nepřímé řeči novinových článků. Pro tuto práci bylo vybráno 30 článků – 15 článků z The Guardian a 15 článků z The Independent. Jelikož při zadávání tématu byla stanovena podmínka, že analyzovaná data musí být otištěna na

přední straně obou zmíněných britských novin, nebyla volba nikterak jednoduchá. V současné době plní titulní stránky spíše „přitažlivé“ nadpisy, fotografie s nejrůznější tematikou, a tak nalézt vhodné články pro analýzu, které by nesly společné rysy, vyžadovalo několika měsíční úsilí. Nakonec byly vybrány články, které nesou následující společné rysy - byly napsány žurnalisty britského původu, publikovány na titulní straně v časovém rozmezí od července do října 2008. Dalším společným rysem je téma všech článků, čímž je politika. Tento fakt hrál při výběru klíčovou roli, jelikož články týkající se tohoto tématu jsou jedny z mála, jejichž rozsah není většinou zkrácen. Na druhé straně, hlavním rozlišujícím faktorem je rozdílný počet slov každého článku jak v přímé, tak nepřímé řeči.

Nejprve byly zkoumány pragmatické markery vyskytující se v přímé řeči. Dle rozboru jednotlivých článků byl nejvyšší počet pragmatických markerů analyzován ve člancích Andrew Grice (The Independent). Avšak nejčastějším uživatelem pragmatických markerů je Nick Watt (The Guardian – článek 12), následuje Andrew Grice (The Independent – článek 10). Alan Travis obsadil třetí místo (The Guardian – článek 11). Pokud porovnáme oba dva britské deníky, ve člancích The Guardian bylo v přímé řeči analyzováno více pragmatických markerů než ve člancích The Independent. Žurnalisté The Guardian byli tak častějšími uživateli markerů. Výskyt pragmatických markerů není, jak bylo zjištěno, spojen s tím, kde je článek otištěn, nýbrž je to věc individuální. Můžeme tak tvrdit, že každý žurnalista má svůj osobitý styl, výskyt a funkce markerů se v každém článku liší.

Při rozboru byly analyzovány promluvy mluvčích k danému tématu, tedy politice. Během analýzy bylo nutné překonat několik překážek. Jak již bylo řečeno v úvodu, žurnalisté ovlivňují to, jak bude celý článek vypadat – od výběru mluvčích, interpretace promluvy, vypuštění částí, které neshledávají důležité, interpretace faktu atd. Pro rozbor v této práci bylo náročné spolehnout se na interpunkci či to, kde je pragmatický marker umístěn v rámci promluvy.



Z tohoto důvodu nebyl analyzován význam na základě výskytu markerů v návaznosti na jejich umístění, jelikož nebylo možné ověřit, zda pořadí odpovídá skutečnosti, nebo zdali nebylo účelově zvoleno žurnalistou. V průběhu analýzy bylo demonstrováno, že čtenáři jsou v plném rozsahu závislí na žurnalistech a jejich interpretaci. Dalším problémem byl fakt, že promluvy mluvčích jsou zaznamenány jen z části. Nebylo tedy vždy jasné, jakou funkci pragmatický marker plní.

Analýze pragmatických markerů v přímé řeči byla věnována značná část práce. Pozornost byla věnována následujícím pragmatickým markerům typickým pro mluvený diskurs: *and, because, but, or, so, well a you know*. Důležitým faktorem pro výběr markerů byla jejich frekvence v rámci korpusu – analyzovány byly všechny markery, které se alespoň dvakrát objevily v přímé řeči. Druhá podmínka se týkala jejich uznání mezi lingvisty – pokud byl marker označen jako „pragmatický marker“ nejen Schiffirin, ale také Brinton a Aijmer, byl analyzován.

Nejdříve byl zaznamenán výskyt a frekvence, dále byly markery analyzovány pomocí kvalitativní metody. Většina pragmatických markerů byla analyzována detailně např. *so, well a you know* – jedním z důvodů byla i jejich nízká frekvence. V tabulce 14b je znázorněna frekvence všech pragmatických markerů v přímé řeči ve všech článcích.

**Tabulka 14b: Celkový počet a frekvence všech pragmatických markerů ve všech článcích v přímé řeči v závislosti na typu novin**

Noviny	And	Because	But	Or	So	Well	You know
<i>The Guardian</i>	25	2	10	10	2	3	2
<i>The Independent</i>	20	1	14	2	0	0	0
<b>Frekvence</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>2345</b>	<b>1563</b>	<b>2345</b>

Výsledky v tabulce ukazují nízkou frekvenci markerů použitých v mluveném diskursu. Z tohoto důvodu můžeme usuzovat, že články a především přímá řeč mluvčích je z velké části upravována žurnalisty. Pokud už jsou pragmatické markery použity, mají následující funkce – nejfrekventovanějším marker je *and*. Jeho nejčastější funkcí je doplňování informací a ujišťování posluchačů o pravdě mluvčího. *Because* může být řazen mezi málo používané markery. Je s ním uváděn důsledek konání, či může být použit, aby mluvčí získal čas na rozmyšlenou. Dalším markerem je *but* – vyskytuje se jako druhý nejvíce používaný, mluvčí s jeho pomocí doplňují informace a uvádí kontrast. Třetím nejvíce používaným markerem je *or* – lze ho najít tam, kde je představen kontrast, užívám je také při doplňování informací a dále jako varování. Pragmatické markery *so*, *well* a *you know* byly analyzovány detailně v návaznosti na jejich již zmíněnou nízkou frekvenci. Všechny společně můžeme analyzovat v promluvách mluvčích, kteří váhají s odpovědí a potřebují čas na rozmyšlenou.

Co se týče analýzy pragmatických markerů v nepřímé řeči, jejich výskyt je ještě nižší než v případě přímé řeči. Překvapivě, žurnalisté nemají potřebu používat pragmatické markery, aby naznačili svým čtenářům, kde se právě diskurs nachází. Ti pouze konstatují fakta – všechny důležité informace shrnout do prvního odstavce, přímou řeč je možné nalézt až v druhé polovině článků. Následně tak může dojít k tomu, že články jsou pro čtenáře nelogické.

Při analýze nepřímé řeči jsem analyzovala pouze pragmatický marker *however*, který se v korpusu objevil pětkrát. Dodatečně byly analyzovány pragmatické markery typické pro mluvený diskurs. V neposlední řadě je pozornost věnována spojce *but*, která je často užitá na začátku odstavce, kde plní funkci ukazatele kontrastu. Jelikož ale není uvozena čárkami, není možné ji považovat za pragmatický marker. Výskyt pragmatických markerů v nepřímé řeči (promluvě žurnalisty) je tak výjimečný, stejně jako v přímé řeči závisí na samotném žurnalistovi.

Jelikož diskurs analyzuje nejrůznější aspekty jazyka, nebylo možné analyzovat všechny pragmatické markery detailně – taková analýza by byla mimo rozsah této práce. Dle mého názoru je možné tvrdit, že nízká frekvence pragmatických markerů v obou typech diskurzu může být vysvětlena takto. Nejprve, všechny články byly vytištěny na přední straně, jejich společným a zároveň limitujícím tématem je politika. V neposlední řadě, články mají různou délku – většinou se jedná o kratší rozsah. Domnívám se, že by bylo zajímavé aplikovat metodu „kritické diskursní analýzy“ lingvisty Fairclougha týkající se sociální a politické dominance přítomné ve zkoumaných člancích, která by mohla pomoci zodpovědět mnou položené otázky v kapitole 3 odkazující si pragmatické markery v nepřímé řeči – konkrétně jejich funkce a výskyt.

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## **Appendix**

In the thesis, 30 articles have been examined. In Appendix I, 15 articles from The Guardian are presented. Appendix II includes 15 articles from The Independent. The full text of all articles is presented here as they were published in the above mentioned newspapers on the front page.

All articles share the following unifying features. Firstly, they were published on the front page of the British newspapers. Secondly, they were written by male journalists. Thirdly, they were published between July and October 2008. Last but not least, their unifying topic is politics.

The articles are as followed:

Appendix I (Article I – Article XV)

Appendix II (Article I – Article XV)



## *Appendix I*

### **THE GUARDIAN**

#### *Article I*

#### **Unions hit Brown with 130 demands**

##### **Coordinated move by general secretaries to increase pressure on PM**

**By Patrick Wintour ( 18th July 2008)**

1 The full scale of the trade unions' call for a change of political course by the Brown  
2 government can be disclosed today, as general secretaries meet senior ministers and  
3 Downing Street officials to discuss 130 demands they have tabled.

4 The complete list, obtained by the Guardian, includes a right to take supportive strike  
5 action, scrapping NHS prescription charges, bringing all hospital cleaning back in-  
6 house, and a new agreement on public sector pay with the Treasury.

7 The 130 union amendments, graded core, primary and secondary, are to be put to the  
8 Labour national policy forum next week. In a sign of the degree of union  
9 coordination, the amendments are coded, with names of proposed movers and  
10 seconders listed. Many have already been discussed with ministers.

11 The forum, due to start next Thursday, the day after the Glasgow East byelection, is  
12 the climax of nearly four years of policy preparation, and will form the basis of  
13 Labour's general election platform.

14 The unions' general secretaries are set to discuss their list with a group of ministers  
15 today, including Ed Miliband, the Cabinet Office minister responsible for the Labour  
16 manifesto, and the employment minister, Pat McFadden, who is also the policy  
17 forum's chairman.

18 Brown has already angered the unions by characterising some of their proposals as a  
19 return to the 1970s.

20 Although the unions have less than a quarter of the votes at the roughly 190-strong  
21 policy forum, they vote as a bloc and are working to build alliances. They also have  
22 renewed sway since the party's parlous finances left Labour heavily dependent on  
23 union funding.

24 Nearly 200 constituency parties have submitted 4,000 amendments, about half them  
25 motions submitted by leftwing pressure groups such as the Campaign for Labour  
26 Party Democracy, which wants withdrawal from Iraq, a new council house building  
27 programme, and a 50p income tax rate on those earning more than £100,000.

28 The amendments have been whittled down to 2,200, and may have fallen to around  
29 500 by the time the policy forum meets. But it still represents an administrative  
30 nightmare for party officials.

31 Insiders expect the unions to push around 50 or so amendments. They need only a  
32 quarter of votes to ensure their position is put to the party conference.

33 The union proposals include extending the adult minimum wage to 18- to 21-year-  
34 olds and apprentices, and legal changes that would to allow councils to negotiate  
35 procurement contracts that include fair employment clauses.

36 On education, they want staff in city academies to be paid at the same rates as other  
37 school staff, the right to five days a year paid educational leave for all workers, free  
38 school meals for all children in primary schools, and mandatory time off to retrain.  
39 They also want all firms bidding to run public services to be required to give  
40 guaranteed apprenticeship numbers.

41 On the environment, the unions want to extend the "not-for-profit model" to  
42 passenger train operators as franchises expire, new union environmental reps with  
43 similar rights to safety reps, and to break up the dominance of the six major energy  
44 companies. They also want to place a duty on individual company directors to "take  
45 all reasonable steps to ensure health and safety".

46 On union rights, they want the right to strike, internet balloting, tax deductions for  
47 union membership subscriptions, and an extension of the Gangmasters Licensing  
48 Authority to construction.

49 On equality, the unions propose extending a duty to promote equality to the  
50 voluntary and private sectors, reducing the lower earnings threshold to £30 a week to  
51 allow low-paid workers access to sick pay, a tightening of the equal pay laws, and a  
52 new right for unions to collectively bargain on equality issues. On parental leave,  
53 they want an extension of the child's age limit from six to 16.

## Article II

### Senior ministers urged: tell battered PM it's time to go

- Cabinet members talk of 'orderly resignation'
- Call for Straw and Hoon to act after Glasgow loss
- Cameron calls for general election now

**By Patrick Wintour (26th July 2008)**

54 Discussions are underway at cabinet level on whether to seek an orderly resignation  
55 by Gordon Brown as prime minister, in the wake of the disastrous Labour defeat at  
56 the hands of a resurgent SNP in the Glasgow East byelection.

57 Talks between cabinet ministers took place on the phone yesterday to coordinate a  
58 response to the defeat, with renewed pressure being placed on the chief whip, Geoff  
59 Hoon, and the justice secretary, Jack Straw, to urge Brown to stand aside. One source  
60 said: "The onus is now on Brown to prove that he should stay."

61 Insiders suggest Brown has until the autumn to prove to a sceptical party he has a  
62 strategy to fight the next election that will not leave Labour out of power for a  
63 generation. But concerns are expressed at senior cabinet level at failings of the  
64 Downing St machine, possible divisions within No 10, and an anxiety the party has  
65 been neglected, with some calling for a full-time chairman to restore morale.

66 Labour's defeat in Glasgow was Brown's third byelection loss in nine weeks, but by  
67 far the most humiliating. The SNP overturned a 13,500 Labour majority to clinch the  
68 seat by 365 votes, a 22% swing that if replicated at a general election would see only  
69 20 Labour MPs survive.

70 It is understood Straw is deeply concerned by the defeat in Glasgow, nominally  
71 Labour's 25th safest seat and its third strongest in Scotland. The justice secretary,  
72 next ranking figure in the cabinet, is not thought to favour a rapid dethronement,  
73 since it is possible a party leadership election could leave Labour weakened further,  
74 and require the party to stage a general election next year it cannot financially afford.  
75 But friends say his primary concern is the welfare of the party, the implication being  
76 he might not support Brown indefinitely. Some Blairite MPs spoke of a move against  
77 Brown in the autumn, after a period of reflection, but hope the move will come from  
78 the cabinet.

79 A low-key Brown told the national policy forum meeting in Warwick he was fully  
80 focused on the job, urging the party to "have confidence" in policies which he said  
81 would "persuade" voters to back the party at the next general election. He won the  
82 support of his most likely successor, David Miliband, who called on the party to pull  
83 together a clear route map to deal with the issues that concern voters - jobs, housing  
84 and antisocial behaviour.

85 But in a sign of a discipline breakdown, and a weakening of Brown's authority, Paul  
86 Kenny, the GMB leader, called for Labour MPs to stage a confidence ballot in the  
87 autumn to clear the air. Kenny told MPs: "It is put up or shut up time. They either  
88 support Gordon Brown through to the next election, or they actually get rid of him.  
89 That is the reality of life. The MPs have got to make a strong decision as to whether  
90 they want to go into an election with Gordon Brown or have a [leadership] contest.  
91 Labour must change or we are finished."

92 The call provoked an angry response from John Hutton, the business secretary,  
93 asking: "Who are the unions to say this today?"

94 The union leaders also stepped up the pressure on Brown at the forum to press for a  
95 big shift in the government agenda on tax rises, windfall taxes on energy company  
96 profits, and a rolling back of the free market in public services.

97 Ministerial sources claimed they had thought earlier in the week a concordat with the  
98 unions had been reached on public services, but overnight, in the wake of the  
99 Glasgow defeat, agreements were taken off the table.

100 With MPs now dispersed for the long summer recess and no single challenger for the  
101 Labour crown, Brown has temporary breathing space. In his sombre speech, he  
102 sought to lift the battered morale of his party by holding out the threat of a Tory  
103 victory in 24 months that would see tax cuts worth £12bn paid for by closing Sure  
104 Start centres and ending the school building programme.

105 He urged his party to "have confidence that not only do we have the right policies,  
106 but that when the time comes we will be able to persuade the British people".

107 The Conservative leader, David Cameron, urged Brown to call a general election. "I  
108 think we need change in this country, and that's how change should come about," he  
109 said.

110 Universities secretary John Denham said that changing leader would not solve the  
111 concerns that led voters to turn against Labour. "What I think would not help us at  
112 the moment is to have that sort of debate. I don't think chopping and changing  
113 leaders addresses those concerns. I think it is a bit of illusion."

### Article III

#### **Miliband accused of disloyalty to Brown**

**By Patrick Wintour (31st July 2008)**

114 Gordon Brown's allies yesterday accused David Miliband of self-serving disloyalty  
115 and weakening the prime minister's authority after the foreign secretary provoked a  
116 firestorm of speculation over his leadership ambitions with an article in the Guardian  
117 calling on Labour to find a new forward vision to defeat the Tories.

