

1. EU In Or Out Debate with David Cameron, starts at 1:30-9.30, with host Faisal Islam

1 *Host:* Prime Minister, why don't we start with some ACTUAL facts?

2 What is the NET number of the EU migrants that have arrived in THIS country since YOU
3 became a Prime Minister six years ago?

4 *David Cameron:* I think that (.) NET number is (.) about six hundred thousand (.) people left
5 THIS country to work or live in another of European Union countries and about 1.2 million
6 have come (.) to live or two work here, so BIG numbers moving in each direction.

7 But of course immigration is a challenge, it is a PARTICULAR challenge <hand> when OUR
8 economy is growing strongly, we've been creating jobs and people would've come to our
9 country to work, but I think THE WAY to MEET that challenge MUSTN'T be to leave the
10 single market, harm our economy, hurt jobs and damage our country, so we are going to find a
11 RIGHT ways <hand> of dealing with the movement of people or the wrong way.

12 *Host:* <hand in motion to stop> So the number net is six hundred and sixty seven thousand,
13 that's a hundred twenty one thousand per year, now you know this DOCUMENT, your
14 MANIFESTO <Cameron nods> and in IT, you PROMISED to reduce annual net migration to
15 the tens of thousands, NOT the hundreds of thousands, it literally has been hundreds of
16 thousands. How is THIS promise compatible with STAYING in the European union?

17 *David Cameron:* When I've made that ambition for Britain, that we should be seeing net
18 migration come down to under a hundred thousand, at THAT time the NET migration between
19 people LEAVING the UK to live and work in Europe and people coming from Europe to live
20 and work here was BROADLY in balance, and so I was about trying to REDUCE migration
21 from OUTSIDE the United Kingdom, something that more than HALF of our migration
22 comes from and something we are able to do.

23 But we've OBVIOUSLY been living in quite extraordinary time, when the British economy
24 has been growing very strongly, we've created two million jobs in our country, there was a
25 TIME in the LAST Parliament, when we were creating more jobs than REST of Europe put
26 together, now I don't think that will continue forever, the European economies are starting to
27 RECOVER, you see that in FRANCE and Germany, IRELAND grew by 7% in the last year,
28 so you are BEGINNING to SEE that recovery, but I say AGAIN, AS we tackle this
29 CHALLENGE, the WORST thing we could do is PULL OUT of the single market, as those
30 who want us to leave suggest, and damage our economy. I think it is worth STOPPING for a
31 second to understand WHY ~~coming out of single market is so damaging, I think this is~~
32 absolutely crucial. (disrupted by host Islam's remarks).

33 *Host:* ~~But we will come, we'll come onto this [...], wait just for a minute I just want to focus~~
34 ~~on question, my question is VERY important in this~~ and I put it to you again, you just
35 CANNOT CONTROL <supportive hand gestures>, and it is OXIMORONIC some might say,
36 to [...] CONTROL freedom of movement. You can't control freedom of movement, so WHY
37 did you make that pledge?

38 *David Cameron:* Because as I say, as I say there have been many years where the movements
39 of people OUT of the Britain and INTO Europe, out of Europe and into Britain have been
40 broadly in balance. And OF COURSE we have the Single Market...

41 *Host:* You knew that a year ago when you ~~made, you restated that promise~~ [...]

42 *David Cameron:* ~~And I think [...]~~ crisis was there

43 and you made the promise AGAIN. It is a promise that CANNOT be fulfilled whiles we
44 remain the European Union.

45 *David Cameron:* Now I don't ACCEPT that, it remains a RIGHT and an AMBITION for
46 Britain...

47 *Host:* Now you SERIOUSLY think it CAN be fulfilled while we stay in the European Union?
48 HOW can it be fulfilled?

49 *David Cameron:* Because there have been years, and there will be again, where people FROM
50 Britain choose to go and work overseas in the other European countries..

51 *Host:* Has that happened any SINGLE year of YOUR premiership? < both hands raised,
52 motion of questioning >

53 *David Cameron:* It happened, it happened when I've FIRST set the ambition.

54 *Host:* Can you SERIOUSLY see it happening ANY <.> PERIOD whiles you're still a Prime
55 Minister in the next for years?

56 *David Cameron:* I am not going to put a DATE on it, but [...] there are GOOD ways of
57 CONTROLLING migration and there are BAD ways. A GOOD way is doing what I DID in my
58 renegotiation, which of course hasn't come into the effect yet and WILL if we stay in the
59 European Union, which is to say to people: If you come to our country, FIRST of all, you
60 don't claim unemployment benefit, SECOND of all, AFTER six months, if you haven't got a
61 job, you HAVE to leave, and THIRD of all, if you DO come and get a job, you have to work
62 for FOUR years, paying INTO the system, before you get a FULL access ~~to our welfare~~
63 ~~system~~. <host speaks at the same time>

64 *Host:* ~~A, you said a full access, you know what I am going to say~~ that WAS in the manifesto
65 you've committed, you said NO access for four years.

