

Přílohy

Příloha č. 1: Transkript epizody Any Questions? z 12. srpna 2011;

Panelisté:

JD Jonathan Dimbleby

PH Peter Hitchens

SW Sayeeda Warsi

JU Julia Unwin

HH Harriet Harman

1 JD: Welcome to the City of York where we are close to the race course in dringhouses. The
2 word dring deriving from a 12th century to describe a young man who was given a free
3 tenancy in return for providing duties which were partly military and partly servile, thought
4 [unclear]. With the guests of here in the Edward the Confessor Church that is celebrating its
5 150th anniversary. And on our panel Sayeeda Warsi who sits in the Cabinet as a co-chairman
6 of the Conservative Party, Harriet Harman who is the Shadow Deputy Prime Minister and the
7 Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, Julia Unwin who has been Director of the Joseph
8 Rowntree Foundation since 2007. The foundation, I quote: “seeks to understand the root
9 causes of social problems, to identify the ways of overcoming them and to show how social
10 needs can be met in practice.” She says that the concern about the dispossessed is what gets
11 her out of bed in the morning. Peter Hitchens is an author and columnist for the Mail on
12 Sunday who blogs this week that the majority of our and, I quote: “intelligentsia will continue
13 to regard him as, I quote again, a fascist for proposing what they regard as unthinkable
14 solutions for the kinds of problems manifested in the crime, violence and looting which has so
15 shaken the nation this week.” Our panel.

16 Applause

17 JD: Our first questions, please:

18 Martin Murdoch. When it comes to keeping order on our streets, who is in charge? Police or
19 politicians?

20 JD: Harriet Harman.

21 HH: Well, I think the government is responsible for, and Parliament, is responsible for setting
22 the laws, the legal framework, and the government is responsible for ensuring the police have
23 the resources they need. But when it comes to actual police operations, what they do day to
24 day, who they arrest, then that has to be an independent decision, operationally for the police
25 because we have in this country a very strong and proud tradition that the police are
26 independent and they are not directed by government, they are not directed by politicians.
27 And I think it is very worrying that the police do seem to feel that the government have kind
28 of trodden over the wrong side of the line on it and have given the impression that it was the
29 government that was directing operations to ensure order on our streets when the police have
30 made it absolutely clear that it was they who chose the tactics, who built up the numbers on
31 the nights to finally quell the rioting that was in our streets and I think that the government

32 should at this point, when there is still police officers lying injured, when the police are still
33 kicking in doors in order to arrest people and looking at CC TV in order to track people down,
34 at this point, the government should be confining themselves to giving the police 100 %
35 support.

36 Applause

37 JD: So, when Sir Hugh Orde, the chairman of ACPO, The Association of Chief Police
38 Officers, said on news night, I quote: “the fact that politicians chose to come back from their
39 holidays is in irrelevance in terms of the tactics that were then developing...he’s right. (?)

40 HH: Well, what he was doing is I think he was saying, that they bitterly resent, err, they felt
41 that David Cameron was somehow implying that it wasn’t until he came back from his
42 holiday that the grid was got on it and that it was sorted out and I think that they feel that he
43 was trying to imply that he had sorted the situation out when they know that it was they who
44 had done it and also, err, that he had somehow implied that, that he was taking decisions.. I
45 was quite surprised when I heard in the house of commons Theresa May saying that she had
46 agreed to cancel police overtime, I mean actually those sorts of things are for chief constables,
47 you know they do an incredibly important job and they shouldn’t be encroached on and that is
48 one of the reasons why I am very worried about having elected police commissioners –

49 JD: Ok, we will leave that right there. Ehm -

50 Applause

51 JD: Sayeeda Warsi, the Home Office issued a statement on behalf of the Home Secretary
52 saying that Theresa May, I quote: “ordered all special constables should be mobe...
53 mobilized, all police leave cancelled.” Did she make that order? And if she made that order,
54 was she out of order?

55 SW: Let me go back to the question that Martin was asking and I will address that in the
56 question as well...It is the police’s job to set operations and in this particular situation that we
57 have seen unfold over the last seven days it was the police that was leading those operations.
58 Let me also say that those police officers that have had to stand in that front line and take
59 missiles, take aggression, not knowing how the situation was going to be cha... err...changed,
60 going day after day, night after night, in the front line, to protect all of us, we can’t any of us
61 say thank you enough for what they have done and to especially what -

62 Applause

63 JD: And will you now answer Martin Murdoch's question, it is a very simple question...

64 SW: Yes yes..

65 JD: No, who is in charge?

66 SW: But suggest that, yeah -

67 JD: Police or politicians?

68 SW: But suggest that those operations are conducted in a vacuum, without politicians being
69 there is wrong...I have been at the COBRA meetings that we have been having over this last
70 week..The acting commissioner for the metropolitan police is there, Sir Hugh Orde is there
71 and the po—the Prime Minister asks questions, he says do you have the resources for the
72 operations that you want to conduct, do you need any further resources, are there any glitches
73 in the system, if you start arresting people today if that's what you're planning to do, do we
74 have enough room in the cells? If we start remanding people in custody, do we have the
75 prison spaces, what can we do to help further? That is what the prime minister needs to be
76 doing in a COBRA meeting, he needs to be making sure that all the police services, the
77 emergency services, feel completely supported and that they have the political will and
78 support of the government behind them. Let me tell you an example -

79 JD: No no, let's not take an example -

80 SW: But it's important to give an example -

81 JD: Let's just take the -

82 SW: 'Cause I just spoke -

83 JD: Let's not..we have a lot of questions to get to, I am sure you will have chance, just answer
84 this question: Did Theresa may, as the home office statement say, order for special councillors
85 to mobilize or not?