118 No 10 aides said they had to take at face value Miliband's protestations to Downing  
119 Street that his intervention was not personal positioning, but was instead an effort to  
120 persuade people that Labour can still offer "continued big change in this country".

121 But Brown, on holiday in Suffolk, had not been given prior warning of Miliband's  
122 piece, and some of his closest allies at Westminster accused the foreign secretary of  
123 immaturity and even treachery. George Mudie, the former minister and close Brown  
124 ally, insisted: "He's testing the waters, he's flying a lovely kite."

125 At a press conference in London yesterday with the Italian foreign secretary Franco  
126 Frattini, Miliband was inundated with questions demanding whether he would rule  
127 himself out of standing for the party leadership. He repeatedly sidestepped the  
128 question, saying he was not interested in debating personalities, and arguing the only  
129 campaign in which he was interested was for a successful Labour government. He  
130 declined to say that Brown was the only person who could lead the government  
131 through the current economic turbulence.

132 He asked rhetorically: "Can Gordon lead us into the next election and win? Yes,  
133 absolutely. We have got a leader, we have got a good leader, we have got a leader  
134 who has good values and I think he can lead a very strong team."

135 Asked directly to rule himself out for the leadership Miliband said: "It is a never  
136 ending game," adding: "I went through this for two or three years before last year's  
137 election and none of you believed a word I said then, and actually it turned out to be  
138 true."

139 No 10 said it had been given assurances by Miliband that he would dampen down the  
140 leadership speculation at the press conference, but some Brownite MPs angrily  
141 complained the foreign secretary had failed to go far enough to give Brown's  
142 leadership unconditional backing. One Brown ally refused to accept that Miliband's  
143 article had been over-interpreted, saying: "This is about personal ambition."

144 Meanwhile, Denis MacShane, a former Foreign Office minister, denounced the  
145 briefings against Miliband as "reminiscent of the worst kind of student politics".

146 Miliband says he wrote the article that appeared in the Guardian after he became  
147 frustrated by the mood of fatalism gripping the party. But its timing also served the  
148 purpose of reminding the party he has a direct style and analysis that might revive  
149 Labour's fortunes if Brown stood down under pressure this autumn.

150 Miliband wrote: "The question is our competition with the Tories and not the  
151 competition amongst ourselves. I believe the challenge in my article today is a  
152 challenge to David Cameron rather than Gordon Brown." He said: "We have to blast  
153 through the media's permanent obsession with personality cult and actually say there  
154 are people that don't want the emptiness of the Tories and do want a real Labour  
155 offer of continued big change in this country."

156 In an implicit criticism of Labour's current lack of narrative Miliband argued:  
157 "Getting on with the job is a starting point, defending the record is an important part  
158 of it, but establishing a clear vision of the future is essential. We are a party that has  
159 not run out of steam. We are not legislating for a cone hotline like John Major's was  
160 in its dog days. We are a government that is daily addressing controversial issues".

161 Miliband has been stung by accusations that he lacked the political courage to stand  
162 against Brown last year, and his allies insist he was sending a clear signal that if  
163 Brown did quit No 10, he was determined this time to offer his services. He will not  
164 directly challenge Brown for the leadership, and cannot know if Brown can recover  
165 his political poise in the coming months.

166 Brown now faces a dilemma as he plans his autumn reshuffle, including whether to  
167 bring in some of his old critics on the backbenches such as Alan Milburn.

168 There are also calls to shift Alistair Darling from the Treasury and replace him with  
169 Miliband, but this week's episode may make such a move less likely. It is expected  
170 that Brown wants to bring his close ally Lady Vadera closer to him by giving her a  
171 job in the Cabinet Office, but others are urging him to widen his circle.

## **Article IV**

### **Brown may gamble on stamp duty**

#### **Ministers consider move to kick start house sales and relaunch premiership**

**By Patrick Wintour (6th August 2008)**

172 Stamp duty on properties worth up to £250,000 could be suspended as part of an aid  
173 package for the housing market that will be central to Gordon Brown's attempt to  
174 relaunch his premiership this autumn.

175 Ministerial sources said the chief aim of any "payment holiday" would be to show  
176 the government was on the side of home buyers at a time when property values have  
177 slumped and sales stagnated.

178 Ministers are also looking at a range of other measures to kickstart the housing  
179 market which will be announced in a forthcoming green paper, the Guardian has  
180 learned. They include:

181 • Encouraging local councils to offer mortgages.

182 • Allowing housing corporations to buy more unsold private properties, which could  
183 then be rented out affordably.

184 • Letting council tenants use their discount under the right-to-buy' scheme as a  
185 deposit on a private sector home.

186 • Cutting stamp duty to help institutional investors in the private rented sector.

187 The housing minister, Caroline Flint, has also signalled she is willing to take a  
188 "totally pragmatic" view on whether councils should be allowed to build homes and  
189 keep the rental revenue.

190 Ministers had been hoping to build as many as 240,000 properties this year, but now  
191 expect the figure to be closer to 100,000. The number of mortgages offered has  
192 halved this year and house prices have fallen to 2006 levels.

193 It is the proposal to suspend or defer stamp duty that may prove to be the biggest  
194 political gamble. Confirming that he was looking at the move, the chancellor, Alistair  
195 Darling, admitted yesterday that the slowdown "will be more prolonged than we  
196 thought a year ago. It is important to be straight with people."

197 More than half the properties in the UK are worth between £125,000 and £250,000,  
198 falling within the lower stamp duty bracket. Officials believe, however, that  
199 suspending the duty for up to 12 months is unlikely to reverse the housing slump,  
200 and may end up proving more symbolic than galvanising.

201 A similar move by John Major in the early 1990s did not have an impact, and did not  
202 halt falling property prices.

203 Recent buyers could feel alienated by any decision that has come too late for them,  
204 while prospective buyers and sellers may now wait for clarity from ministers before  
205 committing themselves.

206 A spokesman for the Council of Mortgage Lenders said: "Stamp duty acts as a  
207 material disincentive to moving and reforms would help first-time buyers ... [But]  
208 removing stamp duty only addresses buyer confidence, not the wider problems in the  
209 financial markets."

210 In an indication of tension between the Treasury and No 10, Darling is alarmed that  
211 expectations are being raised by talk, largely from Downing Street, that the  
212 government is preparing to publish an "economic rescue plan" in September. Darling  
213 is insisting there will be no formal plan.

214 But political pressure for the government to take dramatic steps will be increased  
215 today when a group of prominent Labour MPs, trade union leaders and pressure  
216 groups call for a windfall tax on the huge profits of energy companies.

217 In a letter to the Guardian, they say: "The government estimates that 2.5 million  
218 families are living in fuel poverty. Yet despite the billions in profits, the energy  
219 industry spends just £50m a year combating fuel poverty, and has only agreed to  
220 raise this to £150m by 2010."

221 The letter, presaging a battle at the Labour party conference next month, has been  
222 organised by Compass and signed by, among others, Dave Prentis, general secretary  
223 of Unison, Roy Hattersley, the Labour peer Helena Kennedy, and the Unite joint  
224 general secretary, Tony Woodley.

225 Darling, speaking on the BBC yesterday, voiced his opposition to the move, saying  
226 there were problems of principle and practicality about introducing a windfall tax.



## Article V

### **Recession alert piles misery on Brown**

#### **Stamp duty move undermined by OECD warning over weak economy**

**By Patrick Wintour and Ashley Seager (3rd September 2008)**

227 Gordon Brown's drive to save the housing market from collapse was undermined  
228 yesterday when the gamble to axe stamp duty for almost half of all property sales  
229 was quickly followed by dire predictions that the UK would be the only major  
230 economy to slip into recession this year.

231 The prime minister's economic fight-back plan, the start of a month-long battle to  
232 save his premiership, began with the surprise announcement of a year-long stamp  
233 duty holiday on any house sale under £175,000, starting today. But the scheme -  
234 which the Treasury claimed will cost an estimated £600m - was dismissed as a  
235 sticking plaster by the housing industry.

236 Within hours, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development  
237 (OECD) predicted recession for Britain, while the other G7 countries will all see  
238 modest growth or a standstill.

239 The British economy will contract in this quarter and the next, it said, striking at  
240 Brown's repeated claim that Britain is well placed to withstand the world downturn,  
241 described by the chancellor, Alistair Darling, yesterday as one of the worst since the  
242 1930s.

243 In the gloomiest official forecast so far, the OECD said the UK economy will shrink  
244 0.3% in the third quarter, and 0.4% in the fourth. It believes the UK economy will  
245 grow by 1.2% for the whole of 2008, well down on the 1.8% forecast in June.

246 Darling insisted that he remained optimistic, but continued to echo his assessment,  
247 given in a Guardian interview at the weekend, that Britain faced "arguably the worst"  
248 economic conditions in 60 years. "We are facing difficult times - we are in a situation  
249 where you are facing the combination of the credit crunch with high oil and food  
250 prices and ... this is unique, the IMF has said we haven't seen this since the 1930s,"  
251 he said.

252 Darling announced the stamp duty holiday yesterday morning as part of a housing  
253 package designed to help 10,000 first-time buyers, prevent 16,000 repossessions of  
254 the homes of mortgage defaulters, and keep the house-building industry afloat by  
255 accelerating the construction of an extra 5,000 social homes over the next 18 months.

256 The holiday lifts the threshold at which a 1% stamp duty is imposed, from £125,000  
257 to £175,000. The Treasury said it would cost £600m, but the Royal Institution of  
258 Chartered Surveyors (Rics) said this presumed an unrealistic 340,000 sales over the  
259 next year in the £125,000 to £175,000 band. Rics, and separately the Conservatives,

260 predicted - based on figures from the Council of Mortgage Lenders - that there might  
261 only be 50,000 transactions, putting the cost closer to £170m.

262 "The government appears to have seriously over-estimated the number of  
263 transactions that will take place in the band," a Rics spokesman said. Neither No 10  
264 nor the Treasury was able to say yesterday how many extra transactions would be  
265 triggered, or whether the cost would be met by extra taxes, cuts in other programmes,  
266 or extra public borrowing.

267 The shadow chancellor, George Osborne, said: "This is a short-term survival plan for  
268 the prime minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy. They've had  
269 months to prepare, and on the day it's launched, they can't even tell us how much it  
270 costs, or where the money's coming from. Most families will not be helped and the  
271 micro measures announced are overshadowed by today's gloomy news that the  
272 OECD is predicting a recession in Britain in the second half of this year - the only  
273 country that it makes that prediction about."

274 Darling had planned to announce the axing of stamp duty as part of the pre-budget  
275 report in October, but brought the announcement forward yesterday in the face of  
276 estate agents' warnings that the government had already blighted the current property  
277 market with hints of a stamp duty holiday.

278 Darling admitted in the Guardian at the weekend that he had been irritated by the  
279 briefings about his plans, insisting they had not come from the Treasury.

280 He supported the principle of the holiday, but No 10, under intense political pressure,  
281 wanted the announcement as quickly as possible, and details were leaked to the Sun.

282 Brown yesterday said: "Home-owners need to know that we will do everything we  
283 can to keep the housing market moving forward." Measures to help with spiralling  
284 energy bills are due next week.

285 The remaining £1bn cost of the housing package announced yesterday, including an  
286 extra £400m to prevent repossessions, will be funded by bringing forward spending  
287 already allocated to the Department of Communities and Local Government for next  
288 year and 2010.

289 The package was broadly welcomed by the housing industry, but some Labour MPs  
290 insisted it would continue to slide without reassurance for lenders. They want some  
291 government-initiated form of reinsurance to protect lenders against people defaulting  
292 on loans. No 10 said a report on the mortgage market, commissioned from the banker  
293 Sir James Crosby, will be completed this month.

294 With a 71% fall in mortgage approvals in the last year, Downing Street did not  
295 pretend the measures would revive the market, or prevent a further fall in prices, but  
296 said that the government was acting to protect people suffering from the downturn.

297 Economist David Page, of Investec, predicted that any savings for home-buyers  
298 would be wiped out in less than a month by falling property values

## Article VI

### **Ministers fuel talk of anti-Brown challenge**

**By Patrick Wintour (15th September 2008)**

299 Gordon Brown's hopes of staving off a leadership challenge were under renewed  
300 pressure last night after ministers refused to criticise the Labour MPs who have  
301 called for a proper contest.

302 The business secretary, John Hutton, said he would not dismiss the concerns of those  
303 rebels who have written to their party asking for a contest to be triggered. He said:  
304 "I'm not going to criticise any of my colleagues who want Labour to do better, and  
305 neither am I going to criticise those who say, for example, that we do need to set out  
306 a stronger vision of what we are doing.

307 "It is a difficult political climate for us. There is no question at all about that," he  
308 went on. "So I think my colleagues are right to say that the government need to do  
309 better. For heaven's sake, we are 20 percentage points behind in the opinion polls.

310 The chief whip, Geoff Hoon, ruled out a contest, but appeared to put a time limit on  
311 the process. He said: "I simply don't think at this stage it's appropriate. I think it's a  
312 distraction."

313 Former ministers are also agitating for a cabinet heavyweight to break ranks. One  
314 told the Guardian that the weekend call by Labour MPs for a move against Brown is  
315 likely to hasten the prime minister's downfall.

316 The minister said that the attempt to oust the PM was a signal by backbench MPs for  
317 senior colleagues to make a move. "This is about putting pressure on the handful of  
318 people in the cabinet who have come to the conclusion that Brown has to be moved.  
319 It will work at some stage."

320 Nine Labour MPs, including the assistant whip Siobhan McDonagh and the party's  
321 vice-chairwoman, Joan Ryan, have written to the party requesting leadership  
322 nomination papers to trigger a challenge to Brown. Senior cabinet ministers past and  
323 present told the Guardian they had been taken by surprise by the grassroots revolt.

324 The backbench MPs said they had written to the party in confidence and accused No  
325 10 of leaking their request last Friday, more than a week before the start of Labour's  
326 conference, to dampen the impact.

327 Sources within the cabinet are also unhappy, with one member warning that it would  
328 be wrong for people close to Brown to claim that Labour's problems are just being  
329 caused by a Blairite rump.

330 Yesterday the foreign secretary, David Miliband, insisted that Brown would lead the  
331 party into the next election. "I don't support their argument that we should trigger a

332 leadership contest. I've said I expect Gordon to lead us into the next general election.  
333 I will support him in doing so," Miliband said.

334 Speculation had been intense earlier in the summer after Miliband wrote a piece in  
335 the Guardian interpreted as a pitch to take over the leadership of the party.

336 Many MPs returned from holidays to Westminster apparently prepared to give  
337 Brown space to carry out an economic relaunch.

338 The prime minister faces several tests of his leadership in the autumn, regardless of  
339 whether MPs succeed in triggering a direct leadership contest. After Labour's  
340 conference, the party faces the prospect of losing another safe Scottish seat in  
341 Glenrothes, the constituency next to Brown's.

## **Article VII**

### **End of the Anglican crown - 300 year bar to be lifted**

#### **Reforms would allow non-Protestant heir and end male priority**

**By Patrick Wintour (25th September 2008)**

342 Downing Street has drawn up plans to end the 300-year-old exclusion of Catholics  
343 from the throne. The requirement that the succession automatically pass to a male  
344 would also be reformed, making it possible for a first born daughter of Prince  
345 William to become his heir.

346 The proposals also include limiting the powers of the privy council, in particular its  
347 role as arbiter in disputes between Scotland or Wales and the UK government.

348 The plans were drafted by Chris Bryant, the MP who was charged by Gordon Brown  
349 with reviewing the constitution. They are with the prime minister's new adviser on  
350 the constitution, Wilf Stevenson.

351 Sources said No 10 would like the legislation to be passed quickly in a fourth term  
352 and Bryant briefed constitutional pressure groups on the plans at a private seminar in  
353 Manchester this week.

354 Ministers have long thought it anomalous that it is unlawful for a Catholic to be  
355 monarch but have not had the political will to risk reforming the law.

356 The 1688 Bill of Rights , the Act of Settlement in 1701 and Act of Union in 1707 -  
357 reinforced by the provisions of the Coronation Oath Act 1688 - effectively excluded  
358 Catholics or their spouses from the succession and provided for the Protestant  
359 succession.