66 *David Cameron:* <nods> We've got not a FULL access for four years, which is I think VERY
67 important, because of course TODAY, someone can come from a European country and (.) get
68 an extra TEN THOUSAND pounds on top of the wages, so that is a GOOD way to control a
69 ~~migration~~. <host speaks at the same time>

70 *Host:* HOW? How many? How [...] migrants? What proportion of new migrants has claimed
71 tax credits?

72 *David Cameron:* It is (.) over 40% has claimed tax credit...

73 *Host:* Now that number is pretty sketchy <hand showing a stop gesture>, DWB has said 1 in
74 8, 1 in 8

75 *David Cameron:* No, that is, that is [...] a number I have. 40%. And for some of them, they
76 get as much as 10 thousand pounds. Now LOOK, let's be clear, (.), I think we should
77 WELCOME the fact that people want to COME to our country, WORK hard, make a
78 CONTRIBUTION, pay into our system, but they ought to PAY IN, before they get [...]. And
79 that's what I've secured through my negotiation. No more SOMETHING for NOTHING. And
80 I think that is very powerful and very IMPORTANT.

81 *Host:* But your deal, if you were serious again about meeting this target, you would've tried in
82 SOME way to RENEGOTIATE freedom of movement <hand gestures>, You THOUGHT
83 about that for couple of days but Angela Merkel has said NO.

84 *David Cameron:* Now WHAT happened was, there is a whole series of changes for freedom
85 of movement because it *isn't freedom of movement* if you're a criminal, it IS NOT freedom of
86 movement if you are a terrorist, it isn't freedom of movement if you've conducted a SHAM
87 marriage and as I say, it isn't freedom of movement if you cannot support yourself. If you
88 come to Britain, you cannot find a job, you cannot SUPPORT yourself, we can make you GO
89 home.

90 I think that is very important, but I would absolutely level with YOU and with the audience
91 and with everyone back at home: we are in the single market, it is a market of five hundred
92 million people, it is VITAL to the success of our businesses.

93 Part of this single market is British people being able to WORK and LIVE in the other
94 European countries and Europeans being able to come and live and work in our country. And
95 as I say WORK, not (.) if they cannot sustain themselves, they HAVE to go home. NOW if
96 you want to get out of the single market <supportive hand gestures>, which is what Leave
97 campaign want to do, you will FUNDAMENTALLY damage our economy. That CANNOT
98 be the right way of controlling immigration.

99 It would make our economy SMALLER, it would cost JOBS, we would be POORER as a
100 country. And that would be the real effect on people watching this show. FEWER jobs! We
101 would see prices go up, because the Pound would go down, the cost of weekly shop would go
102 up.

103 *Host:* So WHY, why didn't you say that in YOUR MANIFESTO a YEAR AGO when you
104 KNEW we would have this referendum and you made the same claim and we have already
105 have had the Eurozone crises. You understand this is an important matter of trust and
106 credibility and this PROMISE was NEVER achievable.

107 *David Cameron:* I- I, I don't accept that! What I'm saying is what I said very clearly in the
108 manifesto, Britain BENEFITS from being in the REFORMED European Union. And we are
109 going to CONDUCT that reform, which we have done, than we are going to HOLD that
110 referendum and YES, we DO need to do things to control immigration, like restricting in work
111 welfare, but it would be MADNESS to (.) try to DO that by trashing our economy and pulling
112 out of a single market. And I think this is, I'll just take an example so people know what I
113 mean, if you take our CAR industry – HUGELY SUCCESSFUL, hundred and fifty thousand
114 people employed in it, we can sell our cars, ALL over Europe. No taxes, no tariff and no
115 trouble. If we were outside of the single market and we had a deal like America does, which is
116 what head of the Leave campaign has recommended, that would be a 10% tax on OUR CARS.
117 [...]

118 *Host:* I know you want to talk about the single market, on immigration thought it strikes to me
119 that you FAILED to meet your target, you FAILED to get a DEAL that would ALLOW you to
120 reach that target and (.) you've also FAILED REALLY on sovereignty. You talk about the
121 single market, you've said (.) in terms of control over laws, European Court of Justice in
122 Luxemburg, a necessary part of European Single Market is Supreme in UK law. Do, do you
123 accept that?

124 *David Cameron:* Well I accept we have a single market and you have to have a single set of
125 rules for that market, [...]. But what I've achieved in my renegotiation for the first time ever
126 are targets for cutting regulations, targets for cutting bureaucracy [...]

127 *Prime Minister facing questions of the studio audience, time 0:26*

128 *David Cameron:* [...] In the bits we want to be in, principally the Single Market, but OUT the
129 bits we don't like, like the Eurozone and no border zone. So on that basis, yes, If I was offered
130 the terms of another country, that would be a different matter, but the Britain's terms are right
131 for Britain and I think that we should STAY IN.

132 *Viewer, 0:30:36:* [...] What I've found interesting is that Turkey are becoming (.), wants to
133 become – sorry- ever close Union with the EU, when there are such (.) heavy accusations by
134 the ENTIRE Middle East that they are funding ISIS! How can you reassure us of staying in
135 the EU [...] that there are NO risks when there are CLEAR risks, especially when it comes to
136 ISIS, especially when you have turned away SO many refugees of off fear of having them, the
137 extremists... AND NOT WILLING TO work with the Turkish government that had a BROAL
138 in the Parliament just TWO WEEKS AGO!