86 SW: If the home office stated that, mm, and that's the statement she issues -

87 JD: So she..

88 SW: So she must have, then.

89 JD: So she ordered, mm, that all special councillors should be mobilized, and I am quoting
90 the statement, Sir Hugh Orde says, which is the core of the question from Martin Murdoch,
91 the Home Secretary has, quotes: no power what so ever to make sanction order.

92 SW: I don't know what personal conversations took place between Hugh Orde and...

93 JD: These are two public statements! These are two public statements Directly contradictory.

94 SW: What I can tell you to what did happen in COBRA, there was a very real discussion
95 about the number of police officers that were needed on our streets and there was a very real
96 discussion about making sure that we had every available resource, that meant having the
97 council, the council need. And who said what and what time and who said it first and who
98 said it second I think it is deeply petty and I actually think that both politicians and the police
99 are above this so what we should be doing at this time is not having these petty fall outs but
100 actually rising above it and say police have done a damn good job and we value them for
101 keeping our streets safe.

102 JD: So hugh—

103 Applause

104 JD : So Hugh Ward being an eminent policeman who reached great distinction in Northern
105 Ireland might not feel he was making a petty point, I don't know.

106 Audience murmuring

107 JD: Mm, but..Peter Hitchens, Peter Hitchens.

108 PH: Well, the simple answer to the question is, of course, that when things are going well, the
109 politicians are responsible and when things are going badly....look, the police are
110 responsible...

111 Applause

112 PH: Because the politicians are many more spin doctors than the police do. And I noticed, of
113 course, the baroness Warsi hiding behind the police in her response there: "Oh, well, let's all
114 identify with the police" The police, of course, none of us is going to denigrate police officers
115 who stand out in the street, brave and in missiles and danger, who could possibly do that? But
116 what we are actually asking here is about who is in charge and whether they know what they

117 are doing. And it is perfectly plain that they don't. I say who is actually in charge...Roy
118 Jenkins began the process of nationalising the police back under the Harold Wilson
119 government in 1964, he destroyed most of the local police forces which used to actually be
120 joining the local, the awful, hideous police college in Ramsey was created which has, which
121 has, which has put...put every police force in the country under the control of indoctrinated
122 sociologists and the, the..

123 Laugh

124 PH: Well, it's true, look at the chief constables, these are [unclear] invariably in social science
125 degrees...is that what you want, standing up in front of those personally..no, this has been the
126 whole tendency: the closure of the police stations, the withdrawal of police from foot patrol,
127 the political correctness of the police, the general, the general retreat from their doing what we
128 want them to do into being a neutral body which negotiates between offender and victim and
129 which, let's be quite honest, were quite incapable of coping with this event when it began, and
130 not because of failing of individual officers or lack of courage but because of they simply
131 didn't know what to do and they were under the control of people who were fundamentally
132 unprepared for what was going to happen..I could have told them what was going to happen,
133 most of you could tell what was going to happen, we've seen the decline of order, morality
134 and authority in this country, gathering in place over the past 25 years -

135 JD: So it was -

136 PH: It was inevitable and they weren't ready for it because they simply -

137 JD: OK -

138 PH: Because, because they simply aren't able to understand what's wrong with the country.

139 JD: Julia Unwin.

140 Applause

141 PH: Thank you.

142 JU: I don't see this a petty distinction at all. I think one of the fundamental strengths of the
143 free democracy is that we do have a separation of the government and the police and the fact
144 that the police are looked to as a professional body who can make those decisions is what we
145 hold them to account for. We ask the government to hold them to account and to manage the

146 strategy but we absolutely require the police to set operational direction. I think what's so
147 unseemly about the debate of the last few days is that in this very sad and difficult and
148 troubling time. We're ending up with a fight about who said what about leave, all the
149 governments I've ever known find it incredibly difficult to understand the value and
150 importance of independence whether it's the police or any other body and I think we need to
151 maintain that we leave it at our peril.

152 JD: Thank you.

153 Applause

154 JD: Our next question, please.

155 Geoffrey Whitaker. Should police numbers be reconsidered now in the aftermath of the riots?

156 JD: there are proposed cuts, budget cuts, with 20 percent over the next 4 years, which is what
157 you are referring to, should this be reconsidered?

158 Geoffrey Whitaker: That's correct, I mean, when we looked at the riots starting, they were
159 awfully undermanned, which caused a lot of problems and the movement from police force to
160 police force created shortages in other areas of the country that would allow the riots then to
161 start in different areas, and how do you react if there is two or three riots at the same time?