360 Neither Catholics nor those who marry them nor those born to them out of wedlock  
361 may be in the line of succession.

362 The law also requires the monarch on accession to make before parliament a  
363 declaration rejecting Catholicism.

364 Though the Act of Settlement remains a cornerstone of the British constitution,  
365 critics have long argued about its relevance in the 21st century, saying it  
366 institutionalises religious discrimination and male primogeniture.

367 Eight years ago, the Guardian launched a campaign for a change in the law,  
368 supporting a legal challenge on the grounds that the Act of Settlement clashed with  
369 the Human Rights Act.

370 Geoffrey Robertson QC, the constitutional lawyer who has represented the paper in  
371 challenges to the constitutional restrictions, said last night: "I welcome this as two  
372 small steps towards a more rational constitution.

373 "The Act of Settlement determined that the crown shall descend only on Protestant  
374 heads and that anyone 'who holds communion with the church of Rome or marries a  
375 Papist' - not to mention a Muslim, Hindu, Jew or Rastafarian - is excluded by force  
376 of law.

377 "This arcane and archaic legislation enshrined religious intolerance in the bedrock of  
378 the British constitution. In order to hold the office of head of state you must be white  
379 Anglo-German Protestant - a descendant of Princess Sophia of Hanover - down the  
380 male line on the feudal principle of primogeniture. This is in blatant contravention of  
381 the Sex Discrimination Act and the Human Rights Act."

382 The next stage, he said, was for the government to challenge the notion of a head of  
383 state who achieved the position through inheritance.

384 Dozens of people have been barred from taking their place in the order of succession  
385 by the Act of Settlement.

386 In recent years the Earl of St Andrews and Prince Michael of Kent lost the right of  
387 succession through marriage to Catholics. Any children of these marriages remain in  
388 the succession provided that they are in communion with the Church of England.

389 In 2008 it was announced that Peter Phillips - the son of the Queen's daughter,  
390 Princess Anne - would marry his partner, Autumn Kelly. It emerged that she had  
391 been baptised a Catholic. She was quickly accepted into the Church of England  
392 before the marriage and Peter Phillips kept his place in the line of succession.

393 The Coronation Oath Act requires the monarch to "maintaine the Laws of God the  
394 true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant reformed religion established by law  
395 [...] and [...] preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm and to the churches  
396 committed to their charge all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall  
397 appertain unto them or any of them".

398 Any change in legislation would, among other things, require the consent of member  
399 nations of the Commonwealth.

400 Constitutional experts have argued that reform of the Act of Settlement and its  
401 related statutes would set in train an inevitable momentum towards disestablishment,  
402 and disestablishing the Church of England would automatically remove the rationale  
403 for the religious provisions binding succession to the crown.

## **Article VIII**

### **Kelly's exit reignites Labour's civil war**

**By Nick Watt and Patrick Wintour (25<sup>th</sup> September 2008)**

404 Gordon Brown was struggling to keep the lid on a smouldering civil war in the  
405 Labour party last night as the leak of Ruth Kelly's intention to resign from the  
406 cabinet prompted bitter recriminations.

407 While the prime minister flew to the UN in New York, senior party critics accused  
408 Downing Street of deliberately leaking news of Kelly's resignation, to undermine a  
409 potential rebel.

410 "We have given Gordon a lot of space this week to make his speech claiming to be  
411 the big man to fix the economy," one cabinet level source said. "But they are so  
412 small-minded and paranoid that they ruin their own day by briefing this stuff."

413 Downing Street said no senior figure had leaked news of Kelly's resignation plan.  
414 But one source said a junior No 10 official may have been indiscreet in the bars of  
415 the Labour conference.

416 Kelly, who told the prime minister in May that she wanted to step down to spend  
417 more time with her young children, made clear her irritation that her plans had  
418 leaked. Asked on Radio 4's The World At One about what had happened, she said: "I  
419 have absolutely no idea. I wasn't expecting this at all. I was as shocked as anyone  
420 else when I heard the news."

421 The news of Kelly's resignation dominated the final day of the Labour conference  
422 and overshadowed favourable coverage of Brown's speech which was regarded by  
423 friend and foe as one of the best of his career. Senior ministers, who had been  
424 prepared to give Brown the benefit of the doubt after a successful conference,  
425 appeared to have hardened their views against him overnight.

426 "Let's face it, the speech was boring," one senior ministerial figure said. Another was  
427 more generous, describing it as one of Brown's finest. But he added: "The overnight  
428 events mean that he is now back to square one. He will be toast by Christmas."

429 In a further sign of the unease at the highest levels of government, as the prime  
430 minister prepares to carry out his long-awaited reshuffle, cabinet ministers took to  
431 the airwaves to signal their determination to remain in office. David Miliband, the  
432 foreign secretary, said: "To represent your country is a fantastic thing to do and I am  
433 happy doing that." Alan Johnson, the health secretary, said: "I am a man looking to  
434 be deeply entrenched in my department."

435 Brown receives a boost today with a poll which shows he has received a post-  
436 conference bounce. The YouGov poll for the Sun shows Labour has cut the Tories'  
437 20 point lead in half.



438 The poll puts the Conservatives on 41%, Labour on 31% and the Liberal Democrats  
439 on 16%, a Tory lead of 10 points. YouGov interviewed 1,500 people after Brown's  
440 speech on Tuesday night and on Wednesday morning. In the last YouGov poll, for  
441 the Sunday Telegraph on 18 September, the Conservatives were on 44%, Labour on  
442 24% and the Lib Dems on 20%, a 20-point Tory lead.

443 Downing Street will be encouraged by the poll in the Sun. But ministers said  
444 confusion over the reshuffle showed that Brown would struggle to build on the  
445 success of the speech. Some ministers, who had been prepared to leave Manchester  
446 rallying behind a rejuvenated Brown, were believed to be wrestling with their  
447 consciences. One Miliband ally outlined the dilemma: "Would it look good to have  
448 no one on the bridge of the ship as it heads for the rocks? Probably not, but the  
449 danger is that if we do nothing we are heading for opposition for a long time."

450 Miliband is aware that a leadership battle could be bloody. Miliband will have been  
451 angered by Brown's apparent dismissal of him in his speech as a "novice" and the  
452 Brown team's attempt to humiliate him after his conference speech.

## **Article IX**

### **Third time lucky: Mandelson brought into Brown's economic war cabinet**

**By Patrick Wintour (4th October 2008)**

453 Gordon Brown yesterday sought to bring fresh purpose to his premiership and tackle  
454 the global economic crisis by bringing Peter Mandelson into the government for the  
455 third time, and unveiling an economic war cabinet of businessmen and politicians at  
456 the heart of Whitehall.

457 Brown made his dramatic act of reconciliation to the arch-Blairite as a  
458 Guardian/ICM poll showed that the Conservatives had secured a post-conference  
459 fillip, boosting their lead over Labour by three points to 12 points.

460 However, 55% of voters think the prime minister has handled the economic situation  
461 well, against only 39% who say he has performed badly.

462 Brown hopes Mandelson's return, part of a limited but bold reshuffle, can mark a  
463 turning point in his leadership, and will be seen as confirmation of a truce between  
464 Brownites and Blairites after months of debilitating infighting.

465 Other key developments in the reshuffle included:

466 • establishment of a 19-strong national economic council, chaired by Brown, meeting  
467 twice weekly to coordinate government action to tackle the banking crisis;

468 • creation of a Department of Energy and Climate Change under Ed Miliband;

469 • moving Stephen Carter, director of strategy in Downing Street, to a ministerial role  
470 within the new economic "war cabinet".

471 But it was Mandelson's surprise return from his job as EU trade commissioner that  
472 startled Westminster. Apart from his business brief, Mandelson will provide much-  
473 needed political strategic advice to Brown in the run-up to the next election,  
474 including trying to give him greater political definition. He will also try to tighten the  
475 Downing Street operation.

476 At a press briefing, Brown admitted he had had his ups and downs with Mandelson,  
477 but said "serious times need serious people doing serious jobs".

478 He added: "If you have got someone with unrivalled experience in international  
479 business issues, someone who is respected by business for what he has done and who  
480 has built a reputation over these last few years as someone who can get things done,  
481 then if the British government can benefit from that, it's the right decision."

482 Evidently astonished by the offer, Mandelson, who was only asked to return to the  
483 cabinet on Thursday, said he hoped to make it "third time lucky". He added that the  
484 serious economic crisis required "all hands to the pump".

485 Although he has been a divisive figure throughout his career, cabinet ministers  
486 recognise that Mandelson's appointment may pay off. One said: "It is a bold  
487 masterstroke politically and might even work electorally."

488 The Conservatives condemned Mandelson's withdrawal from Europe, saying it  
489 marked a return of the architect of spin and was a sure sign of Brown's political  
490 weakness.

491 Some Labour leftwingers were apoplectic. "The vast majority of Labour MPs will  
492 think, what was Gordon Brown thinking of? He is the most divisive figure in the  
493 Labour party," said John McDonnell, the leftwing MP for Hayes and Harlington.

494 The reshuffle also sees a restructuring of the much criticised Downing Street  
495 operation, with Carter leaving to become communications minister inside the  
496 economic war cabinet. He has become a peer. Damian McBride, Brown's tough but  
497 effective political spin doctor, steps back from five years' frontline briefing to work  
498 on strategic policy inside No 10. He will work closely with two Cabinet Office  
499 ministers, Tom Watson and Liam Byrne.

500 In a move welcomed by environmentalists, Brown has also reconfigured Whitehall  
501 so that environment and energy are married into a new department headed by Ed  
502 Miliband.

503 Two ministers join the cabinet for the first time: Jim Murphy is appointed Scottish  
504 secretary and Lady Royall is leader of the House of Lords.

505 Nick Brown, a Brown ally, becomes chief whip, replacing Geoff Hoon, who  
506 becomes transport secretary, replacing Ruth Kelly, who is standing down from  
507 politics at the next election. John Hutton, the Blairite secretary of state for business,  
508 shifts to defence, replacing Des Browne, who is leaving the government and so also  
509 relinquishes the Scottish secretaryship, his other cabinet post.

510 Browne was offered a variety of posts including a joint one of Northern Ireland and  
511 Scotland, but he insisted he wanted to leave frontline politics.

512 The Guardian understands that Jon Cruddas was offered the housing post at a  
513 meeting with Brown yesterday but turned it down after he was told he could not start  
514 a big council house building programme. Downing Street denies he was offered the  
515 job.

516 Mandelson's departure from his EU post has led Brown to send the leader of the  
517 Lords, Lady Ashton, to Europe at least until next November. Her appointment avoids  
518 a difficult byelection.

519 At his press conference, Brown also announced the new economic council, saying  
520 that Mandelson and 18 other ministers would meet twice a week through out the  
521 current global crisis.

522 Explaining the new body, Brown said: "Quite simply, we do not need just to change  
523 policies but the way we make decisions and the way we govern."

524 He has asked Paul Myners, chairman of the Guardian Media Group, to become City  
525 spokesman, and Margaret Beckett, the former foreign secretary, to be housing  
526 spokeswoman, on the new economic council.

## Article X

### **Osborne at bay over charge he sought cash from Russian**

**Shadow chancellor admits he discussed donation but says he did not seek it**

**By Patrick Wintour and Nick Watt (22nd October 2008)**

527 George Osborne's candour and judgment were called into question last night after it  
528 was alleged he was personally involved in discussions to channel a £50,000 donation  
529 from Russia's richest oligarch to the Conservative party.

530 Facing a barrage of questions yesterday, the Tory shadow chancellor was made to  
531 offer a detailed account of what happened when he met the tycoon Oleg Deripaska  
532 four times in a single weekend during his summer holiday in Corfu.

533 Osborne, who was backed last night by his leader, David Cameron, was forced to  
534 admit he had been involved in a conversation at the villa of financier Nat Rothschild  
535 about the way a donation could be secured from Deripaska.

536 On a day of extreme political danger for Osborne, Rothschild, a regular fundraiser  
537 for the Conservatives, revealed he was willing to go to court to prove his claim that  
538 Osborne had not only wanted to secure a donation from the Russian, but had been  
539 party to discussions as to how this could be made legal.

540 Rothschild claimed Osborne had been present when the party's chief executive and  
541 fundraiser, Andrew Feldman, had suggested the money could be channelled through  
542 LDV, a British firm owned by Deripaska. It is not illegal to accept a donation from a  
543 registered UK company, but could be in breach of section 61 of the 2000 political  
544 parties law to enter into or "act in furtherance of" an arrangement which disguised an  
545 overseas donation.

546 In his detailed statement last night, Osborne insisted that at no point did he or  
547 Feldman "suggest ways of channelling a donation".

548 Rothschild, an old and close friend of Osborne, has gone public after he became  
549 enraged at the way in which the shadow chancellor had abused his hospitality. He  
550 was furious that Osborne breached confidences about his conversations with Lord  
551 Mandelson, the business secretary, while the politicians were private guests at  
552 Rothschild's luxury Corfu villa in August.

553 Osborne has been seen as the source of malicious newspaper stories that Mandelson  
554 had poured poison about Gordon Brown in private conversations, and also that  
555 Mandelson held potentially controversial meetings with Deripaska on his £18m  
556 yacht, moored near the villa of Rothschild, a friend and business partner of  
557 Deripaska.

558 On a day when some of the biggest political reputations at Westminster were at  
559 stake, it became clear that Rothschild, the son of the merchant banker, was so  
560 infuriated by Osborne's discourtesy that he was prepared to wreck their friendship.  
561 This prompted Tory claims that Mandelson, bent on revenge, must have manipulated  
562 Rothschild into causing Osborne such a political embarrassment. At lunchtime  
563 yesterday, Osborne issued a limited denial of Rothschild's claims by saying he had  
564 not solicited money from Deripaska, and no money had been taken. "We did not ask  
565 for any money, we did not receive any," he said.

566 Sources close to Rothschild immediately insisted this limited denial obscured the fact  
567 Osborne and Feldman had enthusiastically discussed the possibility of securing the  
568 donation from Deripaska. Rothschild accepts there was no direct conversation with  
569 the Russian, but says the Conservatives had discussed the issue with him.

570 By mid-afternoon, Osborne issued a fuller statement admitting he had met Deripaska  
571 four times in one weekend in Corfu, and that in the presence of Rothschild, Feldman  
572 and two other witnesses had indeed discussed a donation from Deripaska. But he  
573 portrayed Rothschild as the initiator of the discussion.

574 Osborne said that in the discussion on the terrace of the villa: "Rothschild suggested  
575 to Feldman that his friend Mr Deripaska could be interested in making a donation."  
576 Osborne in his account said: "Feldman at this point made clear there are very strict  
577 rules on donations to political parties in the UK. Feldman explained a political  
578 donation is only lawful if you appear as an individual on the UK electoral roll, or if  
579 the donation comes from a legitimate UK trading company."

580 At this point, according to Osborne's account, "Rothschild said that Mr Deripaska  
581 owned UK trading companies including Leyland Daf", a Midlands-based vehicle  
582 firm. He insisted "there was no discussion about how a donation could be concealed  
583 or channelled".

584 If a donation had come from the Leyland Daf board, ordered by Deripaska, it would  
585 have been highly arguable whether it was lawful since the company might have been  
586 acting as an agent for a foreign donor.

587 After the discussion at the villa, Rothschild arranged for Osborne and Feldman to go  
588 aboard Deripaska's yacht in his company, but Osborne insists no discussion of a  
589 donation occurred at this one-hour meeting, even though Feldman, the party's chief  
590 fundraiser and an old school friend of Cameron, was present.

591 Allies of Rothschild appeared last night to corroborate this account. Osborne insists  
592 he had no further conversations on a donation, but he says Rothschild suggested in a  
593 phone call on September 18 with Feldman that Leyland Daf was interested in making  
594 a donation.

595 According to the Tory account, Feldman at this point considered whether such a  
596 donation would be appropriate and after discussion with party officials decided it  
597 would not be, so ending the possibility.

598 Allies of Deripaska weighed in against Osborne's implication that he initiated talks,  
599 saying the billionaire "has never donated to any political party in Britain and he has  
600 no intention of doing so".