139 *David Cameron:* Let me take- two issues you have raised there – one is a POSTIVE case for
140 staying, I think it IS a positive case. I think we will be better off as a country with more jobs, I
141 think we will keep our country moving forward, I think we will be stronger as a country, we
142 will get things done in the world, whether it is tackling climate change OR indeed standing up
143 to Islamist terrorism, which we face around the world, a-and I think also we will be safer if we
144 work together, strength in numbers...

145 *Viewer:* But that is not answering my question-

146 *Cameron:* <unintelligible>

147 *Viewer:* No no no, let me finish now, because I have seen you interrupt many people before,
148 but that is not answering my question. [...]

149 *David Cameron:* There is no prospect of Turkey joining the EU in the decades. They have
150 applied in 1987, they have to complete 35 chapters, ONE is being completed so far, AT this
151 rate they will join the EU in the year 3000. Now there are lots of reasons to vote one way of
152 vote another way, TURKEY is not going to JOIN the EU, ANYTIME soon. Every country,
153 every Parliament has a veto. So I think there are lots of things to worry about in this [...]
154 campaign, and I absolutely think this is NOT a prospect, it not going to happen.

155 SHOULD we WORK with Turkey nonetheless because it is a neighbour country and because
156 we need to do what we can to secure Europe's problems and deal with the refugee problems
157 and the rest? Yes, I think we SHOULD work with Turkey, but that is not me saying Turkey
158 will be the member of the European Union any time soon, no. [...]

159 [...] 0:48 *Viewer:* My children cannot find ENTRY level jobs – partly BECAUSE migrants
160 with more experience are taking them. What would you say to encourage them to stay in the
161 EU?

162 *David Cameron:* I would say to [...] that I think there will be greater opportunities for jobs
163 and actually for BUILDING houses if we stay in, because we will have fundamentally
164 stronger economy. [...] But I totally accept we need to do more as a country to make SURE we
165 improve our education system, to make sure we go on trainings apprentices, we did TWO
166 million in the last Parliament, we are trying to do THREE million in THIS Parliament and we
167 enable people to go on in the University if they want to so that we create an educated and
168 trained worked force that can DO the jobs that our economy is creating [...].

169 That is the flip side of immigration control, making sure we can do job our economy is
170 creating. Now if we leave, I would worry for the opportunities...

171 *Viewer:* But we are not having any at the moment, to be fair. MY daughter wants to try to be a
172 paediatric nurse, she cannot now commit to a University degree, because A., she now has to
173 pay – you know- the tuition fees, but also- you are about to abolish the bursaries. So she can't
174 even do that without me supporting her and I'm a single parent. [...] She is unable to attend.

175 *David Cameron:* What I would say to your daughter is, what we try to do here is to make sure
176 we train MORE nurses. Last year, ~~we turned away~~

177 *Viewer:* You need to make it easier then.

178 *David Cameron:* I- I understand that, but here is the problem because we had a bursary
179 system, last year we have turned away 37 thousands of British people who wanted to train as
180 nurses. Two out of three people who wanted to do that, couldn't pay for it because of the
181 bursary system. Now we have moved over to the loan system. [...]

2. In our Out with Michael Gove with host Faisal Islam

<First part of the debate did not include questions about immigration>

1 *Viewer, 0:31:* Umm, Hi – so I think it is DISSAPPOINTING to see Leave campaign use of
2 device and tactics on the issue of immigration, one of the GREATEST things in our society is
3 MULTICULTURALISM, do you REGRET that the Leave campaign has been focusing on
4 SO-CALLED PROBLEMS with immigration?

5 *Michael Gove:* Well, Sam, I AGREE with YOU, I think one of the GREATEST things about
6 Britain it is that it's a HUGELY SUCESSFUL multicultural, MULTIETHNIC, multiracial
7 SOCIETY. That's a really good thing. And one of the ways, in which we've built that success
8 is that IN THE PAST, we have been able to CONTROL migration, so it's in benefits of
9 EVERYONE. I'D like to see migration to CONTINUE in the future, BUT I'd like to see it
10 CONTROLLED. And the ONLY way that we can control migration and the ONLY way that
11 we can be TRULY FAIR to everyone who wants to come here is to LEAVE the European
12 Union. I think it's WRONG that ANYONE of 450 MILLIONS citizens of the European Union
13 can be at the FRONT of the QUEUE and can come here AUTOMATICALLY, when there are
14 people from countries with which we would have DEEP TIES, like India, Pakistan,
15 Bangladesh and the nations in the Caribbean, who CAN'T come here in the SAME way. I
16 think THAT is DISCRIMINATORY and I think by LEAVING the European Union we can
17 ACTUALLY have a TRULY inclusive NON RASIST immigration policy, which works in the
18 interest of EVERYONE in this country. <Audience claps>

19 *Host:* Want to come back on that one, Sam?