162 JD: Should this be reconsidered, Peter Hitchens?

163 PH: I don't think it's the issue, I think if you look at the numbers of police in this country, we
164 have now, both for the head of population and as an absolute number, more police officers
165 than we ever had before. What the problem is, is what they do and there are so many of them,
166 strengthen by ridiculous pieces of legislation like the Police and Criminal Evidence Act in
167 1984 and its clause of practice and the human rights laws which also restrict them, so for
168 instance, if the police officer arrests somebody on the street, he's committed to five hours
169 minimum of bureaucracy and paperwork, so he then don't do so, the police are being
170 emasculated by regulation and law and human rights so it doesn't matter how many of them
171 you have, they won't be able to do the job you want them to do so what is really necessary is
172 the repeal of these foolish laws and the replacement of this reactive police force which sits in
173 remotes buildings, most of the police stations are in close as well, sits in remote buildings far
174 away, waits for things to go wrong and then react, the replacement of that would be what we
175 actually want, what everybody wants, which is quite practical and would actually be cheaper,

176 the police force patrolling on foot preventing the outbreak of trouble in the first place. No
177 more effective reform of policing has ever been devised on that, it worked when we had it, the
178 reasons for getting rid of it were, were, were in fact non-existent and it would be very very
179 easy and very very simple to reinstate it with a very small amount of legislation which neither
180 the Conservative Party nor the Labour Party will even contemplate because they are wholly
181 hostage to the politically correct, basically anti-police ideas which falls to that legislation in
182 the first place. You'll get nothing from it -

183 JD: Julia -

184 PH: I promise you, nothing.

185 JD: Julia Unwin.

186 JU: I have no idea whether these cuts are safe ones to make or not but I do know that this is a
187 very bad week for making these sorts of decisions and I think if we make a decision about
188 these cuts, reinstating them or not, at a time of crisis and panic we'll most certainly make the
189 wrong decision... We need to step back and think very carefully about the deployment of the
190 police, the task we ask them to do, on that I strongly agree with Peter, I think we need to be
191 really clear about the job is and where else help comes for these communities... What troubles
192 me is that if we reinstate these numbers and I can see lots of tempting reasons to do it and my
193 guess is it will happen, we will have to find that money elsewhere. And if we take that money
194 from other places, if we take it out from youth service, if we take it out from where young
195 people are entertained and diverted and given access to work, then we sure will have more
196 trouble for ourselves. So I want to urge the government to have a long slow think-about this,
197 it may well be the 20 % cut is it highly inappropriate and I agree with the question that it
198 looks like that on the surface that these are extraordinary times, not times we've seen that
199 often in our history and I think we need to take a stop and think about it more carefully.

200 Applause

201 JD: Under the proposed cuts according to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Police: frontline
202 numbers in 42 out of 43 forces in England and Wales would fall by 2 % by 2012. The Labour
203 Party is...wants to totally reverse these counts, Harriet Harman?

204 HH: Well, we did think and we did say that we thought along with, across the different public
205 services we had to look good, ensuring that the police were trying to be more efficient and

206 they would have to have some cuts in their budget, but what we took very carefully into
207 account is what Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary said and what they said is that if
208 you go beyond 12 % cuts to the police you cannot but affect front line services and we took
209 that very seriously indeed because over the years that we were in government we built up the
210 numbers of police and actually that provided reassurance and gave people more confidence to
211 see them out on the street and it also played its part in cutting crime and, so we saw the
212 number of police going up and we saw crime going down and I've always opposed even
213 before the riots, opposed the idea that there should be a 20 % cut in the police, 16,000 fewer
214 police officers, and I also think it's just downright rude to police, to say, sometimes the
215 conservatives have been saying, oh, we can cut 16,000 policemen because they are all wasting
216 their time, you won't notice the difference. They aren't wasting their time even if they're not
217 on the streets, some of them are doing very detailed, investigative work like the sort of
218 investigative work which gets to the heart of unpicking and discovering the gangs that were a
219 part of the riots, just because you can't see them on the streets doesn't mean they aren't doing
220 good work and cutting 20 % of the police even before the riots, it was madness, afterwards
221 surely even the government should recognise it.

222 Applause

223 JD: Sayeeda Warsi.

224 SW: The police aren't sitting around wasting their time, they don't want to sit around wasting
225 their time but under the last govern, they were made to sit around to waste their time...

226 Audience murmuring

227 SW: They were chasing targets...

228 Audience murmuring

229 SW: There were...let me tell you what targets they were chasing: the police imp ledge, the
230 confidence targets, the PSA targets and you were... they were spending hundreds of
231 thousands of hours on paperwork...they were spending 11, at any one time, only 11 % of our
232 police officers were only actually out on patrol and every, any individual officer was spending
233 22 % of their time on filling in forms and 14 % of their time on actually patrolling the streets

234 –

235 JD: Should we point out –

236 SW: And we think -

237 JD: Should we point out that much of that paperwork originated under the last conservative
238 government.

239 SW: And we think -

240 Laugh. Applause

241 SW: And this government believes that the police should be doing...chasing one single target
242 and that's about cutting crime, now this week, sadly, opportunistically, and in such a difficult
243 time for the country, the Labour Party has been making much of police numbers and I think I
244 should quote back to you-

245 HH: Yeah, but be honest, we have been saying before -

246 SW: Harriet, I should actually quote back to you what your lead-, late leader Ed Milliband
247 said less than six month ago: "We could have cut a billion pounds from the policing budget,
248 which would have been a 12 % cut in the policing budget."