601 Last night Rothschild further challenged details of Osborne's version of events,  
602 saying he had discussed the possibility of a donation from the oligarch via Daf with  
603 Osborne before they met Deripaska. In further conflict with Osborne's story, he said  
604 the issue of a donation was again raised in talk on Deripaska's yacht.

605 After the meeting on the yacht, Rothschild claims the subject was raised again over  
606 dinner and "Osborne was interested in whether and how such a donation could be  
607 secured". He also claims the Tories were still interested when he raised the issue with  
608 Feldman in September. Rothschild said: "I was left with the impression the  
609 Conservative party remained interested." He added that another guest at his villa,  
610 James Goodwin, a consultant, was willing to corroborate his account.

611 Friends of Rothschild last night defended his behaviour, and his decision to stand by  
612 Mandelson, a friend for 10 years, rather than Osborne, his older friend and closer  
613 political ally.

614 One said: "There is a long history in British politics in which people from other  
615 political parties meet and discuss the state of their parties and remain discreet about  
616 it. He [Rothschild] is doubly angry in that his mother had been funding Osborne's  
617 office for years."

618 Cameron fully backed Osborne, who may yet face questioning for failing to declare  
619 he and his family had stayed at Rothschild's villa. He said: "At no point did he ask  
620 for any money and the Conservative party didn't receive any money. That is the  
621 absolutely vital point."

## Article XI

### **Revealed: Britain's secret propaganda war against al-Qaida**

#### **BBC and website forums targeted by Home Office unit**

**By Alan Travis (26th August 2008)**

622 A Whitehall counter-terrorism unit is targeting the BBC and other media  
623 organisations as part of a new global propaganda push designed to "taint the al-Qaida  
624 brand", according to a secret Home Office paper seen by the Guardian.

625 The document also shows that Whitehall counter-terrorism experts intend to exploit  
626 new media websites and outlets with a proposal to "channel messages through  
627 volunteers in internet forums" as part of their campaign.

628 The strategy is being conducted by the research, information and communication  
629 unit, [RICU] which was set up last year by the then home secretary, John Reid, to  
630 counter al-Qaida propaganda at home and overseas. It is staffed by officials from  
631 several government departments.

632 The report, headed, Challenging violent extremist ideology through communications,  
633 says: "We are pushing this material to UK media channels, eg, a BBC radio  
634 programme exposing tensions between AQ leadership and supporters. And a  
635 restricted working group will communicate niche messages through media and non-  
636 media."

637 The disclosure that a Whitehall counter-terrorism propaganda operation is promoting  
638 material to the BBC and other media will raise fresh concerns about official news  
639 management in a highly sensitive area.

640 The government campaign is based upon the premise that al-Qaida is waning  
641 worldwide and can appear vulnerable on issues such as declining popularity; its  
642 rejection by credible figures, especially religious ones, and details of atrocities.

643 The Whitehall propaganda unit is collecting material to target these vulnerabilities  
644 under three themes. They are that al-Qaida is losing support; "they are not heroes and  
645 don't have answers; and that they harm you, your country and your livelihood".

646 The RICU guidance, dated July 21 2008, says that the material is primarily aimed at  
647 "overseas communicators" in embassies and consulates around the world, confirming  
648 the global scale of the Whitehall counter-terrorist propaganda effort now underway.

649 But it also says that other partners should be encouraged to integrate this work into  
650 their communications at home as well: "It is aimed primarily (but not exclusively) at  
651 those working with overseas influencers and opinion formers."



652 The first dossier of material being despatched to diplomatic posts worldwide cites  
653 condemnation of al-Qaida from Sayyid Imam al-Sharif aka Dr Fadi, a former leader  
654 of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, and Salman Abu-Awdah, a leading Saudi scholar who has  
655 published an open letter to Osama bin Laden calling al-Qaida's aims illegitimate and  
656 immoral. It notes that groups like Hamas and Hezbollah are now keen to distance  
657 themselves from al-Qaida.

658 In a section headed "AQ has suffered military defeat in ..." it adds "use advisedly -  
659 avoid suggesting that AQ is no longer a threat. We are not claiming victory over AQ.  
660 We are stressing their declining support".

661 The dossier says that al-Qaida has been definitively expelled from large areas of Iraq  
662 and has lost ground in Afghanistan. It quotes CIA director Michael Hayden's claim in  
663 May that al-Qaida had been essentially defeated in Iraq and Saudi Arabia and was  
664 now "on the defensive throughout much of the rest of the world," but describes this  
665 as a "strikingly upbeat assessment of the organisation".

666 It highlights the fact that Mohammed Hamid, who was convicted in February for  
667 recruiting and radicalising young men to fight against the west, was a former crack  
668 addict.

669 The document also notes that al-Qaida has to "feed its new franchises with  
670 propaganda to keep the 'brand' alive at all costs". It says that it is focused on  
671 Palestine - to the discomfort of the Palestinians - because it has failed in Iraq and is  
672 now pronouncing on issues as diverse as Egyptian trade unions and climate change in  
673 a desperate attempt to remain relevant.

674 The "material" is a mixture of recent news reports and articles from Arabic, Middle  
675 Eastern and North African news sources illustrating the theme of "AQ is in decline"  
676 as well as articles from the New York Times, the Observer, Newsweek and British  
677 and American websites.

678 The RICU guidance note says the dossier has been drafted with support from  
679 Whitehall press officers "on how best to tailor such material for media engagements,  
680 presenting information to ministers, or to other stakeholders. It is in a separate,  
681 unclassified format to make it the sort of product that a minister or a press officer  
682 could use before an interview; or that could be given as a crib sheet for trusted  
683 contacts," says the classified document.

## Article XII

### **Economy at 60-year low, says Darling. And it will get worse**

#### **Chancellor says Labour failing to communicate with voters**

**By Nick Watt (30th August 2008)**

684 Britain is facing "arguably the worst" economic downturn in 60 years which will be  
685 "more profound and long-lasting" than people had expected, Alistair Darling, the  
686 chancellor, tells the Guardian today.

687 In the government's gravest assessment of the economy, which follows a warning  
688 from a Bank of England policymaker that 2 million people could be out of work by  
689 Christmas, Darling admits he had no idea how serious the credit crunch would  
690 become.

691 His blunt remarks lay bare the unease in the highest ranks of the cabinet that the  
692 downturn is making it all but impossible for Gordon Brown to recover momentum  
693 after a series of setbacks.

694 His language is much starker than the tone adopted by the prime minister, who aims  
695 to revive his premiership this autumn by explaining how he will help struggling  
696 families through the downturn.

697 The chancellor, who says that Labour faces its toughest challenge in a generation,  
698 admits that Brown and the cabinet are partly to blame for Labour's woes because  
699 they have "patently" failed to explain the party's central mission to the country,  
700 leaving voters "pissed off".

701 In a candid interview in today's Guardian Weekend magazine, Darling warns that the  
702 economic times faced by Britain and the rest of the world "are arguably the worst  
703 they've been in 60 years". To deepen the sense of gloom, he adds: "And I think it's  
704 going to be more profound and long-lasting than people thought."

705 The economic backdrop presents Labour with its toughest challenge since the 1980s.  
706 "We've got our work cut out. This coming 12 months will be the most difficult 12  
707 months the Labour party has had in a generation," he says. But Labour has been  
708 lacklustre. "We've got to rediscover that zeal which won three elections, and that is a  
709 huge problem for us at the moment. People are pissed off with us.

710 "We really have to make our minds up; are we ready to try and persuade this country  
711 to support us for another term? Because, the next 12 months are critical. It's still  
712 there to play for."

713 Darling was given a personal taste of the austere climate when ticked off by a waiter  
714 for ordering a second bottle of wine during a meal with his wife, Maggie, and

715 another couple. "The waiter came over and said 'too much wine' in a loud voice. So  
716 we stuck to one bottle for the entire meal."

717 Darling admits that he was recently challenged at a petrol station by a motorist  
718 struggling with the rising cost of petrol. "I was at a filling station recently and a chap  
719 said: 'I know it's to do with oil prices - but what are you going to do about it?' People  
720 think, well surely you can do something, you are responsible - so of course it reflects  
721 on me."

722 But he has some words of comfort for Brown when he predicts there will be no  
723 leadership challenge against the prime minister. He also reveals that Brown has no  
724 plans to carry out an imminent cabinet reshuffle as he delivers a defiant put-down to  
725 critics who have said that he could be replaced as chancellor.

726 "You can't be chopping and changing people that often," he says. "I mean,  
727 undoubtedly before the end of the parliament he will want to do a reshuffle, but I'm  
728 not expecting one imminently. I do not think there will be a reshuffle."

729 Darling does not name names, but says some people want his job and have been  
730 trying to undermine him. Many in the Treasury believe that Ed Balls, the schools  
731 secretary, has been less than supportive. "There's lots of people who'd like to do my  
732 job. And no doubt," he adds, half under his breath, "actively trying to do it."

733 The chancellor's remarks about the economy - in an interview conducted over two  
734 days at his family croft on the Isle of Lewis - highlight the nerves at the top of the  
735 government after the loss of Labour's 25th safest seat in Britain in the Glasgow East  
736 byelection in July. The Tories are comfortably ahead in polls as leaders return on  
737 Monday after the holiday.

738 Darling, who speaks about how the prime minister is one of his oldest friends in  
739 politics, admits Brown has struggled to connect with voters. Asked whether Brown  
740 can communicate Labour's mission, he says: "Yes, I do think he can."

741 Asked why Brown has not done so, Darling falters as he says: "Er, well. Well, it's  
742 always difficult, you know ... But Gordon in September, up to party conference, has  
743 got the opportunity to do that. And he will do that. It's absolutely imperative."

744 Darling even describes himself as "not a great politician". Saying how he usually  
745 avoids personal interviews and photographs, he says maybe "that's why I'm not a  
746 great politician. You know, I'm not very good at looking at pictures and subjecting  
747 them to the equivalent of textual analysis".

748 Today's interview was designed to show the chancellor in a more personal light after  
749 a year in which he faced criticism over Northern Rock and the loss of discs with  
750 details of half the population. He says nothing of tensions with No 10 after he was  
751 reportedly rebuffed by Brown when he pointed out the dangers of abolishing the 10p  
752 tax rate.

753 His press adviser tells Darling, whose relations with Downing Street have been tense  
754 over the past year, to speak his mind in the interview. "Now Alistair," the adviser  
755 tells the chancellor as Decca Aitkenhead begins the interview. "Tell her everything.  
756 Make sure you tell her everything."

## **Article XIII**

### **Crime warning raises pressure on Brown**

#### **Home office says slump will bring rise in racism, extremism and theft**

**By Nick Watt (1st August 2008)**

757 An autumn offensive by Gordon Brown to revive his premiership with a package of  
758 economic measures risks being overshadowed by the leak of a Home Office  
759 document which spells out how the downturn will lead to an increase in crime and  
760 greater support for extremist political parties.

761 Days after Alistair Darling warned in Saturday's Guardian that the economic  
762 conditions are "arguably the worst" in 60 years, the Home Office paper gives an  
763 insight into the government's detailed preparations for the downturn.

764 The document, a draft of a letter from Jacqui Smith, the home secretary, to Downing  
765 Street, warns that a downturn may lead to:

- 766 • An increase in support for "far right extremism and racism";
- 767 • a possible increase in the support for radical Islamist groups from people who  
768 experience racism and possible unemployment;
- 769 • an "upward pressure on acquisitive crime", property crime, which increases during  
770 a downturn;
- 771 • an increase in public hostility to migrants as the job market tightens;
- 772 • a fall in the use of cocaine and less drunken disorder in town centres unless drinks  
773 companies respond to the downturn by aggressive price cutting.

774 The leak of the document, which shows the government acknowledges there will be  
775 serious social consequences from a downturn, will irritate Downing Street after a  
776 difficult weekend.

777 Darling was forced to record an unscheduled television interview on Saturday to  
778 calm the atmosphere after his Guardian interview prompted speculation of a rift  
779 between the two most senior members of the cabinet. His frank remarks about the  
780 state of the economy, contrasting with the prime minister's mild language, prompted  
781 Tory claims that the government was "dysfunctional".

782 Downing Street and the Treasury insisted there was no tension between Brown and  
783 Darling, claiming they were focused on measures to help people struggling with the  
784 downturn.

785 The first initiative will be announced tomorrow when the government unveils plans  
786 to help millions of less well-off people gain - or at least not lose - a place on the  
787 housing ladder. This is likely to include a "shared equity" plan in which local  
788 authorities and housing associations help borrowers in return for a stake in their  
789 homes. Next week ministers will unveil plans to help people with rising fuel bills  
790 when the first cabinet of the new season will be held in Birmingham. This is  
791 expected to include measures to improve energy efficiency.

792 In a speech to the CBI on Thursday Brown will underline the depth of the global  
793 economic problems which demand a global response. "The credit crunch has shown  
794 that while we now have a global economy that is more integrated than ever before,  
795 from which no national economy is insulated, we do not have adequate means of  
796 managing it other than as nations or regional entities," he will say.

797 But Brown will say that Britain is well-placed to weather the downturn: "In the next  
798 20 years the world economy will double in its size and wealth and we have a great  
799 opportunity to win new business, new jobs and prosperity for Britain."

800 The Tories are likely to maintain the pressure on the government after the leak of the  
801 Home Office document which shows there could be a twin threat from the far right  
802 and radical Islamists. It says: "There is a risk of a downturn increasing the appeal of  
803 far right extremism and racism which presents a threat as there is evidence that  
804 grievance based on experiencing racism is one of the factors that can lead to people  
805 becoming terrorists ... The relationship to radicalisation is complex ... but there is a  
806 possibility that [a downturn] will increase the pool of those susceptible to  
807 radicalisation." But many Labour MPs are saying that Brown will have a clear run  
808 until parliament returns in October.

## **Article XIV**

### **Tories plan £20bn 180mph rail link instead of Heathrow third runway**

**By Nick Watt (29th September 2008)**

809 A third runway at Heathrow airport would be scrapped by a Tory government that  
810 would instead build a £20bn TGV-style high speed rail link between London,  
811 Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds.

812 In one of David Cameron's boldest moves on the environment, the party will today  
813 unveil plans to cut 66,000 flights a year from Heathrow by tempting passengers on to  
814 the first new rail line north of London in more than a century.

815 Theresa Villiers, the shadow transport secretary, told the Guardian last night: "This is  
816 a seriously green decision. A few years ago it would have been inconceivable for the  
817 leader of the Conservative party to say no to a third runway and putting the brakes on  
818 Heathrow expansion."

819 The announcement, on the second day of the party's conference in Birmingham, is  
820 designed to show that the party has not abandoned its "Vote Blue, Go Green" agenda  
821 in the face of the economic downturn. Gordon Brown has warned that some Tory  
822 green plans would jeopardise economic development, but Cameron hopes to blunt  
823 any Labour attack by outlining detailed plans to tempt airline passengers on to the  
824 railways.

825 Villiers will announce that a Tory government would spend £15.6bn between 2015  
826 and 2027 (£1.3bn a year for 12 years) to build the new high speed rail link from  
827 London St Pancras to Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds. A further £4.4bn would  
828 be paid by the private sector.

829 The line would be completely new and would allow the existing West Coast main  
830 line to be used for commuter journeys between smaller towns, such as Macclesfield,  
831 Stafford and Milton Keynes, and the big cities. There would also be a high speed line  
832 linking St Pancras with Heathrow.

833 Journey times on the 180mph line would be slashed: London to Birmingham would  
834 take 45 minutes instead of 80; London to Manchester 80 minutes instead of 125,  
835 London to Leeds 97 minutes instead of 125 and Manchester to Leeds 17 minutes  
836 instead of the current 55.

837 The Tories say the new rail link would cut flights from Heathrow by 66,430 a year -  
838 44% of the capacity of the planned third runway. There are currently 36 flights a day  
839 between Heathrow and Manchester. The Tories hope to cut flights to Paris,

840 Amsterdam and Brussels as passengers are encouraged to use the new high speed rail  
841 line which would link up with the Eurostar service at St Pancras.

842 Greenpeace last night welcomed the announcement. John Sauven, its executive  
843 director, said: "The Conservatives have recognised that decisions taken now on high  
844 carbon projects like new runways and coal-fired power stations will make or break  
845 our chances of tackling climate change in the future."