20 *Viewer, 0:33:* It's sort of CONFUSING as a voter, because YOU'RE saying what you just
21 said <hand gesture towards Gove> but then you have people like NIGEL Farage coming
22 out YESTERDAY saying that, you know, he doesn't like how society is CHANGING, how
23 society is looking very DIFFERENT and comments like that SURELY OSTRACIZE people,
24 do you STAND BY what he SAID?

25 *Michael Gove:* I CAN'T agree with that, I think we are really lucky to live in one of the (.)
26 most AMAZING cities HERE in London in the WORLD and I think that we are uniquely
27 fortunate to live in the best COUNTRY in the world (.) and it's because I think this country is
28 SO great and BECAUSE its people are so wonderful that I want them to CONTROL WHO
29 comes here and the numbers who come here. I trust them to be GENEROUS, WISE,
30 HUMAN and RIGHT. At the moment, control of immigration policy ISN'T in the HANDS
31 of the British people. I THINK, that we should TAKE BACK CONTROL, so that people like
32 YOU AND others can DEBATE and DECIDE HOW many people can come HERE, so that
33 we can ATTRACT people here who can strengthen our economy and YES, provide a safe
34 haven and refuge for people fleeing the persecution. That IS the BRITISH way and the ONLY
35 way that we can ASSURE to have that policy is to vote to LEAVE the European Union and
36 TAKE back CONTROL. <Reluctant clapping>

37 [...] question not about immigration

38 *Michael Gove:* [...] if we LEAVE the European Union, we can take that VAT off, so that the
39 poorest in our can society can be BETTER off, and I've ALSO outlined that if we LEAVE the
40 European Union then we can invest the additional MILLIONS in our National Health Service

41 and it's ALSO the CASE that those of Vote Leave have outlined that if we LEAVE the
42 European union we can TACKLE the ROGUE European Court of Justice, which not ONLY
43 imposes laws that mean that multinationals can DODGE taxes HERE, but is ALSO
44 responsible for (.) weakening our BORDER control, so that we CANNOT keep OUT the
45 criminals and cannot kick our TERRORIST. There have been DETAILED proposals that have
46 been put forward about HOW our life could be BETTER, but the ULTIMATE question IS- (.)
47 whatever view you TAKE of our future, whether or NOT you think that is good to have a
48 VAT on this product or to lower taxes on another product, you can ONLY have those
49 decisions ENFORCED by people who are ACCOUNTABLE to YOU if you VOTE the
50 European union, so that we can TAKE back control. <Applaud>

51 *Host:* Yeah I think that [...] <unintelligible> Andre's point is he wants the LEAVE campaign
52 to TELL him when you are planning to PUBLISH your economic plan. Do you have a DATE
53 for that?

54 *Michael Gove:* We have already published DETAILS of our PLAN and we will be saying
55 MORE in the course of next week [...]

3. Cameron and Farage Live: The EU Referendum, ITV1

1 *Host:* Good EVENING, there are now just SIXTEEN days to go before the UK makes a
2 MOMENTUM decision to stay IN, or to LEAVE the European Union. [...]

3 *Viewer, 0:03:58:* Hello, I work in the PHARMACY <unintelligible> industry, with
4 multinationals who're worth BILLIONS INTO our economy. They're HERE, because we're
5 IN the EU. So you think our INDEPENDENCE is going to risk THOUSANDS of JOBS and
6 BILLIONS of (.) annual INCOME INTO our economy? <Farage smiles silently>

7 *Farage:* Well I don't BUY the FACT that the pharmaceutical companies are in BRITAIN,
8 because we're in the EU! They're in Britain, because they want to be in Britain!

9 *Viewer, 0:04:20:* I'd like to INTERRUPT you there, SOME of the operations can only be
10 done in the EU. I CAN'T do my job in Switzerland, so I can't REVIEW some EU products
11 and be IN SWITZERLAND, you HAVE to be in the EU and that's why they have EU
12 HEADQUARTERS in the UK, which makes it worth (.) 32.4 billion a year-

13 *Farage:* I HAVE to say, I have to say that I'm not wholly HAPPY with (.) the way that the
14 major pharmaceutical industry has BEHAVED, (.) in PARTICULAR, I see they're
15 LOBBYING in Brussels, which is ABSOLUTELY MASSIVE and I see the WAY they've
16 been very GOOD at putting out of business people producing ALTERNATIVE medicine. So
17 not EVERYTHING in your industry is ACTUALLY GOOD – <Viewer responds,
18 unintelligible> [...]

19 *Viewer, 0:08:33:* Yeah, Mister Farage, you've (.) MAINTAINED that wages are kept LOW
20 by the uncontrolled immigration in the UK and if we LEAVE the EU, one of the BENEFITS
21 will be that the wages will RAISE –

22 *Farage:* YES

23 *Viewer, 0:08:43:* - Umm, wouldn't it be (.) SO that (.) INCREASE wages will make us LESS
24 (.) COMPETITIVE GLOBALLY (.) and that (.) isn't it FAR better that we ALLOW wages to
25 RAISE because we have STRONGER economy an IN Europe rather than ARTIFICIALLY
26 restrict SUPPLY of labour (.) and BOOST labour rates that way?