249 HH: That's what he said-

250 SW: Here in North Yorkshire, here in North Yorkshire, where the budget will be cut from a
251 147 million to 144 million over 4 years, that's 3.5 million, that's an 11 % cut. So actually
252 here, they are better off than they would have been under you. And Ben Bradshaw, your
253 colleague, said -

254 JD: Hang on, this is..let's slow down on the quoting route, this is cutting too much of the
255 time..can we cut to the...there's lots of things to discuss -

256 SW: Yes..

257 JD: And I say, not to you, Sayeeda, to the whole panel.

258 SW: Can I just say..?

259 JD: No, you can't say anything for a moment.

260 Laugh

261 JD: Because I am inserting, I am inserting chairman's rights I am afraid, can... you will get to
262 say something, let me just put this question, the same question as I put to Harriet Harman,
263 which is the heart of Geoffrey Whitaker's question: "" If our Majesty's Inspectorate says that
264 police frontline numbers, front line numbers, will be reduced by 2 % by 2012, is there
265 something for us to prepare to accept, against this new context, is that what prime minister
266 seems to be saying?

267 SW: If you look on the context in we're speaking now, we have sufficient police officers to
268 deal with the situation we found on our streets. If, God forbidden, and I hope it never happens
269 again -

270 Audience murmuring

271 SW: If the situation was to happen again, despite the spending restraints, we would have the
272 police numbers to be able to keep us safe. That it has been said by the Prime Minister, it has
273 been said by the Home Secretary: there is a huge amount of savings that can be made -

274 JD: The police don't seem to think the same way, do they?

275 SW: Whether it's national procurement, IT equipment, cutting back bureaucracy, the whole
276 series of measures can be taken and the police are crying out to be freed up, to get out and do
277 what they set out to do, which is to police our streets, not to fill in forms.

278 JD: I am sorry to persist with this but you say they will have enough, you say there will be
279 enough even if there are less frontline officers as a result of these cuts..

280 SW: The Home secretary has said over and over again that despite the change in spending
281 budgets of the police there should not be an impact on frontline visible policing...it couldn't
282 be any clearer than that.

283 Laugh

284 JD: What she's saying is that...ehm, but the official body is saying this will happen. Sir Hugh
285 Orde, again, says this will inevitably mean fewer police officers..

286 SW: The chief constable, I mean, you don't like quotes, but the police officers, the chief
287 constables, after the chief constable who have come out and said despite the spending
288 restraints they do not feel...I mean the chief constable of great magistrate said, oh we have an
289 obsession with the number of police officers which meant that we kept them artificially high

290 and he said himself we have had lots of police officers doing admin post just to hit numbers.
291 What we need is to stop doing admin work; we need them to be out keeping our streets safe.

292 HH: I think the idea that you can lose 16,000 thousand police officer not noticing the
293 difference on the front lines is absolutely ludicrous..and also, Sayeeda, I would say, that we
294 said when you announced the 20 % cut in October we said this is the wrong thing to do, I
295 mean we've said anyway the deficit reduction is too far too fast but on this we said it's the
296 wrong thing to do..

297 Applause

298 HH: And I really, really do not think we should be told that because there's been a riot we
299 should stop saying we oppose the cuts in police numbers and I should be accused of
300 opportunism for saying something again that I have been saying since October and I don't
301 think that it's kind of fair politics to accuse somebody of opportunism for being consistent
302 and I, against the police numbers, I –

303 SW: You haven't been consistent..

304 HH: Unemployment rising...and I am gonna carry on saying that.

305 Applause

306 JD: Mr. Hitchens.

307 PH: The surreality of this discussion is amazing. If Harriet Harman, if Harriet Harman, if
308 Harriet Harman were in government, she would be saying exactly what Sayeeda Warsi is
309 saying, if Sayeeda Warsi were in opposition, she would be saying exactly what Harriet..

310 Laugh

311 SW or HH murmuring

312 JD: So in that case we will -

313 Murmuring continues

314 PH: ..Anything interesting to say about how the country is policed? That is the crucial
315 question which in front of us they will not address: how the country is policed? The way we
316 want it done or the way that London liberal [unclear] want it done?

317 JD: We will -

318 PH: And until then, until then who is addressed? These, the lead parties will not touch, you
319 will not touch, you will not hear any sense, anywhere at all. That is the question: how are we
320 to be policed.

321 JD: We could -

322 Applause

323 JD: We could continue with that precise issue if you have thoughts about that...The Any
324 Answers programme after this respective broadcast of Any Questions...the number is 03700
325 100 444 and the email address is any.answers@bbc.co.uk. Our next, please.

326 Margaret Sentamo: Is there an underlying moral deficit in our society today which led to the
327 looting and public disorder we witnessed this week?