846 The government has resisted pressure for a high speed rail link on the grounds that  
847 money should be spent on upgrading existing lines.



## Article XV

### **Brown abandons 42-day detention after Lords defeat**

**By Nick Watt (13th October 2008)**

848 Gordon Brown last night abandoned his parliamentary battle to allow police to detain  
849 terror suspects without charge for up to 42 days, after the Lords overwhelmingly  
850 rejected the proposal by 191 votes. In an emergency statement to MPs tonight, Jacqui  
851 Smith, the home secretary, said that the counter-terrorism bill would continue its  
852 journey through parliament without the 42 day measure.

853 But in a face saving gesture, the government will publish a bill containing the 42 day  
854 plan; this bill will be held in reserve to be introduced should there be a terrorist  
855 emergency. Ministers said they had decided to follow this course because the  
856 introduction of the counter-terrorism bill would have been delayed by a year if the  
857 government had embarked on a lengthy battle with the Lords.

858 "I do not believe, as some Hon Members clearly do, that it is enough to simply cross  
859 our fingers and hope for the best," Smith told parliament. "Mr Speaker, that is not  
860 good enough. Because when it comes to national security, there are certain risks I'm  
861 not prepared to take.

862 Smith's announcement came after the former lord chancellor, Lord Falconer,  
863 dismissed the government's arguments as "fanciful". His comments came in a  
864 lengthy debate which ended in peers rejecting the 42 day plan by 309 to 118.

865 Government sources said Brown's hand was forced because whips in the Commons  
866 told Downing Street that they would struggle to muster a majority in favour of the  
867 proposal. The 42 day plan was only passed by MPs in June by nine votes after the  
868 prime minister won the support of the nine Democratic Unionist MPs.

869 If ministers had insisted on keeping the 42 day plan in the counter terrorism bill,  
870 Brown would have to have held a series of votes in the commons to overturn the  
871 Lords' rejection. The overwhelming opposition in the lords would have resulted in a  
872 game of parliamentary "ping pong" in which the bill would have been passed from  
873 chamber to chamber. Brown would then have had to use the parliament act to force  
874 the bill through next year.

875 The announcement by the government came after Falconer told peers how he had  
876 changed his mind after supporting Tony Blair's plan to detain terror suspects without  
877 charge for 90 days in 2005.

878 He had done so because police could now detain terror suspects by using the so-  
879 called "threshold test", an option under which they can charge a suspect on a lower  
880 threshold if they have a reasonable suspicion that evidence will be compiled in a  
881 reasonable time.

882 "It has changed in practice the basis upon which it operates," Falconer said. "The  
883 idea that extending [the detention period] from 28 days to 42 days is going to make a  
884 difference is utterly fanciful."

885 Lord West, the home office minister, warned peers of the dangers of voting against  
886 the plan. "If we get it wrong we could all live to regret it. When the need for more  
887 than 28 days arrives — and it will — we can either have a well considered and  
888 debated back-pocket measure in place ready to make available to prosecutors, or we  
889 will be forced to release terrorists on to the streets unless some hurried legislation is  
890 passed. And we all know hurried legislation in a period of emergency is bad  
891 legislation. Whoever is in power will find it a very uncomfortable moment."

892 Shami Chakrabarti, director of Liberty, welcomed the government's climb- down.  
893 "Liberty has been overwhelmed by public and parliamentary support for our  
894 campaign against the extension. Rest assured that if any government tries again we  
895 will be ready," she said.

## Appendix II

### THE INDEPENDENT

#### Article I

#### **Hutton leads Cabinet calls for immediate pledge to freeze duty**

**By Andrew Grice (1st July 2008)**

1 Senior members of the Cabinet have warned Alistair Darling that he must make an  
2 immediate pledge to freeze fuel duty to respond to public concern about spiralling  
3 petrol prices, The Independent has been told.

4 Several ministers led by John Hutton, the Business Secretary, have told the  
5 Chancellor that he must issue a statement before the Commons starts its summer  
6 break on 22 July that he will scrap the 2p-a-litre rise in fuel duty due to take effect in  
7 October.

8 Pressure on him to act now intensified as oil rose closer to the \$150 a barrel mark  
9 yesterday, reaching \$143.67, another new record high, on the New York Mercantile  
10 Exchange before slipping back slightly. Mr Darling is expected to continue the freeze  
11 until April next year but does not want to announce the move until September so he  
12 can take account of the latest news on oil prices.

13 It has already been shelved from this April, at a cost of £550m, because of the  
14 soaring oil prices. Mr Darling's aides admit that he has been lobbied by other  
15 ministers to act more swiftly but angrily rejected their calls last night, telling them to  
16 "get on with their own jobs".

17 The cabinet members are reflecting wider concerns in the Labour Party that the  
18 Government has been slow to respond to the impact of the economic downturn on  
19 people's everyday lives.

20 Mr Hutton is said to have passed on the strong views from British industry that the  
21 duty should be frozen for a second time and to have won the backing of other  
22 ministers for a swift announcement.

23 Another minister said: "We won't get any credit if we wait until the autumn. It's bad  
24 politics to wait. If we delay, everyone else will have demanded a freeze and it will  
25 look like we have been pushed into it grudgingly."

26 One of Mr Darling's allies countered: "It's not a sensible policy. People should think  
27 strategically. If we announce a freeze now, then there would be demands for another  
28 2p cut in the autumn."

29 Demands by Labour backbenchers for some "good news" in the face of rocketing  
30 fuel and food prices will be increased by the by-election in Glasgow East. The  
31 Labour MP David Marshall confirmed yesterday that he is standing down for health  
32 reasons and the writ for a 24 July by-election will be moved today. Rising prices are  
33 bound to feature in the campaign.

34 Some Labour backbenchers believe that if the safe seat is lost to the Scottish  
35 National Party, Gordon Brown may reach a "tipping point" and face widespread  
36 demands to stand down. "The writing would be on the wall," one said last night.

37 Mr Darling will come under further pressure tomorrow from Labour MPs to make  
38 immediate concessions on two other issues – by fully compensating all the losers  
39 from the abolition of the 10p tax rate and scrapping plans to raise road tax by up to  
40 £250 a year for cars that are up to seven years old. Both issues will be debated when  
41 the Finance Bill implementing the Budget is debated in the Commons.

42 But Downing Street ruled out any further compensation over the 10p decision on top  
43 of the £2.7bn package announced in May and Treasury sources said no  
44 announcement on road tax was likely until the pre-Budget report in the autumn. Mr  
45 Darling's allies say these matters are on the table but point out that he is facing a  
46 difficult balancing act in a very tight financial year.

47 They denied that he had already decided to climb down on his plans to charge higher  
48 road tax for vehicles with higher carbon emissions but said he was listening to the  
49 concern of backbenchers. Some Labour MPs are expected to back a Conservative  
50 Party amendment tomorrow to the Finance Bill scrapping the retrospective nature of  
51 the road tax shake-up. The Tories say that people with family cars, as well as gas-  
52 guzzlers, will be affected and 51 Labour MPs have signed a Commons motion  
53 opposing the changes.

54 Justine Greening, a shadow Treasury minister, said: "Labour MPs who agree how  
55 unfair this is can vote their Government's vehicle excise duty proposal down on  
56 Wednesday without having to wait a year.

57 "We know Gordon Brown will back down on this eventually but hard-pressed  
58 families struggling with increased cost of living need to know where they stand right  
59 now."

60 Tory MPs will vote for an amendment, signed by 16 Labour MPs, calling for the 1.1  
61 million people not covered by the 10p tax package to be compensated in full. The  
62 Prime Minister's official spokesman said: "We have set out our proposals for this  
63 year, which covered the losses of 80 per cent of those affected and halved the losses  
64 of the remaining 20 per cent. Those are the proposals for this year."

65 Baroness Prosser, a former Labour treasurer, urged Mr Brown to do more to tackle  
66 the party's severe financial problems. She told BBC Radio 4: "I think we need the  
67 Prime Minister himself to take this on his shoulders and say, 'This is a worse  
68 situation than we have been in ever and therefore as Prime Minister and leader of the

69 party I need to get stuck in here'." Asked if a change of leader would bring back  
70 Labour's missing donors, she replied: "No, I don't think so. We have Gordon. He is  
71 well known to everybody. He is not exactly a sunbeam, but that is his style. He is  
72 very solid, very reliable, very committed to a good Labour agenda."

## **Article II**

### **Tories ready to rule, say voters**

**By Andrew Grice (28th July 2008)**

73 The public believe David Cameron and the Conservative Party are ready to govern  
74 the country but are still not sure what they stand for, according to a poll carried out  
75 by ComRes for The Independent.

76 A majority of people (53 per cent) think the Tories are ready to govern after the next  
77 election, while 37 per cent disagree. Almost one in four Labour voters (23 per cent)  
78 agrees. The findings increase the pressure on Gordon Brown as he tries to head off  
79 moves by his own party to force him to stand down.

80 Although senior Labour figures rallied behind the beleaguered Prime Minister  
81 yesterday, his critics warned that they would move against him in early September in  
82 an attempt to deny him the chance to fight back at the party's annual conference  
83 starting on 20 September.

84 One said: "This poll reinforces what a lot of Labour MPs think – that Tory support is  
85 soft and we could fight back and win under another leader.

86 "Gordon does not have the public's permission to expose the Tories on policy  
87 because people have given up on him."

88 ComRes found that 46 per cent of people agree that "David Cameron is ready to be  
89 Prime Minister", while 42 per cent disagree. But 49 per cent agree with the statement  
90 "I don't really know what David Cameron stands for", with 44 per cent disagreeing.

91 By 56 per cent to 37 per cent, people reject the idea that the Tories lack the necessary  
92 experience to be trusted to run the country. But 48 per cent of people (and 25 per  
93 cent of Tory supporters) agree that they "don't have enough clear policies for me to  
94 understand what they stand for", with 44 per cent disagreeing.

95 Almost a quarter of Labour voters (22 per cent) and 44 per cent of Liberal Democrat  
96 supporters believe Mr Cameron would make a better prime minister than Mr Brown.  
97 Overall, 52 per cent of the public agree, while 34 per cent disagree. Scotland is the  
98 only part of Britain which prefers Mr Brown.

99 Only 36 per cent of people regard Mr Cameron as "just a slick salesman", as Mr  
100 Brown has dubbed him, while 52 per cent disagree. Surprisingly, one in five Tory  
101 supporters holds that view, while four in 10 Labour backers do not. People no longer  
102 regard the Tories as the "nasty party" – by 53 per cent to 36 per cent.

103 Significantly, more than half of Labour supporters (51 per cent) agree the Tories are  
104 no longer "nasty", as do 57 per cent of Liberal Democrat voters. But 34 per cent of  
105 those who intend to support the Tories think the party is still "nasty".

106 The poll findings will fuel Labour's intense debate following its crushing defeat in  
107 last Thursday's Glasgow East by-election. Mr Brown's critics believe they tell the  
108 same story as this year's elections and by-elections – that the Tories' 20-point poll  
109 lead reflects an anti-Labour protest rather than positive support for Mr Cameron. "He  
110 hasn't yet won people over; a new Labour leader could claw it back," one former  
111 minister said.

112 The manoeuvring against him may persuade Mr Brown to pre-empt his critics after  
113 his Suffolk holiday by bringing forward a snap reshuffle of the Cabinet and unveiling  
114 measures to help hard-pressed families cope with the economic downturn.

115 John Prescott, the former deputy prime minister, led the attempts to save Mr Brown's  
116 premiership. In a statement to Labour members, he warned that the public would not  
117 forgive MPs who provoked a leadership election. Referring to the Cabinet, Mr  
118 Prescott said: "Not one of them has the national and international experience to be  
119 able to deal with the sort of problems we've got today more so than Gordon Brown."

120 David Blunkett, the former home secretary, told the MPs challenging Mr Brown's  
121 leadership to "grow up".

122 He said: "The issues that affect people are not ones which divide the party or Gordon  
123 Brown from any potential successor."

124 Jack Straw, the Cabinet's elder statesman and a possible "caretaker" leader, issued a  
125 statement of support after speculation that he might ask Mr Brown to quit.

126 He said: "I am absolutely convinced that Gordon Brown is the right man to be  
127 leading the Labour Party. The result in Glasgow East was obviously disappointing  
128 but it would be a big mistake for the Labour Party to now turn in on itself and  
129 indulge in a summer of introspection."

### Article III

#### **Rich nations are 'betraying' Africa**

##### **Brown and Geldof order G8 to honour Gleneagles aid pledges**

**By Andrew Grice (3rd July 2008)**

130 The world's richest nations will today be told by Gordon Brown to stop backsliding  
131 on their pledges to double aid to Africa by 2010. The Prime Minister will risk a clash  
132 with world leaders at next week's G8 summit in Japan over their failure to honour  
133 pledges to boost aid made three years ago.

134 Mr Brown is backing Bob Geldof, who warned yesterday that high energy prices are  
135 starving the super-poor in Africa. The prominent aid campaigner and the Prime  
136 Minister fear that Japan, France, Italy and Canada are using the global economic  
137 downturn as an excuse to scale back their aid payments to the world's poorest  
138 countries.

139 They believe the global food crisis makes it even more important to help Africa feed  
140 itself and that rich nations will make a catastrophic error if they turn their back on the  
141 continent at such a critical moment.

142 *The Independent* has learnt that the draft communiqué for next week's G8 summit in  
143 Japan stops short of a full commitment to the aid increase agreed at the landmark  
144 Gleneagles summit three years ago, which agreed to double aid to \$50bn a year  
145 worldwide and \$25bn annually for Africa.

146 Mr Brown will try to toughen up the wording and will warn the summit that China  
147 will increase its fast-growing influence in Africa if the G8 club of rich nations  
148 reneges on its promises. Mr Geldof, who will lobby G8 leaders for the ONE  
149 Campaign in Hokkaido, said yesterday: "It is tragic and absurd that people are still  
150 going hungry in the 21st century. I cannot stand the idea that a food crisis born out of  
151 high energy prices and increasing global prosperity is starving the super-poor in  
152 Africa. None of this is helped by bad trade and subsidy policies."

153 He said that Japan, which holds the chair of the G8 and is the world's second-largest  
154 economy, had a duty to "care for the hungry and ill". He added: "Given the resource  
155 crises of the world at this moment, we are dismayed at the low level of expectation  
156 emanating from the table of leaders of the wealthiest economies on the planet. It's  
157 about time their actions lived up to their perhaps misplaced stature."

158 Mr Brown, who believes that 2008 is a "make-or-break year" for helping the world's  
159 poorest nations, has long made the issue a personal priority and is worried that the  
160 momentum that started at Gleneagles may be lost. Although Germany, the United  
161 States and Britain are on track to meet their pledges under the historic deal, Italy is



162 behind schedule, Canada's record is mixed, there are fears that France will go slower  
163 and Japan, while raising its support for Africa, has a shrinking overall aid budget.

164 "The Prime Minister wants the G8 to make a strong commitment to what they agreed  
165 at Gleneagles, not just to reaffirm it," one government source said. "It would be very  
166 stupid to give up on Africa because of the economic downturn – a big strategic error  
167 to save a relatively small amount of money. If we invest in agriculture in Africa, we  
168 could bring down the price of food. Half of the food produced rots before it gets to  
169 the market. It could become the breadbasket for the world."

170 Mr Brown's four-point plan for the annual G8 gathering includes a \$60bn boost for  
171 health care in developing nations, to recruit more health workers; extra money to  
172 meet shortfalls in a \$1bn fund to stop 72 million children missing out on a primary  
173 education; and a food-crisis package.

174 The Prime Minister will also work to find a resolution to the stalled world trade talks,  
175 arguing that failure in the next few weeks would deprive millions of a way out of  
176 poverty. As on aid, that could put him on a collision course with Nicolas Sarkozy,  
177 the French President. Peter Mandelson, the EU trade commissioner, has accused M.  
178 Sarkozy of undermining his position in the talks by attacking his plans to cut  
179 European farm import tariffs.

180 The ONE Campaign is urging all G8 nations to increase the quality and quantity of  
181 investments in African agriculture for the next 15 to 20 years, raising global aid from  
182 \$2bn to between £9bn and \$13bn a year.