27 *Farage:* Well what we've DONE we've ARTIFICIALLY given our LABOUR market a
28 SITUATION since 2004-5, where there's been DRAMATIC OVERSUPPLY. That has
29 DRIVEN DOWN the cost of LABOUR, that's just SIMPLE market forces and INDEED, even
30 the Bank of ENGLAND have BACKED up the FACT, that the people on the AVERAGE
31 salaries their LIVING standards are TEN PERCENT LOWER <supportive hand gestures>
32 than they WERE in 2008.

33 *Viewer, 0:09:28:* If, If I can come BACK to you on that one, what I, what I say to you is just:
34 ARTIFICIALLY JACKING this (.) the COST environment in the UK UP by, by restricting
35 labour supply- the problem you've GOT is that you've SEEN the traditional industries MOVE
36 to another parts of the world to LOWER costs of the manufacturing environments and, and
37 simply, if, if you MAKE us more expansive to do business ARTIFICIALLY, it's (.) going to
38 MIGRATE this way-

39 *Farage*: Okay, this is the ARGUMENT of lord ROSE, who of course is the CHAIRMAN of
40 the Britain Stronger in EUROPE group. Although it APPEARS we are going to
41 HYBERNATION, and this well may be BECAUSE when he APPEARED before Treasury
42 Select COMMITTEE, he was ASKED: If Britain LEAVES the European Union, has a WORK
43 permit system for foreign WORKERS, WOULDN'T WAGES go up? He said "YES, but I
44 don't think that would be a GOOD thing!" Do you know something? There is MORE to this
45 country, there is MORE about our COMMUNITY than JUST being COMPETITIVE-

46 *Viewer, 0:10:21*: <unintelligible> artificially (.) putting ourselves into ENVIRONMENT that
47 will just MAKE US-

48 *Farage*: I, I'm sorry, sir. What is ARTIFICIAL, is to OPEN UP our DOORS to nearly HALF a
49 billion PEOPLE and to FLOOD our LABOUR market and to SEE some of the BEST finest –

50 *Viewer, 0:10:34*: YES, but when YOU, or I are OLD and dribbling on the nursing home and
51 NEEDING someone who will MOP UP behind us, if you (.) DOUBLE the costs of, of (.) that,
52 that KIND of work, WHAT you're gonna do-

53 *Farage*: I don't <unintelligible> DOUBLE the cost, <unintelligible> SIGNIFICANTLY
54 higher and what I'M saying to you is, I think it is WRONG, WRONG, WRONG that
55 AVERAGE DECENT FAMILIES in THIS country, their living standards are FALLEN by ten
56 percent OVER the course of the last few years, and it's ABOUT TIME as a SOCIETY, we
57 started THINKING not just about GDP figures, NOT JUST about the RICH getting RICHER,
58 but about ORDINARY decent Britons, who <unintelligible> in TIME <host speaks at the
59 same time>

60 *Host, 0:11:07*: Alright, thank you, thank you VERY much [...] We are going now to STAY
61 with immigration [...]

62 *Viewer, 0:11:17*: Umm, Nigel FARAGE, what I would like to KNOW is how can YOU have
63 the AUDACITY to use such BLATANT SCAREMONGERING tactics for the LEAVE
64 campaign, (.) in LIGHT of the RECENT HORRIFIC sexual assault in Germany, YOU (.) have
65 BASICALLY suggested that a vote to REMAIN is a vote for British women to be subdued to
66 SAME, HORRIFIC ASSAULTS?

67 *Farage*: Well, umm, <hand motion showing stop> just CALM down there a little bit,
68 ALRIGHT?

69 *Host*: Sha have asked PERFECTLY calm –

70 *Farage*: It's beginning, um, (2s), SOMETIMES in LIFE, what it says at the top of the
71 NEWSPAPER PAGE and what you've actually SAID can be SLIGHTLY different things.
72 I'm USED to being DEMONIZED, BECAUSE I've taken on the establishment.

73 *Viewer, 0:11:55*: Aren't you DEMONIZING migrants?

74 *Farage*: I, I – just (.), just let me FINISH, and I HAVE (.) you know, when I FIRST suggested
75 (.) we should have an Australian style POINT system, you would think I've said something
76 DREADFUL, and now I'm PLEASED to say LOTS of people are saying it, what I-

77 *Viewer,, 0:12:08*: I don't think that's what I've ASKED-

78 *Farage*: What I've SAID, what I've said about COLONE, WAS that (.) it's a HUGE issue in
79 Germany, it's a huge issue in SWEDEN, I think ANGELA Merkel has made a BIG mistake (.)
80 by saying: PLEASE anyone COME and what we've HAD, what's HAPPENED IS, a VERY
81 LARGE NUMBER of YOUNG, SINGLE MALES have SETTLED in GERMANY, AND in
82 Sweden, who come from CULTURES where ATTITUDES towards women ARE different. I
83 haven't SCAREMONGERED in ANYWAY AT all.

84 *Viewer, 0:12:35*: SORRY, are you not EMBARRASSED that Justin Welby <the most senior
85 bishop in the Church of England> today said that you're LEGITIMIZING RACISM?