328 JD: Just, I am sorry before coming to the key question, is only that this is York and your name
329 is Sentamo, does that suggest a relationship with any prominent figure?

330 Margaret Sentamo: I am not sure whether this is a fair question to ask...

331 Laugh

332 JD: But given that it's unfair, are you a spouse of, or in any other way related to the
333 archbishop?

334 MS: I am connected..Yes, I am.

335 Laugh

336 JD: Thank you. Oh, you're like politicians so slow to answer the question. Julia Unwin on this
337 first. Julia?

338 JU: We've been swimming in the sea, haven't we, with people talking about moral malaise
339 we're facing and it's clearly something very wrong when young people behave the way they
340 did. Something terrible has happened and has happened over a very long period of time. I
341 think, however, to say as one simple cause is to mistake what's happened. I think we have to
342 understand the detail and we have to really take a stop and focus on what's happened. Yes,
343 there's clearly evidence that some young people are not well parented. They are not looked

344 after and raised in a way that means they know how to behave. That is the major problem.
345 Clearly there's a problem about a number of people feeling they have no hope, they have
346 nothing left to lose and clearly there's a sense of greed and entitlement which affected some
347 of those people. The causes of these sorts of events are always very complicated and those of
348 us who rush to judgement will often make mistakes. I think we have to understand that
349 something very difficult is happening to that generation, the generation that has been scarred
350 by unemployment and feel very little hope for the future, none of which justifies the appalling
351 behaviour that's taken place. Whether do we call it moral malaise or each individual
352 pathology, or individual...or request of how the society is structured? It seems to be almost a
353 deliberate distraction. What really matters is what the solutions are. Give those people some
354 hope and some reason to never ever behave like that again.

355 Applause

356 JD: We may, and this is unusual in Any Questions because we normally do a variety of
357 questions, a variety of topic, because of this magnitude of the issue we're discussing a whole
358 range of related issues on this one subject and we will come, I hope, pretty soon to the
359 question of what to do, but the diagnosis is obviously extremely important, as you just
360 identified. Mm, Harriet Harman.

361 HH: Well, I think, mm, at the heart of these terrible riots and I think it's impossible to
362 overstate the real terror that they instilled in people, people never expected to see a complete
363 breakdown of law and order on their streets and although order has been restored to our
364 streets, normality hasn't because people are still absolutely in shock, and I think at the very
365 heart of it there was some gang action and that has been something which has been
366 developing, and in the heart of those gangs, various and moral deficit. People who have no
367 sense of right and wrong and who are prepared to completely exploit other people that they
368 get involved in the gangs and that is something that the police I know in London and
369 elsewhere had really been working on, working with the local communities, to try to get to the
370 bottom of how to deal with it. But there was also a whole load of other people around who got
371 swept up into it, who I wouldn't say necessarily, despite the fact that they've committed and
372 been a part of terrible criminal offences, I wouldn't say they're part of general moral malaise.
373 I would agree with Julia that the families are very important and bring young people up to
374 know right and wrong but one of the paradoxes is, and I have...I've been to sit with mothers
375 who lost their children who've been involved in gang crime, and sometimes I've gone to a

376 completely dysfunctional household where everything is chaotic and all the kids are in trouble
377 and there's no sense of order or decent upbringing. Sometimes I've gone to a family where
378 there's a mother and a father with a lovely home and the parents working, knowing right from
379 wrong, you know, with a lovely brother and a sister, and then one child goes that is involved
380 in gang crime, so you have bad families actually and good children finding their way through,
381 and you can have good families, finding they've got bad children, so I agree with Julia, it is
382 very complicated indeed, but I do think it's also important that not only do young people stay
383 straight and narrow but they've got good parenting and we should support parents in bringing
384 up their children, but they do need to have, and this is one of the points that David Lammy,
385 the MP for Tottenham, have made very much. He said he was brought up by a lone parent
386 with very little money on a very difficult estate, he sometimes felt very frustrated and felt the
387 temptation to go off the rails, and it wasn't just his brother and his teachers that kept him on
388 the rails, it was the hope that he might be able to make something of his life, that he might be
389 able to go to university and really make something of his life and I think that we
390 underestimate at our peril importance not just a family structure but hope for the future, for
391 our young people, they all deserve that.

392 Applause

393 JD: Harriet Harman, in this context, why did you feel it important to bring up the issue of
394 cuts, government spending cuts? You said on, on news night, mm, making it clear that there is
395 no excuse for what happened...and you went on to say that: "there's sense in young people
396 that they are not being listened to. But when you've got the trebling of tuition fees, they
397 should think again about that. When you bought the EMA, Educational Maintenance
398 Allowance being taken away, when you've got jobs being lost and youth unemployment
399 rioting and they're shutting the jobs centring council, you should think again." Why did you
400 bring that in?

401 HH: Well, because I've always thought that the Educational Maintenance Allowance that we
402 brought in to encourage young people to stay on at school was important, I think that actually
403 cutting the university budgets and forcing them to treble their tuition fees to 9,000 is a bad
404 thing and we'd actually doubled the number of young people in Camberwell and Peckham,
405 for example, who'd gone to university, that was giving people more hope-

406 JD: So, Is there a relationship between what happened, a relationship, although you don't
407 approve of it, and in your view the cuts of the government is initiating although in the case of

408 the Educational Maintenance Allowance and the university tuition fees they haven't yet come
409 in?