183 "More than half the population of sub-Saharan Africa depend on farming to survive,  
184 yet farming has been terribly neglected in economic development programmes," said  
185 Oliver Buston, a spokesman for ONE. "Increasing food production is critical to  
186 saving lives as well as generating sustainable long-term growth." He added: "Every  
187 G8 summit since 2005 has repeated the historic commitments made at Gleneagles.  
188 To dilute those promises would be a serious breach of trust and credibility."

189 Other issues on the summit agenda include climate change, the global credit crunch,  
190 rocketing oil prices and the crisis in Zimbabwe.

## Article IV

### **Minister attacks 'too timid' Brown**

**By Andrew Grice (31st July 2008)**

191 A Government minister has warned Gordon Brown that he must stop being timid and  
192 show stronger leadership if he is to revive his faltering premiership.

193 In the first direct criticism of Mr Brown by a minister since last week's Glasgow East  
194 by-election, the Health minister Ivan Lewis told *The Independent*: "The only way  
195 forward now is bold Labour. What we want to see is the Gordon Brown of Bank of  
196 England independence, SureStart and Make Poverty History. I think that his  
197 responsibility is to provide the bold and decisive leadership that we now need." He  
198 added that it was then the responsibility of the Labour Party as a whole to be "loyal  
199 and disciplined".

200 In the interview, Mr Lewis said that Labour's defeat in Glasgow "confirmed my view  
201 that timidity and incremental change will not deal with the way people feel right  
202 now." He urged Mr Brown to raise taxes for high earners so that they could in turn be  
203 cut for hard-pressed low- and middle-income groups struggling in the economic  
204 downturn. He also wants the Government to consider a windfall tax on energy  
205 companies, with the money raised used to tackle fuel poverty.

206 His remarkably candid assessment of Labour's problems will increase the pressure on  
207 Mr Brown to produce a wide-ranging package of measures to help people cope with  
208 rising fuel, food and housing costs when he launches his attempted fightback in  
209 September.

210 Last night the crisis engulfing Mr Brown deepened as his allies hit back at David  
211 Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, over a newspaper article yesterday that was widely  
212 seen a prelude to a possible Labour leadership election.

213 Furious Brownites said Mr Miliband failed to quell such speculation at a press  
214 conference yesterday, although the Foreign Secretary said Mr Brown has the "values  
215 and the vision" to run the country successfully. "Can Gordon lead us into the next  
216 election and win? Yes, I'm absolutely certain about that," he added. Asked if he was  
217 planning a leadership bid, Mr Miliband said: "No, I'm not campaigning for anything  
218 other than a successful Labour government. The truth is we had a very bad result in  
219 the Glasgow by-election. I was frustrated by the sense of fatalism that had imbued in  
220 parts of the media and the Labour Party... Gordon will lead us forward and the rest of  
221 us have a contribution to make.

222 One Labour MP close to Mr Brown said: "David Miliband is letting his ego and his  
223 ambition cloud his judgement. If his intention was to focus on the Tories and get  
224 away from internal squabbling, he has succeeded in doing the exact opposite."

225 Mr Lewis's call to "be bold" echoes Mr Brown's criticism of Tony Blair when he was  
226 Prime Minister. At the 2003 Labour conference, Mr Brown declared: "This Labour  
227 Party [is] best when we are boldest, best when we are united, best when we are  
228 Labour."

229 Mr Lewis believes that Mr Brown has been too cautious. "If we as a government are  
230 going to be given permission to talk to people about the other issues that matter, we  
231 have got to reassure people – through actions not words – that we are on their side,"  
232 he said. Insisting that Mr Brown could still lead Labour to an election victory, he said  
233 the party would lose unless it helped people through the economic storm and showed  
234 "a new idealism, purpose and passion". He said the fightback should be based on  
235 fairness, opportunity and community. Although he opposed punitive tax rises out of  
236 "dogma or ideology", he called for tax changes to protect "the quality of life" of  
237 people on low and middle incomes during the economic squeeze.

238 Mr Lewis added: "We are not here to be a bunch of technocrats. I joined the Labour  
239 Party, like most of my colleagues, because I wanted to make a difference, and I  
240 wanted to change the world for the better. And obviously I wanted to do that in a  
241 way that was consistent with progressive values. How many people out there really  
242 believe any more that that's what people like me are about? That's what we need to  
243 turn around."

244 If Labour failed to do so, "the seductive, 'it's time for a change' message will work  
245 for Mr Cameron. We need to be the change... more of the same won't do." Asked if  
246 his fellow ministers were loyal to Mr Brown, he replied: "The test of any political  
247 party, any cause, is in the bad time and not the good time. We now face the ultimate  
248 test. People have a decision to make. But there's one thing that's absolutely clear, it's  
249 that the public don't vote for divided parties."

250 On whether Mr Brown would lead Labour into the election, Mr Lewis said: "I expect  
251 that will be the case, and we've got to believe – if we don't believe that we can still  
252 win, how do we expect the electorate to believe that?"

253 He added: "When you're the underdog, you have a choice – you can either lie down  
254 and die, or you can come out fighting with a passion and a purpose, which stirs your  
255 friends and shakes the confidence of your opponents. We have to recognise that New  
256 Labour has a problem now with definition. Old Labour doesn't have answers, and  
257 therefore the only way forward right now is bold Labour.

## Article V

### **Britain 'in recession by end of the year'**

#### **Dire economic warning casts pall over Gordon Brown's housing rescue deal**

**By Andrew Grice (3rd September 2008)**

258 The first official warning that Britain is about to slide into recession has  
259 overshadowed Gordon Brown's attempts to revive his political fortunes with a £1bn  
260 plan to kick-start the housing market.

261 Yesterday's gloomy forecast by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and  
262 Development (OECD) contradicted declarations yesterday by the Chancellor, Alistair  
263 Darling, that he is "optimistic" about the British economy.

264 The OECD said that Britain would be the only one of the G7 group of leading  
265 industrialised nations to fall into recession during the rest of the year.

266 Under Gordon Brown's plans that were announced yesterday:

267 \* About 10,000 first-time buyers in England will get free loans for up to five years,  
268 worth up to a third of the value of new properties, if their family income is below  
269 £60,000;

270 \* Homes worth between £125,000 and £175,000 will be exempt from stamp duty for  
271 a year, saving buyers up to £1,750;

272 \* Householders who run into trouble with their mortgage payments will be able to  
273 convert all or part of their mortgage into rent so they pay less, with councils,  
274 associations or developers taking a stake in the property;

275 \* A total of 5,500 affordable homes will be built by councils and housing  
276 associations at a cost of £400m.

277 Mr Darling immediately faced criticism for being unable to say how he would fund  
278 the stamp duty cut that will cost the Treasury £600m. He is likely to have to cut other  
279 programmes to pay for the measure, which will be announced in his pre-Budget  
280 report (PBR) next month. In an attempt to stem the rising tide of repossessions,  
281 homeowners who lose their jobs will receive income support after 13 weeks from  
282 next April, instead of 39 weeks as at present.

283 Downing Street dismissed speculation among Labour MPs that Mr Darling was  
284 "bounced" into announcing the stamp duty suspension by Mr Brown. The Chancellor  
285 has been cautious about acting on stamp duty, and some officials advised him it  
286 would not be the best use of scarce Treasury resources.

287 But he agreed at the last minute to include the cut in yesterday's package, after estate  
288 agents and surveyors claimed that media speculation that the Government would act  
289 had virtually frozen the housing market. One Labour MP said: "Darling was reluctant  
290 to move on stamp duty. We had to go higher up the food chain to stop the market  
291 collapsing completely."

292 Ministers stopped short of claiming that yesterday's measures would transform the  
293 housing market. They admit the key unresolved issue is the shortage of credit but  
294 there are signs of tension between Mr Brown and Mr Darling over whether the Bank  
295 of England should adopt a £40bn scheme to guarantee mortgages. The Bank strongly  
296 opposes the idea and the Treasury shares its doubts. But Downing Street is pushing  
297 for action to expand the mortgage market.

298 Mr Brown's allies are dismayed that the Chancellor's weekend interview put a cloud  
299 over the Prime Minister's attempt to head off Labour moves to oust him. In  
300 interviews yesterday, Mr Darling refused to express regret over his words, insisting  
301 that he and Mr Brown were "totally at one" and saying: "I am optimistic that we will  
302 get through this."

303 Mr Darling's optimism on the economy was not shared by the OECD, which believes  
304 it will shrink in the third and fourth quarters of this year, entering the first recession  
305 since 1991-92. It revised its forecast that Britain will grow by 1.8 per cent this year  
306 down to just 1.2 per cent, less than the 1.4 per cent predicted by the International  
307 Monetary Fund.

308 George Osborne, the shadow Chancellor, said of the package: "This is a short-term  
309 survival plan for the Prime Minister, not a long-term recovery plan for the economy.  
310 They've had months to prepare and they can't even tell us how much it costs, or  
311 where the money's coming from."

## Article VI

### **Now the grassroots turn against Brown**

**By Andrew Grice (19th September 2008)**

312 The Labour Party's grassroots have turned decisively against Gordon Brown and a  
313 majority want him to stand down, according to an exclusive poll for *The*  
314 *Independent*.

315 A survey of rank-and-file Labour activists found 54 per cent would prefer someone  
316 else to lead the party into the next general election. Mr Brown's personal rating was  
317 lower than every other member of the Cabinet except the Chief Whip Geoff Hoon  
318 and the Transport Secretary Ruth Kelly.

319 The findings are a crushing blow to the Prime Minister on the eve of a make-or-break  
320 annual Labour conference in Manchester starting tomorrow. He had been relying on  
321 the supposed support of activists to dampen the whispering campaign against him in  
322 Parliament. Some 45 per cent of those who responded believe that changing the  
323 party's leader before the next general election would improve Labour's prospects.  
324 Some 27 per cent believe that a new leader would make no difference to Labour's  
325 chances, while 28 per cent think it would worsen them.

326 A majority (57 per cent) believe there should be a vote at the Manchester conference  
327 on whether Mr Brown should face a leadership election, with 43 per cent opposed.  
328 This suggests strong support for the 12 Labour MPs who have called for a contest.

329 If Mr Brown is forced to stand down, the Foreign Secretary David Miliband (24.6  
330 per cent) is the favoured successor among Labour's grassroots. He is followed by the  
331 Health Secretary Alan Johnson (18.1 per cent); the backbencher Jon Cruddas (11.3  
332 per cent); the Justice Secretary Jack Straw (9.6 per cent); Labour's deputy leader  
333 Harriet Harman (6.6 per cent); the left-winger John McDonnell (6.5 per cent); the  
334 Work and Pensions Secretary James Purnell (3.2 per cent); and the Schools Secretary  
335 Ed Balls (2 per cent).

336 The online survey of 788 Labour members and supporters was conducted by  
337 Labourhome.org, an online forum for the Labour grassroots which is not funded or  
338 controlled by the party.

339 Brown allies have claimed that the rebel MPs are a small group of dissidents who do  
340 not represent the Parliamentary Labour Party or party members. Normally, the  
341 people taking part in the poll would instinctively be loyal to the party leader.

342 Mr Brown's personal standing appears to have sunk to a low ebb among Labour  
343 activists. Asked to give cabinet ministers marks out of 10 for their performance,  
344 Labour members and supporters gave him an average of only 4.3. Mr Johnson is  
345 regarded as the best-performing cabinet minister with 6.18 out of 10, followed by the  
346 Environment Secretary Hilary Benn, Mr Straw and Mr Miliband.

347 Asked about the results on the BBC's Question Time programme, Harriet Harman,  
348 the Deputy Leader, who scored 4.95, said it was just "one poll" and said those within  
349 the party calling for a leadership election were making "an error of judgement".  
350 Pressed to say she would not stand in any election, to show her support for Mr  
351 Brown, said refused to do so, saying the question was hypothetical. The survey will  
352 embolden those MPs who are determined to prise Mr Brown out of Downing Street  
353 within weeks. His critics believe Cabinet ministers will try to oust him if Labour  
354 loses the Glenrothes by-election in Fife, expected in late October or early November.  
355 "There is a growing consensus that Glenrothes should be the trigger point," one  
356 ministerial aide said yesterday.

357 Alex Hilton, the editor of Labourhome, said: "It's a real concern that a small majority  
358 of Labour members and supporters want Gordon Brown to step aside, though this  
359 poll was taken before it was clear the role the Prime Minister had played in the  
360 merger of Lloyds-TSB and HBOS."

361 The survey shows that morale in the Labour Party has slumped. Asked to rate their  
362 motivation to campaign for Labour, the average score is 4.8 out of 10 – down from  
363 5.86 in June. Some 71 per cent of those taking part favour a windfall tax on the  
364 energy companies, with 29 per cent against, suggesting that Mr Brown could be  
365 defeated on the issue at the conference.

366 There is overwhelming support (86 per cent) for higher taxes on people earning more  
367 than £250,000 a year, with only 14 per cent opposed.

368 Some 48 per cent of those who responded want the money raised spent on cutting  
369 taxes for those on lower and middle incomes, while 52 per cent say it should  
370 maintain spending levels on public services.

371 Labour leaders will try to stifle dissent at the conference by arguing that the party  
372 will alienate voters if it indulges in "navel-gazing" during the global financial crisis.

373 Mr Brown told Sky News last night: "This is the time for people who know how to  
374 deal with difficult economic circumstances. I believe we are in difficult economic  
375 times."

## **Article VII**

### **Brown: 'This is no time for a novice'**

#### **Brown sends a defiant message to David Cameron... and Miliband**

**By Andrew Grice (24th September 2008)**

376 Gordon Brown slapped down his rivals both inside and outside the Labour Party  
377 yesterday in a fighting conference speech which bought him more time as Prime  
378 Minister.

379 Mr Brown portrayed himself as "the rock of stability and fairness" Britain needed  
380 during the financial crisis. "This is no time for a novice," he declared. That was a  
381 rebuke for both David Cameron and David Miliband, the Foreign Secretary, and the  
382 front-runner to succeed Mr Brown if he is forced out. But ministers warned that the  
383 reaction from the voters will decide whether or not he leads Labour into the next  
384 general election. In public, they heaped praise on the speech but privately they made  
385 clear that he could still face a cabinet mutiny if his fightback fails to impress the  
386 public.

387 One said: "This will do him some good in the short term, but the long term will  
388 depend on the public. I hope there was enough in it for them, and they don't see it as  
389 tailored for the party."

390 Friends and foes alike will now be anxiously awaiting the next crop of opinion polls  
391 to see whether voters will join Labour in giving Mr Brown a second chance. In a sign  
392 of how high the personal stakes are for the Prime Minister his wife Sarah – who has  
393 never spoken on a party platform before – chose to introduce him to the conference  
394 just two hours before the speech.

395 John Hutton, the Business Secretary, said: "It was a very good performance. We all  
396 want to see our opinion poll ratings improve and see the popularity of the  
397 Government improve."

398 The Cabinet is unlikely to move against Mr Brown while the crisis continues in  
399 financial markets. But there are growing signs that ministers will act if Labour does  
400 badly in the European and local elections next June.

401 In a highly personal, hour-long speech to the Manchester conference, the Prime  
402 Minister warned the rebel MPs calling for a Labour leadership election not to rock  
403 the boat after a week in which "the world was spun on its axis" by the financial  
404 turmoil.

405 "The British people would not forgive us if at this time we looked inwards to the  
406 affairs just of our party when our duty is to the interests of our whole country," he  
407 said.



408 His main theme was a promise of "a new settlement for new times" based on "a fair  
409 society". He argued that Labour's values, and a belief in state intervention to correct  
410 market failures, were the right ones during economic uncertainty. He wants to use  
411 this as a key dividing line with the Conservative Party, and said: "Those who don't  
412 believe in the potential of government shouldn't be trusted to form one."

413 Mr Brown announced that 250,000 people suffering from cancer would benefit from  
414 free prescriptions. He said Labour's pledge to abolish child poverty by 2020 would  
415 be enshrined by legislation – a move that would lock in any future Tory Government.  
416 He also promised to make social care affordable and a right to "personal catch-up  
417 tuition" for primary school children.