86 *Farage*: Well I'm SORRY and I'm not gonna to STAND here and ATTACK (.) the
87 archbishop of CANTERBURY, but I THINK he would have done BETTER to have READ
88 ACTUALLY what I've said and NOT what the HEADLINE was and he, and he would do
89 WELL, he would do WELL <pointing at the viewer> to SEE what the HEAD of the ROMAN
90 Catholic CHURCH in GERMANY has said, because he has made some VERY robust
91 COMMENTS indeed.

92 *Viewer, 0:12:56*: But you are TARGETING a certain group of PEOPLE and using them as
93 BAIT¹ to prey upon BRITISH people's (.) RATIONAL FEARS about MASS migration

94 *Farage*: <hands in motion to stop the viewer> I'm SORRY, this IS an ISSUE for the
95 FUTURE, it is a TIDDLY little issue as far as I'M concerned in this election campaign, but I
96 KNEW that at SOME point in THIS campaign, the REMAINERS would COME for me and
97 would try to CONFLATE² <explosive hand gesture> something I've SAID (.) OUT of the
98 proportion.

99 *Host*: May I just ask-

100 *Farage*: I do, I DO believe in border CONTROLS, I DO believe we have to have a
101 SENSIBLE, BALANCED migration POLICY and I DO believe GERMANY made a bad
102 mistake.

103 *Host, 0:13:27*: We're going to stay on this ISSUE and go to <name of the viewer>

104 *Viewer, 0:13:35*: HI Nigel, eh (.) I KNOW a LOT of people (.) I have an ACCESS to (.)
105 PREDOMINANTLY BLACK British AUDIENCE and a lot of the CONCERNS they have
106 RAISED alongside those that I have myself is that (.) YOU (.) ARE going to INCREASE the
107 FEAR and the DISCRIMINATION of the BLACK British PEOPLE through your ANTI-
108 immigration rhetoric. Are you ENCOURAGING racism?

109 *Farage*: I, I DON'T think that you could be more WRONG and here's WHY:

110 *Viewer*: But HOW you're gonna SAFEGUARD that is ESSENTIALLY what I want to
111 KNOW-

112 *Farage*: And here's WHY: I TAKE a very STRONGLY PRO Commonwealth VIEW, I think
113 it was very BAD and WRONG of us to turn our BACKS on Commonwealth, in favour of
114 EUROPEAN political PROJECT and we've made bad mistakes and NOW what we DO is: If
115 you've got a QUALIFICATION and you come from INDIA, OR you come from PARTS of

¹ návnada

² to combine two or more separate things, especially pieces of text, to form a whole:

116 AFRICA, you NOW find it VERY, VERY DIFFICULT to get into THIS country DESPITE
117 the HISTORICAL STRONG –

118 *Viewer:* You're STILL, you're STILL ANTI immigration, so I don't see-

119 *Farage:* I'm sorry, I'm sorry I won't have that-

120 *Viewer:* No, you ARE anti-IMMIGRATION, you're SCAREONGERING and
121 INFLAMATORY comments in YOUR campaign that have gone AGAINST people that look
122 <2> NON white! <Farage tries to react, but viewer is louder> How are NON WHITE British
123 people going to STOP facing the DICRIMINATION about their IDENTITY and
124 NATIONALITY in this country? That is what I REALLY want to KNOW. <audience
125 clapping, Farage has a look like he has gave up answering>

126 *Farage:* I'm SORRY, I'm sorry, well I will TELL you why if YOU want to THINK that (.)
127 and you don't want me-

128 *Viewer, 0:14:58:* I don't THINK that, the MAJORITY of people that look BLACK British or
129 NON white have THOSE concerns [...] And YOU'RE DISMISSING THEM.

130 *Farage:* Well a LOTS of them, can I tell you, CAN I tell you that LOTS of them VOTED
131 form My party in the last election –

132 *Viewer:* DID they?

133 *Farage:* - STAND for us, as CANDIDANTS –

134 *Viewer:* Did they? Can I see the EVIDENCE, on WHAT numbers-?

135 *Farage:* You are not LISTENING, are you?

136 *Viewer, 0:15:15:* HOW much of the three percent has voted the UKIP?

137 *Farage:* I CAN'T DO that, unless I'm allowed to TALK.

138 *Host:* She has put a very CLEAR question.

139 *Farage:* No, LOOK. I'm EXPLAINING to you, I take a VIEW that is STRONGLY PRO-
140 Commonwealth, IF we HAVE and Australian style point system RATHER than OPEN DOOR
141 to FIVE hundred EIGHT million PEOPLE THEN ACTUALLY it will be BETTER for black
142 people coming into BRITAIN who CURRENTLY find it very DIFFICULT because we have
143 this OPEN door. And, and, and I would also say THIS to you (.) ONCE again this ATTEMPT
144 to DEMONIZE the LEAVE campaign OR me, ACTUALLY there is a big SUPPORT for this
145 among the ethnic minorities in this country who KNOW that ACTUALLY our current open
146 DOOR policy is DAMAGING ALL of our communities, and here's our CHANCE, MAYBE
147 our ONLY CHANCE, as a nation, to get a GRIP on this ISSUE. <audience clapping> [...]