410 HH: I think that at the heart of this is a problem of gang activity, as I've said, but I think the
411 way to stop other people being swept in it is to have good activities for kids and good hope
412 for the future for kids, that's not to justify, that's not to excuse it, but we've got to think very
413 hard about how we give people such a stake in society that they wouldn't dream of taking a
414 sort of mad action, a terrible action of kicking a window and stealing a television so I mean I
415 am consistently for more opportunities for young people, I think they're entitled to that and I
416 think that that's really important.

417 JD: And is therefore -

418 Applause

419 JD: And there is therefore important underlying linkage between that kind of horror on the
420 streets and the cuts -

421 HH: Well...

422 JD: That were associated with deprivation..

423 HH: When I said to my constituents, and I was, you know, down at the immediate aftermath
424 of the riot, and also just this morning down on in Rye Lane where incidentally half of Rye
425 Lane is still boarded up because there's a building that's tumbling down, I actually asked
426 people on the street, good hard-working people of Peckham, who were the law abiding
427 members of that community, I said to them: "why has this happened, why do you think things
428 happened?" And they know more about it than I do, or anybody of this panel, they are the
429 people of community, who've got their neighbours and friends on those estates and they said
430 that actually the sense that there is less of a future now for young people is important so you
431 know, Peter, no doubt, and Sayeeda can say this is a terrible thing for me to say but I am
432 speaking up for what they think and they think that fewer opportunities underlines the sense
433 that allows people to become victims of being drawn into gang activities, there is policing that
434 needs to be done, to pick apart these gangs and to put the leaders in prison but there is also
435 public policy issues of really giving hope for the future.

436 Applause

437 JD: Peter Hitchens.

438 PH: Well, I think, first of all, sounding rather sneaky about what Harriet is saying and
439 secondly, something ridiculous, I am not going to get angry about it because it's futile getting
440 angry with people like this, they don't respond to it, but—

441 Laugh

442 PH: If you seriously want to maintain that people are going to go and kick in the window of a
443 television shop and steal a plasma screen because they're worried about their future, in the
444 end that's your problem, if you honestly want to stand in public and maintain that there can be
445 any connection between the two, I don't know how it is that anyone who says that can survive
446 in public life.

447 Laugh

448 PH: Because it just seems to me so laughably comically absurd that...

449 Murmuring

450 PH: ..it defies belief. So if there are actually people who [unclear] you think that if they felt
451 their future was starting to go down, would go and slash a shop window and stealing a plasma
452 screen, why is it always the TV shops that these people feel the need to kick in when their
453 future is so threatened?

454 Applause

455 PH: It is beyond belief that a person would come into public life and say that, there should be-

456 HH: I didn't say that, Peter.

457 PH: There should be-

458 HH: I didn't say that.

459 PH: There should be a sort of honesty, the moment of silence of sorrow that the level of our
460 political debate should have been reduced so low...the problem is, play me,

461 Murmuring

462 PH: The problem is, play me, the problem is, play me a moral one, the problem is play me
463 that we have over the past 15 years destroyed the moral foundation of the society, we've
464 destroyed the married family, we've destroyed a particular fatherhood, and most especially
465 fatherhood ..

466 Audience disagreeing out loud

467 PH: No, I'll tell you, I'll tell you who has..successive government by making the...by making
468 it easier to break up a marriage turning it into a lease agreement, by encouraging and
469 subsidizing, ehm, m, ehm one parent families in which there are no fathers... which, for all
470 they may well be single mothers who do a terrific job, as we are obliged to say or we will be
471 taken off and lynched, for all there are -

472 Audience disagreeing out loud

473 PH: - for all there are..

474 JD: Do you not believe that -

475 PH: This is statistically the case -

476 JD: When you say -

477 PH: I just-

478 JD: Peter, Peter, yes.

479 PH: I juss...

480 JD: I am willing to believe that -

481 PH: I will just finish the sentence, don't interrupt me.

482 JD: I can interrupt as much as I like, I need the interrupting from time to time..

483 PH: - that the outcomes for the children of such households are dramatically worse than for
484 the outcomes of children of married households,

485 JD: Let me ask you this -

486 PH: Now you can interrupt.

487 JD: I, I –

488 Somebody yelling something loudly from the audience

489 JD: I will interrupt on my terms, not your terms, OK?

490 PH: I have the feeling that I do get interrupted slightly more often than others.

491 JD: That's cause you sometimes go on longer than some others.

492 PH: No-

493 JD: But that's by the by. You said the people would get lynched. You meant it metaphorically

494 PH: I did-

495 JD: If you said that single mothers, are meant...also single fathers of course, do a great job,

496 you are saying that you don't think that many single mothers do a great job?