418 Mr Brown won an ecstatic response from Labour delegates, who warmed to his  
419 personal style. Alan Simpson, Labour MP for Nottingham South, said: "It is a speech  
420 that will buy the Prime Minister a three-month reprieve. Within this time, either the  
421 policies have to change or the leadership will."

## Article VIII

### **Cameron: You can bank on me**

**I've got character and judgement to lead UK out of crisis, says Tory leader, but he warns economic problems may lead to lower spending and tax increases**

**By Andrew Grice (2nd October 2008)**

422 David Cameron insisted yesterday he had the character and judgement to lead Britain  
423 out of its economic crisis but warned that spending cuts and tax rises could be needed  
424 to clear up any "mess" he might inherit. "I'm a man with a plan, not a miracle cure,"  
425 the Conservative leader told his party's conference in Birmingham in a sober speech  
426 designed to tackle head-on Gordon Brown's charges that he is a "novice" and "all  
427 style, no substance".

428 Mr Cameron said: "You can't prove you're ready to be prime minister – and it would  
429 be arrogant to pretend you can." He admitted that experience was important in the  
430 global financial crisis but argued that "character and judgement" mattered more.

431 Turning Mr Brown's argument on its head, Mr Cameron said "the risk" was in not  
432 making the change needed to rebuild the economy and repair Britain's "broken  
433 society". He delighted the Tory faithful by playing traditional tunes about  
434 responsibility, a smaller state and marriage. But, at the same time he told delegates  
435 the causes of crime had to be tackled and prepared them for some tough economic  
436 medicine.

437 Although he believes in low taxes, he warned that the tax cuts favoured by many  
438 Tories would have to wait. "We do not believe in tax cuts paid for by reckless  
439 borrowing," he said, deliberately leaving open the door to tax rises. Privately, some  
440 Tory sources say the party may need to "do a Geoffrey Howe" – a reference to the  
441 1981 tax increases introduced by the then chancellor. They say any tax rises would  
442 be implemented quickly – blaming that on the inheritance from Labour.

443 Mr Cameron also suggested that unpopular cuts in public spending might be needed  
444 to balance the nation's books. He announced that all shadow ministers would review  
445 every government spending programme in their area to see whether it was justified  
446 "in these new circumstances". He warned: "If we win we will inherit a huge deficit  
447 and an economy in a mess. We will need to do difficult and unpopular things for the  
448 long-term good of the country. I know that. I'm ready for that.

449 He added: "The test of whether we're ready for government is not whether we can  
450 come up with exciting shadow budgets. It is whether we have the grit and  
451 determination to impose discipline on government spending, keep our nerve and say  
452 'no' – even in the teeth of hostility and protest."

453 The Tory leader argued that, having had the courage to change his party, he was now  
454 ready to change Britain. He avoided direct personal attacks on Mr Brown, which  
455 would have jarred with his offer to co-operate on measures to tackle the economic  
456 crisis. But he foreshadowed the election battle between the two men by saying:  
457 "These times need leadership, yes. These times need character and judgement. The  
458 leadership to unite your party and build a strong team. The character to stick to your  
459 guns and not bottle it when times get tough. The judgement to understand the  
460 mistakes that have been made and to offer the country change."

461 Despite the economic gloom, Mr Cameron sought to avoid criticism for being too  
462 pessimistic. "I know we are living in difficult times but I am still optimistic," he said.  
463 "We can and will come through. We always do. Not because of our government. But  
464 because of the people of Britain."

465 Echoing Tony Blair's mantra about the need to be "tough on crime, tough on the  
466 causes of crime", he warned that longer jail terms and more prison places were not  
467 the only answer to tackling offending. "Let us recognise once and for all that such an  
468 approach only really deals with symptoms, picks up the pieces of failure that has  
469 gone before," he said.

470 Mr Cameron invoked the memory of Margaret Thatcher to counter Labour's claims  
471 that he was not ready to lead the country. "In 1979, James Callaghan had been home  
472 secretary, foreign secretary and chancellor and then prime minister. But thank God,  
473 we changed him for Margaret Thatcher. If we listened to this argument about  
474 experience, we would never change a government ever. We'd have Gordon Brown as  
475 Prime Minister forever." Last night, a Labour minister said the party was happy to  
476 compete with Mr Cameron on questions of character and judgement. Yvette Cooper,  
477 the Chief Treasury Secretary, said: "David Cameron always makes a smooth and  
478 polished speech, but where was the substance? Cameron says he is a man with a  
479 plan. But all we got was warm words and easy populism."

480 She added: "[He] made judgement the test today but, on the major issues in these  
481 challenging economic times, he has called it wrong – Northern Rock, Bradford &  
482 Bingley and voting against emergency powers to save banks."

## Article IX

### **Mandelson halts flexitime reforms**

**By Andrew Grice (20th October 2008)**

483 Plans to allow 4.5 million parents to work flexibly are to be delayed by the  
484 Government as it searches for ways to help businesses survive the economic  
485 downturn.

486 Lord Mandelson, the Secretary of State for Business, has ordered his officials to  
487 review all policies in the pipeline to ease the burden on firms so they are less likely  
488 to shed jobs, cut investment or go bust. The plan to extend the right to flexitime from  
489 parents of children under six to all those with children up to 16 was trumpeted by  
490 Gordon Brown and approved by Labour's annual conference last month. It looks  
491 likely, however, to be kicked into the long grass.

492 Other proposals which may be postponed include extending paid maternity leave  
493 from 39 to 52 weeks and creating an extra bank holiday. An internal document seen  
494 by The Independent reveals that Lord Mandelson is urgently drawing up an "action  
495 programme for business". He has ordered his department "to be completely focused  
496 on getting UK business through the present economic downturn and emerging  
497 stronger on the other side".

498 He plans a White Paper on Britain's industrial future, including the expansion of  
499 "low carbon" industries so the nation can broaden its base beyond the financial sector  
500 after the present crisis. He believes that although the City of London will still play an  
501 important role over the next 10 years, it will not drive the economy in the way it did  
502 in the past decade.

503 Lord Mandelson's efforts to cut red tape for firms are bound to provoke controversy.  
504 Extending the right to request flexible working for all parents of under-16s was a key  
505 plank of talks with the unions this summer.

506 It was due to take effect next April and an estimated 811,000 mothers and fathers  
507 were expected to request flexible working. With parents of children aged up to six,  
508 who can already request flexible hours, some 90 per cent of such requests are being  
509 granted. But the extension would cost employers an extra £69m a year.

510 Government sources say the decision is finely balanced. Ministers want to ease the  
511 pain of the downturn on ordinary people but must do everything possible to help  
512 business. Delaying a popular extension of workplace rights might contribute to a  
513 "feel-bad factor" and would be opposed by many Labour MPs and trade unions.

514 Mr Brown has also talked up the idea of an extra bank holiday as part of his  
515 "Britishness" agenda. But the Confederation of British Industry believes it could cost  
516 the economy up to £6bn.

517 Ministers say the drive to cut policies costly to business is only a small part of the  
518 action plan being drawn up by the Department for Business, which will be discussed  
519 by the National Economic Council or "war cabinet" chaired by Mr Brown. It will  
520 include measures to help small and medium-sized firms with their cashflow and  
521 finance for investment. Banks will be urged to restore lending to companies to their  
522 2007 levels, local authorities will be asked to follow central government by paying  
523 suppliers within 10 days and HM Revenue & Customs will be asked to show  
524 flexibility in the way they treat firms. The action plan will identify key sectors for  
525 future growth, including manufacturing, and analyse the impact of the downturn on  
526 the corporate sector and other businesses. It says the Government will maintain its  
527 commitment to an "open economy" based on free trade rather than protectionism; try  
528 to open new markets abroad for UK business, and ensure workers can take full  
529 advantage of future economic opportunities by improving their skills.

530 Lord Mandelson said: "What we've got to do is get the Government, the public sector  
531 working hand in hand with the private sector and the business community to make  
532 sure everything we need to do at this stage is done both to get us through it and  
533 benefit in the future."

534 Amid concern that 60,000 more homeowners are falling into negative equity each  
535 month, ministers are urging lenders to adopt a "more responsible" approach to  
536 repossessions. The Chief Treasury Secretary Yvette Cooper said: "What we want to  
537 do is look at stronger rules across the board, that all the banks will follow, to make  
538 sure we are doing everything we can to support people through a difficult time."

539 The Government and opposition parties are rethinking their previously announced  
540 policies to give priority to limiting the impact of the recession. "Everything is up for  
541 review," said a Government source. "What was right two weeks ago might not be  
542 right now."

543 Alistair Darling, the Chancellor, announced yesterday that he plans to speed major  
544 building projects, including schools, hospitals and housing schemes, to safeguard  
545 jobs and keep the economy moving. He signalled that proposals for two new aircraft  
546 carriers and a replacement for the Trident nuclear weapons system would go ahead,  
547 and the £16bn Crossrail project in London and 2012 Olympic Games would help  
548 create jobs.

549 But the Tories fear government projects may be delayed because many are funded by  
550 the private finance initiative and are heavily dependent on lending by banks.

551 George Osborne, the shadow Chancellor, said: "While the Chancellor speculates  
552 about the timing of big capital projects that could take years to get off the ground,  
553 that's not going to help small businesses struggling this winter. Government should  
554 be doing what it can to help so jobs aren't lost."

555 Today David Cameron will publish a "plan for small business" which would allow  
556 them to defer their VAT bills for up to six months.

## Article X

### **Exclusive: Osborne fights for political life**

#### **Shadow Chancellor admits he met Russian oligarch five times but did not ask for political donations**

**By Cahal Milmo and Andrew Grice (22nd October 2008)**

557 The crisis engulfing George Osborne deepened last night when new evidence  
558 emerged challenging his denial that he solicited a £50,000 donation to the  
559 Conservative Party from a Russian billionaire.

560 The shadow Chancellor's fight to keep his job was undermined when a new witness  
561 emerged who appeared to back claims by the banking dynasty scion Nathaniel  
562 Rothschild that Mr Osborne sought money from the aluminium magnate Oleg  
563 Deripaska on his yacht in Corfu in August.

564 Mr Osborne denies claims that he and Andrew Feldman, the Tories' chief executive  
565 and fund-raiser, sought money. They insist that Mr Rothschild, a long-time friend of  
566 Mr Osborne, initiated the discussion about a donation.

567 The witness is James Goodwin, a US businessman who attended a drinks party on  
568 the Queen K yacht. Mr Goodwin is a New York-based fund manager who served as  
569 special adviser to Bill Clinton's chief of staff. He is a long-standing friend of Mr  
570 Rothschild.

571 He also has links to Mr Deripaska, who has a fortune of £17bn and is Russia's richest  
572 man. Earlier this month Mr Goodwin was proposed as a new director of Norilsk  
573 Nickel, a Russian mining giant in which the billionaire has a 25 per cent share. When  
574 contacted at his Manhattan home, the financier confirmed he was present during the  
575 encounter on Mr Deripaska's yacht, but declined to comment on the allegations.  
576 However, a close friend said: "He was party to several conversations that night. He  
577 was not taking notes and sometimes there were simultaneous conversations going on  
578 but he heard what was being said in the group including Mr Osborne and Mr  
579 Deripaska." When asked whether Mr Osborne found the opportunity of meeting with  
580 Mr Deripaska so good that he invited Mr Feldman to accompany him on to Mr  
581 Deripaska's boat to solicit a donation, the friend replied: "You have good instincts."

582 Shortly after *The Independent* established the identity of Mr Goodwin and contacted  
583 him, Mr Rothschild issued a statement which explicitly said the matter of a donation  
584 had been raised aboard Mr Deripaska's yacht.

585 The statement said: "Mr Goodwin recalls that the subject of a donation by Mr  
586 Deripaska's UK company also arose briefly while we were on the boat, but the  
587 conversation gained no traction. At dinner at my house later that evening, the subject

588 again came up in conversation, and Mr Osborne was interested in whether and how  
589 such a donation could be secured."

590 Mr Osborne's statement, issued yesterday, appears to make no mention of the  
591 meeting that evening.

592 Although David Cameron is standing by Mr Osborne, Tory MPs admitted the affair  
593 raised serious questions about his judgement. The shadow Chancellor was accused of  
594 changing his tune after initially denying Mr Rothschild's allegations as "completely  
595 untrue". Last night, he admitted he had met the Russian businessman five times and  
596 was present at the Rothschilds' villa in Corfu "when Mr Rothschild suggested to Mr  
597 Feldman that his friend Mr Deripaska could be interested in making a party  
598 donation".

599 But last night, a source close to Mr Deripaska said: "He has never donated anything  
600 to a UK political party and has no intention of doing so."

601 The Tories insist Mr Osborne has done nothing wrong, because at no time did he or  
602 Mr Feldman solicit a donation. Mr Feldman later turned down the offer. Tory sources  
603 claimed Mr Rothschild was an "unreliable witness" because he had changed his  
604 original claims about the affair in a letter to a newspaper. They blamed the  
605 Rothschild intervention on Lord Mandelson, the Business Secretary, who was also in  
606 Corfu and is a friend of Mr Deripaska.

607 The Tories accused Lord Mandelson of seeking revenge after details of a private  
608 conversation between him and Mr Osborne in Corfu surfaced in a newspaper. They  
609 challenged the Business Secretary to disclose all the contacts he had had with Mr  
610 Deripaska. "This has the hand of Mandelson all over it," said a Tory source. But  
611 friends of Mr Rothschild denied Lord Mandelson played any role in his decision to  
612 go public. They said he felt Mr Osborne was "wrong and hypocritical" to use  
613 information gleaned while he was his guest to damage another guest – Lord  
614 Mandelson.

615 Mr Cameron said: "It was the right judgement for the Conservative Party not to take  
616 any money, and it was the right judgement today to... explain very clearly all the  
617 meetings that took place."

## Article XI

### **Blow for women in battle for top jobs**

**By Michael Savage (4th September 2008)**

618 Women are losing the battle for gender equality in Britain's workplaces after years of  
619 progress, a report shows today.

620 The Equality and Human Rights Commission's annual study, which looks at the  
621 number of women given top positions in business, politics and the public sector,  
622 found women's representation had fallen in almost half the industries surveyed. It is  
623 the biggest backward step for workplace gender equality in the five years the study  
624 has been carried out.

625 Nicola Brewer, chief executive of the commission, said the report exposed the "clear  
626 trend" that gender equality in Britain's workplaces across the board had either hit the  
627 buffers or was in reverse. She described the findings as a "powerful symptom of a  
628 wider failure" to challenge the long-held assumption that child care was a woman's  
629 responsibility.

630 The commission's assessment found that the proportion of women holding key  
631 positions in British life had fallen in 12 out of the 25 categories surveyed in 2006. In  
632 politics, fewer women now hold positions of power in Parliament, the Cabinet and in  
633 the UK's regional assemblies. It would take two centuries, or another 40 elections,  
634 for women to reach parity with men on the benches of the House of Commons, the  
635 report says.

636 The number of women MPs – who make up just 19.3 per cent of the Commons –  
637 puts Britain in 70th place in the world's equality league, behind such countries as  
638 Iraq, Afghanistan and China.

639 Female public sector appointments fell from 35.5 per cent last year to 34.4 per cent.  
640 Their representation in the senior ranks of the judiciary and the police also fell, while  
641 the proportion of professional bodies led by a woman fell from a third in the last  
642 report to a quarter.

643 Women's representation in a further five categories, including senior armed forces  
644 positions and in the media, was unchanged from 2006. Even in areas in which  
645 women's representation had increased, the rate of change had slowed. Women were  
646 now found to represent 11 per cent of directors of the UK's top 100 companies, up  
647 from 10.4 per cent last year. But the slower rate of change means parity with men is  
648 now 73 years away, eight more than estimated after the commission's last survey.

649 Worryingly for a government that has prided itself in its attempts to boost equality in  
650 the workplace, experts warned that new provisions for maternity leave could be  
651 behind the unexpected backwards step.



652 Women currently receive maternity pay for nine months and can take maternity leave  
653 for up to a year, under rights which came into force in April 2007. Some have raised  
654 fears that the leave of absence right, given to women only, has further ingrained the  
655 belief that it is women who should stay at home to look after children.