148 *Viewer, 0:16:12:* Mister Farage, a number of HIGH profile STUDIES have CLEARLY shown
149 that the EU migrants contribute FAR MORE to the British economy than they take out
150 <Farage smiling> But so HOW can you CONSTANTLY IGNORE these findings and
151 CONTINUE to tell us that immigration is a DISASTER to the UK?

152 *Farage:* WELL, we see (.) REPORTS that SAY that EU migrants pay MORE tax than they
153 take OUT, (.) we see, I SAW a REPORT YESTERDAY, that suggested that ACTUALLY it's
154 a marginal LOSS for the country, I tell you what we DO, I'll meet you in the MIDDLE, we'll
155 agree with the House of LORDS, who LOOKED at this and SAID: in economic TERMS, it's
156 probably ABOUT neutral, BUT. BUT. MY argument is THIS: Mister CAMERON who will
157 come AFTERWARDS will TELL you that it's a WONDERFUL economic benefit and
158 DESPITE his pledge in the, in the general ELECTION of REDUCING immigration to the
159 TENS of thousands each YEAR ,he know says that it would be DISASTROUS for our
160 economy. The REAL truth is <supportive hand gesture> : the REAL truth is that the
161 POPULATION of THIS country is RAISING at the NUMBER where we need to VALUE
162 people's QUALITY of LIFE and STANDART of living and NOT just NATIONAL GDP
163 figures. IF, if immigration continues (.) at the current rate (.) our population (.) will be
164 EIGHTY MILLION by 2040 and just to COPE with that, you know what we need to BUILD
165 A NEW house every FOUR minutes, NIGHT and DAY, just to COPE with the current
166 NUMBERS, What I'm saying to you is-

167 *Host:* Mister <Viewer's name> would you come BACK on that?

168 *Farage:* What I'm SAYING to you is, LET'S have a balanced APPROACH!

169 *Viewer, 0:17:44:* Let me tell you that WE, as you well know, are an AGING population
170 HERE, that we are going to NEED migrants to PAY our pensions, to PAY for hospitals, to
171 PAY the NHS, all, ALL that will be NECESSARY. If YOU think that you can actually STOP
172 people coming IN here, when you, if you PERSUADE our country to LEAVE the European
173 Union and THEN you find IN FACT EVERY country, EVERY European country that wants
174 to TRADE in the free market has to HAVE the free movement of people, what you're gonna
175 DO in two YEARS time and then you're even going to ask to JOIN AGAIN?

176 *Farage:* You're bringing something else in here, LOOK. Nowhere else in the world, APART
177 from the EU, is the ARGUMENT made that to TRADE with each other, you have to have a
178 free movement of people. That DOESN'T EXIST ANYWHERE else in the world.

179 *Viewer:* But it DOES in the EU and that's where we live, in Europe.

180 *Farage:* The AMERICANS sell MORE INTO the European Union market than WE do. They
181 are not MEMBERS of the European Union, they don't have a TRADE deal with the European
182 Union and they most CERTAINLY don't have FREE movement of people.

183 *Viewer:* Every EUROPEAN country that is NOT in the EU that wants to TRADE WITH the
184 EU HAS to have a free movement of people.

185 *Farage:* Well it doesn't HAVE to have a free movement of people and ACTUALLY the
186 Swiss just voted AGAINST it as, as you well know. <Host thanked and asked to move on to
187 the topic of the law, order and security>

188 *Viewer, 0:19:17:* [Question regarding Europol] Wouldn't it BE a huge BACKWARDS STEP
189 for us to LEAVE the EU? How you're going to assure our SAFETY isn't COMPROMISED if
190 we leave?

191 *Farage:* [...] You quoted (.) EUROPOL (.) at me, that same BOSS of Europol SAID that the
192 (.) MIGRANT policy, and by the way it's NOT REFUGEES, it's actually ECONOMIC

193 migrant policy of the LAST year SPARKED by Angela MERKEL, we've DISCUSSED it
194 earlier, has LED to up to FIVE THOUSANDS of JIHADIS COMING IN to the EUROPEAN
195 UNION in the SPACE of the LAST fifteen months. The boss, the FORMER boss of
196 INTERPOL said: We might as well put a SIGN on the SOUTHERN beaches of Europe
197 saying: TERRORIST WELCOME, so we have a VERY REAL problem. And NOW,
198 QUESTION is: how do we DEAL with (.) with ISSUES like this. The FIRST, the FIRST
199 point I think is REALLY REALLY IMPORTANT is THIS: <taking a passport out of his suit
200 pocket, showing it to the audience> This is – SHOULD be a British PASSPORT, it says
201 EUROPEAN UNION on it, ALRIGHT? I think <waving the passport> to make this country
202 SAFER we need to get back BRITISH PASSPORTS so that we can CHECK anybody ELSE
203 coming in to this country. <host speak>

204 *Viewer, 0:20:39:* Yes, I COMPLETELY agree on your BORDER control point, but what I'm
205 talking about is (.) our SECURITY, it's not just ABOUT that. <Farage agrees> And you've
206 got to put terrorism ASIDE, terrorism accounts for some TINY proportions of some cases that
207 the police are INVOLVED with around EUROPE, you've got stuff like EUROPOL, we've got
208 EUROJUST, the European warrant (.) you've got the CONVENTION that ALLOWS the
209 DATABASES to be set up to change, if we LEAVE, all of them will be TAKEN out under the
210 European.. There's also our working cards <unintelligible> there are ALL of these REASONS
211 that AREN'T actually terrorist or immigrant related, so when YOU'RE talking SECURITY I
212 think we are pleased to have LITTLE bit more INVOLVMENT and we're also the LEADING
213 people IN Europe that's of course a HUGE number of CHANGES-

214 *Farage:* But here's a POINT, sir.