497 PH: it's, it's, it's, no doubt that there are some who do but the point is if that if there's a

498 country you specifically set out to subsidize, you specifically set out to subsidize a form of, a

499 form of household in which there is no father, then do not be surprised, if you have large

500 number of boys growing up who lack authority and direction and example in their lives and

501 who go on the streets and kick in the windows of television shops in later life, it is something

502 which is likely to happen...if you simultaneously take away the authority of teachers in

503 schools, if you simultaneously take away the rights of police officers to act individually on

504 the streets against wrongdoing, if you take away in general the rights of adults to control

505 children, you will get what we have got and if also at the same time you dismantle the

506 Christian religion so it's no longer taught or espoused -

507 Audience murmuring

508 PH: - by authority, you will get a serious moral deficit...immorality is what people do when

509 they thought nobody was looking. Those people on those nights behaved as if they thought

510 nobody was looking as they wished to do. That is what you will get-

511 JD: Ok, thank you.

512 PH: And it is impossible to separate these issues.

513 Applause

514 JD: Thank you.

515 Applause

516 JD: Saayeeda Warsi.

517 SW: The question that we have to ask ourselves is what is the thing that united a university
518 student, a teacher, a care worker, a millionaire's daughter, somebody with a job, somebody
519 without a job, people who were 48, people who were 18, people who were 11, what was it
520 that actually, the underlying force that united all of these people to go out, route, loot, burn
521 down houses, burn down buildings, attack police officers, kill people's livelihoods, kill
522 people: what united them all? It was a single concept of immorality when people were no
523 longer prepared to make the distinction between right and wrong. That's what it came down
524 to, the fact that as a society -

525 Applause

526 SW: - the fact, the fact, the fact that as a society over time we have become so dimmed down,
527 we have become so indifferent, we're prepared to turn away, to look the other way on what
528 passed and not to say: If you do something wrong, if you step over the line, if you go out and
529 burn down somebody's house and make them homeless, if you take away the livelihood of
530 somebody who has worked all their life to build it, if you go out and do killing people who
531 were trying to defend their communities, then you will suffer the consequences of your
532 actions, whatever that may be and I think-

533 Applause

534 SW: -we're trying...

535 Applause

536 HH: Who said there shouldn't be consequences?

537 SW: We're trying -

538 HH: Nobody said you could burn down a house and not suffer the consequences-

539 SW: - to try to wrap that all up, to try and wrap that all up in a whole series of things. I came
540 from a very difficult background, I quote that I grew up in a working class environment where
541 everything was short, I grew up in an environment where actually racism was still quite wide

542 spread and there were barriers place in my way but I thought what I knew that if I got into
543 trouble, my parents would not tolerate it when I got home so I was worried more about my
544 parents then I was about what the police would do but I also knew that the way to work my
545 way out of that was to go to college, was to go to get a decent education, to work hard in
546 every job that was given to me, I didn't think I needed to break into a footlocker and pick
547 someone's brand new trainers!

548 JD: I am going to go back to -

549 Applause

550 JD: - a question of Margaret Sentamo.

551 Margaret Sentamo: I agree with some of the comments around the table, I think we've lost
552 that kind of moral framework and boundary, which, whether a person with faith or no faith,
553 but coming from a Christian perspective, we lost that Judeo- Christian background which
554 provided a framework and I am sure people guided by the faith wouldn't and people with no
555 faith would, and once you do that, it becomes a sort of pitiless slope, as it were, we no
556 longer..we're overly focused on our individual needs rather than the needs of our community
557 so it is a very complex question and I think all the institutions need to really seriously
558 consider where to go from here, we need to work together, because not one single person is to
559 blame.

560 Applause

561 JD: Thank you and...a quick word on that from Julia Unwin from...

562 JU: I think the world is much more complicated that many people...several people on this
563 panel have said. There was no single unifying force, those people who arrived to break the
564 law, doing these terrible things, were doing it because the opportunity arose and I am with
565 Margaret, I think there is a real moral issue here but I think it's a very broad one and I think
566 there are all sorts of different factors that caused it. I think if we lose sight of that, we simplify
567 the position people are in and then we'll never develop a solution but let's not -

568 JD: Thank you.

569 Applause

570 JU: - let's not lose sight of for every young person was involved in a riot, there were hundreds
571 that were involved in the clean-up campaign and they were actually a decent hard working
572 young people...

573 Applause

574 JD: I am sure you will have thoughts about this and the other matters that we are talking
575 about, the Any Answers number once again 03700 100 444 and the email address is
576 any.answers@bbc.co.uk. Swiftly, please, to our next.

577 Linda Maynard: Should parents of children taking part in the riots be evicted by councils from
578 social housing?

579 JD: This possibility was one of those mooted by the Prime Minister and in fact one of the
580 councils has taken its first steps to evict attempt, ehm, and I think I am right whose son was
581 convicted of a crime through...in the riots. Should this happen, Peter Hitchens?

582 PH: No, ehm, first of all it's completely against the principles of English laws to punish
583 somebody for the actions of somebody else, secondly the idea would still seems to exist in the
584 minds of some politicians that there are such things as parents in this place, so it is false.
585 These people are not parents, they are adults living in the same house where they have no
586 authority. The social reforms of the past 40 years, particularly the Children Act, but many
587 others, have stripped parents of any authority with their children, to such an extend that if they
588 try to exercise it, they can often get into quite severe trouble. And I really do not think that it
589 is fair to say to parents first of all you must not exercise authority of your children and then
590 they will throw out of your house because your children misbehave, it's a gimmick, it's a
591 stunt, it's the kind of thing which governments of the kind that we have, the kind of
592 government that we had a couple of years ago, will reach for when they are in trouble to make
593 themselves look tough when in reality they are neither tough nor prepared to the reality of the
594 situation, I think it's a silly, gimmicky proposal and it should be rejected.