656 "The low representation of women is down to straight forward discrimination in  
657 some cases, but there are some fundamental ways in which our workplace culture  
658 still holds women back," said Ms Brewer.

659 "Workplaces forged in an era of 'stay at home mums' and 'breadwinner dads' are  
660 putting too many barriers in the way - resulting in an avoidable loss of talent at the  
661 top."

662 She said a change of language was needed, with the continuing tag of "maternity  
663 leave" being dispensed in favour of the more flexible right of "parental leave".

664 Samantha Mangwana, a solicitor specialising in workplace discrimination cases, said  
665 the Government needed to alter maternity and paternity leave rights to tackle the  
666 assumption that women should stay at home.

667 She said parents should be allowed to decide which partner will use the right to a  
668 year off work, currently reserved for women.

669 "A huge amount of flexibility could be injected into the system by allowing men to  
670 take up leave currently only open to women," Ms Mangwana said.

671 Campaigners urged the Government to take notice of the commission's "Sex and  
672 Power" survey and address the failure to make inroads into gender inequality.

673 Brendan Barber, the general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, called for a  
674 "firmer approach" from the Government on the issue. "This survey proves that the  
675 softly-softly approach towards breaking down the glass ceiling is not working," he  
676 said.

## Article XII

### **Safety fears over future long-haul flights**

#### **Ice in fuel system caused Heathrow crash, says report**

**By Michael Savage (5<sup>th</sup> September 2008)**

677 Airlines are being urged to implement new safety measures for long-haul aircraft  
678 after investigators found that the crash-landing of a Boeing 777 at Heathrow was  
679 probably caused by ice in its fuel system.

680 The previously unknown problem was revealed in a report into the accident on 17  
681 January involving a British Airways flight from Shanghai. The Air Accidents  
682 Investigation Branch is urging European and US regulators to introduce interim  
683 measures for all Boeing 777s powered by Rolls-Royce Trent 800 engines to prevent  
684 a similar incident.

685 It also wants the aviation industry to ensure that fuel systems can cope with the  
686 potential build-up and sudden release of ice. The findings could result in long-haul  
687 flights being made to fly at lower altitudes to prevent the build-up of ice crystals  
688 inside their fuel tanks.

689 Flight BA038 was seconds away from touching down when it lost power. The pilot  
690 did not even have time to warn his 136 passengers to brace themselves before he  
691 realised the jet was not going to reach the runway.

692 In what was the most serious incident at Heathrow for 30 years, passengers were  
693 flung forward as the aircraft stalled 400 yards short of the south runway, skimmed a  
694 perimeter fence and careered to a halt on a grass verge. One person suffered a broken  
695 leg and eight others received minor injuries. It later emerged that the cockpit crew  
696 could not get the required thrust as the jet approached Heathrow.

697 AAIB experts now believe the formation of ice meant that fuel could not be  
698 delivered fast enough to the 777's Rolls-Royce Trent engines. They ruled out any  
699 problems with the quality of the fuel or mistakes by the crew.

700 The AAIB report – the fifth released so far – concluded: "The investigation has  
701 shown that the fuel flow to both engines was restricted – most probably due to ice  
702 within the fuel feed system. This ice is likely to have formed from water that  
703 occurred naturally in the fuel whilst the aircraft operated for a long period, with low  
704 fuel flows, in an unusually cold environment."

705 Although the Boeing's fuel did not freeze, its temperature fell to -34°C (-29°F) and  
706 stayed there for about 80 minutes. Investigators said the problems might have been

707 caused by the length of time the fuel temperature was below zero, coupled with the  
708 sudden change in fuel flow demanded as it attempted to land.

709 The report added: "Although the exact mechanism in which the ice has caused the  
710 restriction is still unknown in detail, it has been proven that ice could cause a  
711 restriction in the fuel-feed system. The risk of recurrence needs to be addressed in the  
712 short term whilst the investigation continues."

713 The AAIB suggested the problem could be solved with the use of military  
714 technology which combats the formation of ice. It added: "Operational changes to  
715 reduce the risk of ice formation causing a restricted fuel flow at critical stages of  
716 flight could be introduced. Such changes could be implemented quickly, but must not  
717 compromise the safe operation of the aircraft."

718 The investigation into the crash is continuing with testing at Rolls-Royce in Derby,  
719 and at the home of Boeing in Seattle. BA said it was working closely with the  
720 investigation team.

721 Following the release of yesterday's report, a spokesman for the US Federal Aviation  
722 Administration said it would be issuing an airworthiness directive to all US carriers  
723 operating Boeing 777 aircraft.

724 This was likely to recommend "changes in procedures for pilots to follow in certain  
725 cold weather conditions", as well as "changes in certain fuel procedures on the  
726 ground". While it would not be an emergency directive, he added, it was likely to be  
727 issued within 24 hours and would have immediate effect.

## Article XIII

### **Airports in talks to lift security ban on liquids**

**By Michael Savage and Nigel Morris (10<sup>th</sup> September 2008)**

728 The government is in discussions with security companies and Britain's airports to  
729 lift the ban on liquids being carried in hand luggage as early as next year, *The*  
730 *Independent* has learnt.

731 Technology already deployed at Heathrow's new Terminal 5 can automatically detect  
732 the presence of liquids in carry-on bags. Now, government scientists are running  
733 tests to see if the scanners can be adapted to pick out those that are harmful.

734 "The technology is there, which will allow these scanners not only to test for liquids  
735 but also to determine if those liquids are dangerous or not," said a security industry  
736 source. "At the moment, that technology is being tested by the security services. And  
737 when they are happy that it works, the ban will be lifted."

738 The aviation industry is keen to see a change in the restrictions, brought in after  
739 intelligence experts believed they had foiled a plot to blow up airliners with liquid  
740 bombs in August 2006.

741 Yesterday, Virgin Atlantic said the "time may now be right" for a change in the  
742 security rules.

743 The renewed pleas come after the trial of eight men over the alleged plot. None of  
744 the group on trial was found guilty on the airliner charge but three were found guilty  
745 of conspiracy to murder. They had stood accused of using soft drinks bottles to  
746 disguise homemade bombs that would be used to blow up planes flying across the  
747 Atlantic.

748 Fears from security forces that a similar attack could be attempted saw severe  
749 restrictions on hand luggage immediately introduced.

750 The current restrictions, which limit the volume of liquid that can be carried by  
751 travellers in their hand luggage, has cost airport operators tens of millions of pounds  
752 to enforce.

753 Current rules dictate that bottles containing more than 100ml of liquid cannot be  
754 carried in hand luggage, while the amount of hand luggage that can be restrictions,  
755 which limit the volume of liquid that can be carried by travellers in their hand  
756 luggage, has cost airport operators tens of millions of pounds to enforce.

757 Airlines have complained that the rules make the UK's hubs less attractive to  
758 passengers. Analysts put the total cost of the liquid bomb plot to the industry at as

759 much as £200m. The hand luggage restrictions dictate that bottles containing more  
760 than 100ml of liquid cannot be carried and only one bag is allowed.

761 BAA, which operates the UK's main airports Heathrow, Gatwick and Stansted, had  
762 to recruit 3,000 extra security staff to cope with the restrictions. It puts the total cost  
763 of the measures in the "tens of millions". "We have been calling for a review of the  
764 rules for a long time, along with many other airlines and airport operators," said Paul  
765 Charles, Virgin's head of communications.

766 "When you go to airports at the moment, you can see the confusion, with many  
767 people still bringing too many liquids. We believe that things could be made simpler  
768 for the public, to ensure the same rules are in place wherever you are travelling from  
769 in the world."

770 Four UK airports including Heathrow have bought scanners that will detect  
771 dangerous liquids and more are on order. It is believed the Government will not lift  
772 the restrictions until all major airports have the new technology.

773 But The Department of Transport said it took its lead from advice given by the joint  
774 intelligence analysis centre. It added that the recent bomb plot court case had proven  
775 that potential terrorists were already capable of creating bombs from domestic items.

776 "Aircraft could be vulnerable to such devices so we are right to continue to require  
777 the restrictions for liquids in hand luggage," said a spokeswoman.

778 "We are also right to require these restrictions internationally, as we are all at risk.  
779 We continue to work with international colleagues to develop technological detection  
780 methods which could ease the restrictions."

## Article XIV

### **Meltdown as bank collapses**

**By Stephen Foley in New York (15<sup>th</sup> September 2008)**

781 Wall Street banks were preparing for one of the most dramatic shake-ups in the  
782 finance industry's history last night as it emerged that Lehman Brothers, an  
783 investment bank with a 158-year history, was working on a plan to declare  
784 bankruptcy.

785 As a marathon session of weekend talks went into its final hours, an even bigger  
786 rival, Merrill Lynch, also assembled its board to vote on a takeover offer. With the  
787 opening of Asian markets as a deadline, the signs were that two of the most powerful  
788 corporations in global finance could disappear. Insiders said other financial  
789 institutions were examining the creation of a massive fund, perhaps as large as \$50bn  
790 (£28bn), which would be used to prop up other firms that get into difficulty.

791 Whatever the exact shape of the deal, it was clear that it would have profound – and  
792 – unpredictable consequences for the world economy. The events represent a  
793 crescendo for the year-long credit crisis, which has wiped out half-a-trillion dollars in  
794 investments held by Wall Street's biggest firms, forced governments to nationalise  
795 once-proud financial institutions and has made it ever harder for ordinary people and  
796 businesses to get loans. Failure to end the crisis soon could tip the world into a severe  
797 recession, say economists.

798 For that reason, the Federal Reserve, the US central bank, had called in the chief  
799 executives of Wall Street's biggest banks for crisis talks over the future of Lehman  
800 Brothers on Friday night, but few expected such dramatic action would be necessary.

801 One by one, the major players revealed that the credit crisis had so weakened their  
802 finances that they would not be able to fund a rescue deal for Lehman. When the UK  
803 bank Barclays walked out of negotiations to buy the company yesterday, there  
804 seemed no option left but a liquidation of Lehman.

805 Fears grew over the weekend that Lehman's failure could trigger a crash when Asian  
806 markets resumed trading. The Fed and the US Treasury refused to hand over  
807 government money to prop up firms brought low by their own bad mortgage  
808 investments.

809 There were signs, however, that the Fed was considering taking some action to aid  
810 markets by loosening conditions for lending money to Wall Street firms.

811 The question is whether a once-in-a-generation shake-up on Wall Street will bring  
812 stability and help restore confidence, or presage a new leg-down in the credit markets  
813 that are the lifeblood of the global economy.

814 It is certain to throw thousands more bankers out of work. Lehman employs 25,000  
815 people around the world, including 4,500 in London, where it has its European  
816 headquarters.

817 Coming on the heels of the fire sale of the government-backed Bear Stearns in  
818 March, the disappearance of Lehman Brothers and Merrill Lynch would mean the  
819 Big Five investment banks will become just two.

820 Bank of America was cajoled by the Fed into talks to buy Merrill Lynch after  
821 walking away from negotiations with Lehman Brothers yesterday. It will pay \$40bn,  
822 but not in cash, issuing Merrill Lynch investors instead with new BofA shares. If the  
823 takeover is consummated, it will spare Merrill Lynch, one of the most famous brands  
824 on Wall Street, from the ignominious fate of Lehman Brothers, which declined to  
825 accept cut-price offers to refinance the firm earlier in the year, only to find that its  
826 value continued to plummet and its business began to wither.

827 Dealers across Wall Street were called in for an unprecedented shadow trading  
828 session, supervised by the derivatives industry regulator, aimed at reducing exposure  
829 to Lehman. The trades would only go into effect if Lehman filed for bankruptcy  
830 before midnight, NY time.

831 Such a liquidation has not been tried since the explosion of derivatives trading,  
832 which meant the collapse of one institution could mean unpredictable losses  
833 elsewhere. Bill Gross, of Pimco, one of the most outspoken fund managers, predicted  
834 an "immediate tsunami" if Lehman fails.

## Article XV

### **The panic is over... possibly**

**After week of turmoil, FTSE stages biggest ever rally in wake of US bank bailout. But can we really relax yet?**

**By Stephen Foley in New York (20th September 2008)**

835 The UK stock market thundered to its biggest one-day rise of all time and share  
836 prices around the globe soared amid hopes – after a week of unprecedented chaos on  
837 financial markets – that there could soon be a solution to the credit crisis that has  
838 threatened to bring the economy to its knees.

839 President George Bush announced the most wide-ranging and expensive government  
840 intervention in the financial markets in US history, and on both sides of the Atlantic  
841 investors hailed the success of curbs on the speculators who have been stoking panic  
842 by deliberately driving bank shares lower. But doubts persist over whether the  
843 bailout will be enough to bring an end to the credit crisis.

844 Some £102bn was added to the value of the FTSE 100 index of the UK's largest  
845 companies, which jumped 8.8 per cent to 5,311.3, easing the pain for savers and  
846 pension fund holders. By the end of trading, the UK stock market had recovered all  
847 of its losses of the week. In New York, the Dow Jones Industrial Average closed up  
848 3.35 per cent at 11,388.44.

849 It was an extraordinary conclusion to a period which has seen the disappearance of  
850 two of the world's largest investment banks, the nationalisation of the largest insurer  
851 in the US, and the shotgun takeover of Halifax Bank of Scotland in the UK by  
852 Lloyds TSB.

853 In the US, too, share prices surged in morning trading, after the federal government  
854 rode to the rescue of the markets with a massive programme of support that the  
855 Treasury Secretary, Hank Paulson, conceded could cost US taxpayers "hundreds of  
856 billions of dollars". The government will buy up the toxic mortgage investments that  
857 have wrecked banks' finances, it will insure the \$3 trillion of assets held in money  
858 market funds and it is following the UK's lead in banning short-selling of financial  
859 stocks.

860 On Wall Street, as in the City of London, bank bosses have complained that short-  
861 selling by hedge funds – a way of betting on a share price fall – has contributed to a  
862 climate of fear that was threatening to drain confidence in every financial institution.  
863 The 799 US financial companies whose stocks can no longer be shorted were among  
864 those rallying hardest yesterday. The mighty investment bank Morgan Stanley came  
865 back from the brink, just 24 hours after it looked as if it might have to sell itself to  
866 survive.



867 On the London Stock Exchange, where shorting was banned on Thursday, Royal  
868 Bank of Scotland was up 32 per cent, Barclays and Halifax Bank of Scotland were  
869 up 29 per cent. "Today has been the most incredible day of a fascinating financial  
870 week," said Anthony Grech, market strategist at the London trading firm IG Index.

871 The cost of rescuing the financial system, President Bush said, was less than the cost  
872 of letting it fail. "These are unprecedented challenges, and we're responding with  
873 unprecedented action," he said.

874 But the bailout drew criticism from the Republican presidential nominee, John  
875 McCain. He said: "The Federal Reserve should get back to its core business of  
876 responsibly managing our money supply and inflation."

877 Alan Greenspan, former chairman of the Federal Reserve, described the temporary  
878 bans on short-selling as a "terrible idea" that limits markets' ability to find the right  
879 price for financial stocks, but he gave his support to the massive government rescue  
880 plan. "This is a once-in-a-century event that required an extraordinary reaction," he  
881 said.

882 With the financial system on a precipice, Mr Paulson had ordered congressional  
883 leaders to an emergency meeting on Capitol Hill on Thursday night and told them  
884 that they had to take decisive action and quickly. Investors had been pulling money  
885 out of even the safest financial institutions all day, and the Treasury Secretary raised  
886 the spectre of Great Depression-style queues outside banks if the government failed  
887 to act.

888 In particular he pointed to massive withdrawals from money market funds that were  
889 normally treated by investors as the equivalent of cash. "A lot of people use these  
890 money market funds as bank accounts, they pay their bills with them," said Kevin  
891 Logan, senior US economist at Dresdner Kleinwort. "If they suddenly had to stop  
892 people taking out their money, you'd freeze the payments system and there would be  
893 panic in the streets."

894 A cross-party consensus appeared to be holding yesterday that legislation should be  
895 drawn up by the middle of next week to allow further government intervention in the  
896 markets and to allow the Treasury to buy the toxic mortgage investments that are at  
897 the heart of the credit crisis.