595 JD: Silly, gimmicky proposal..Sayeeda Warsi.

596 Applause

597 JD: It's actually at least in one case.

598 SW: Yes, yes, if you are a social tenant, you have to sign up a contract which basically says
599 that you and your family must abide by the conditions on that contract and one of those
600 conditions is that you don't go around causing criminal damage in the local area, you don't go
601 around terrorizing people in the local area and I think it's very basic condition which all of us
602 abide by in the homes in the communities in which we live. If you break those conditions the
603 consequences are that you lose your housing, that is what the contract says. What the
604 government is consulting on at the moment, the law only allows you to evict somebody if
605 they have terrorized their local community and cause criminal damage in their local
606 community, but if a young person from York decides not to terrorize and do criminal damage
607 in York but decides to go to Leeds to do it, you can't evict them because it wasn't in their
608 local area. I don't think that's right and therefore the government is saying that we need to
609 consult, that it should be the behaviour, not where you do that behaviour that should
610 determine whether or not the contract is broken. Now a lot has been made of this to say, well,
611 you're gonna throw poor people out on the street, people who are on subsidized housing and
612 you're punishing people twice but if you go on and ask people who were privately renting
613 some of those homes that were burnt and who are now in temporary accommodation with
614 their kids because these people burnt their houses down, or if you go out asking some of those
615 people who have businesses, whose businesses have now collapsed because they were burnt
616 and therefore they can't afford to pay their mortgage, or if you go ask a looter who had a job
617 and is now to get a custodial sentence and therefore is gonna lose their job and possibly lose
618 their house and their mortgage, what that is saying is that if you take part in criminal activity,
619 you will suffer the consequences of those actions and if that means losing your home, poor or
620 rich, you had it coming.

621 JD: Thank you and-

622 Applause

623 JD: Harriet Harman.

624 HH: Well, I think first and foremost, the punishment for the terrible crimes that have been
625 committed has to metered out by the courts and I think this very important work that's going
626 on now with arresting and with the prosecutors and going through the courts and I hope and I
627 am sure that the courts will recognize that they will need to pass sentences which make people
628 think that not only will they be caught, but when they are caught, they will receive even very
629 severe punishment and I think that's the job of the criminal courts to punish people for

630 criminal offences, now there is, as Sayeeda has said, provision that councils can evict people,
631 or at least they can go to courts and ask for an eviction order so it's a matter for the courts, if
632 they've been creating a menace in their area, like if they've been running a crack den a from
633 a council place or they've been terrorizing their neighbours, so there's already that provision
634 in the law to go to courts and I know that if people have been in menace in area where they
635 live and that's what some councils including people in my own council now are thinking that
636 they will probably be doing in relation to those who've been rioting and creating mayhem in
637 their own areas but it's for the courts to decide, they have to look at each-

638 JD: Ok.

639 SW: - and every circumstance.

640 JD: And Julia Unwin?

641 JU: I am delighted to say I completely agree with Peter Hitchens on this -

642 Laugh

643 JU: - this is not a penalty that will work, it's wrong in ethical terms, it's wrong in legal terms
644 and it's absolutely wrong in practice to evict people from their homes for something that one
645 member of the family has done.

646 Applause

647 JD: And we can squeeze in one more.

648 Susan Colio: In a week of disheartening news at home and abroad, what has given you most
649 hope?

650 JD: Very brief answers, I am afraid, really, just a sentence or so. Mm, Sayeeda Warsi:

651 SW: Tared Djahaam, the father of the family I spoke to earlier this week, who, having lost
652 the dearest that most of us have in our lives, which is our children, said: "Don't lose your sons
653 too. Use this moment of sadness as a way of bringing the communities together..."

654 Applause

655 SW: He showed the ultimate...

656 Applause

657 JD: Only a phrase Peter, I am afraid, only a phrase, I am afraid.

658 PH: Well, it's easy. Nothing.

659 Laugh

660 JD: Julia.

661 JU: I hope Tarred Djaham is knighted for what he did for Britain this week, I think he did an
662 extraordinary thing.

663 JD: And Harriet.

664 HH: I totally agree on this with Sayeeda and the way she expressed it and Julia, so totally
665 agree.

666 Applause

667 JD: At which point we come to the end of this week's programme. Thank you, to Peter
668 Hitchens, Baroness Warsi, Harriet Harman and Julia Unwin. Next week we are going to be in
669 Lancashire in Nelson with the Leader of Blue Labour, Maurice Glasman, the former
670 newspaper editor Eve Pollard, the journalist and political activist Julie Bandel and the
671 economist Ruth Lee. Join us there. But from here, in Sir Edward the Confessor Church in
672 York, goodbye.

673 Applause