215 *Host:* He has a lot of-

216 *Farage:* I KNOW he has <laughing, audience clapping>

217 *Host:* Please be VERY brief, I NEED to move on. [...]

218 **<0:24 the discussion is stopped, Farage is replaced by David Cameron>**

219 *Viewer, 0:28:29:* Prime Minister, you gave an EXCELLENT speech in 2013, outlining the
220 MINIMUM reforms that you WANTED to GET from the EU, one of the KEY once from MY
221 perspective of running the SMALL business was that you (.) wanted to REMOVE the FREE
222 movement of PEOPLE, so that we could RECRUTE the skilled people from all over the
223 WORLD, NOT BARISTAS from the EU. You were BASICALLY HUMILIATED on that, so,
224 why on EARTH are you NOW saying the EU is WONDERFUL? You were saying that you'd
225 LEAVE if you didn't get those reforms?

226 *Cameron:* What I've SAID in the REFORMS that I've SOUGHT, I said we needed to be less
227 of the single currency CLUB, so I wanted GUARANTEES for the POUND, our CURRENCY,
228 and I GOT THOSE. I SAID I wanted it to be less BEAUROCRATIC, so I wanted TARGETS
229 to cut regulations, INCLUDING on SMALL businesses and I GOT THAT and I said that I
230 wanted to make sure that it was LESS of a (.) POLITICAL UNION for us and I think we're
231 THERE for TRADE and COOPERATION and WORKING TOGETHER, but we (.) want to
232 LIVE in the country called GREAT BRITAIN and be PART of the EUROPEAN UNION and
233 so I got us OUT of EVER closer UNION and CRUTIALLY on MIGRATION, and the
234 MOVEMENT of people, I said I DIDN'T think it was RIGHT that people could COME to our

235 country and IMMEDIATELY take OUT of the BENEFIT system, including IN WORK
236 benefit system. And what I'VE SECURED IS this IDEAD, this PROPOSAL, that if people
237 COME here, FIRST of ALL, they CAN'T claim unemployment benefit, if they DON'T have a
238 JOB within six months they have to (.) go HOME and if they DO WORK here, and many
239 people DO work here and make a GREAT contribution, if they DO work here, they don't get a
240 FULL access to our WELFARE system until they've WORKED here for FOUR YEARS. I
241 think that IS a REAL ADVANCE for us, cause it IS no more SOMETHING FOR NOTHING
242 <supportive hand gestures> so say YES, come here, come WORK and CONTRIBUTE, but
243 you have to PAY in, before you get out.

244 *Host:* Mister <viewer's name> would you like to COME BACK on that?

245 *Viewer, 0:30:15:* Yes. But (.) if you need SKILLED people from OUTSIDE the EU, it's (.)
246 devilish DIFFICULT. I even had to spend THOUSAND of POUNDS, wait over YEAR to get
247 a tear to VISA for my (.) STAFF to COME here. It's RIDICULOUS, when someone can
248 WALK in here and do the most JUNIOR UNDERSKILLED JOB from the EU, we CAN'T get
249 skilled people from ANYWHERE when we NEED them. <audience clapping>

250 *Cameron:* Well I, I <waits for clapping to be over, 5 sec > OBVIOUSLY the CONTROL of
251 immigration should we TALK about it tonight is an IMPORTANT issue, it's an important
252 CHALLENGE and ONE of the WAYS we're trying to CONTROL it from the REST of the
253 world is we say: we should do MORE to train our OWN people HERE to DO the JOBS that
254 the British economy IS delivering. And so what we HAVE i..is a SHORTAGE of a particular
255 OCCUPATION, we say to business: Okay, you can go and (.) SEEK that from OVERSEAS,
256 but what I want to see is more INTERSHIPS, more people going to UNIVERSITY, more
257 YOUNG people TRAINED to do the JOBS that our economy is creating and THAT
258 ACTUALLY is probably the BEST way of REDUCING immigration and making SURE
259 <Host: THANK YOU> there are JOBS and livelihoods for the YOUNG people.

260 *Host:* Thank you very much INDEED Mister Cameron, we are going to stay INDEED on that
261 issue of immigration now I have a QUESTION for you from Harry <Viewer's surname>

262 *Viewer, 0:31:30:* I have NO GP, as ALL are full in my AREA, I CAN'T get on the
263 HOUSING LADDER and I have THREE kids in one room. The PLACE where I grew up is
264 now, was the lovely area, is now a NO go zone. How is the EU and the UNCONTROLLED
265 immigration working for ME, a forty year old Brit who has been working full time since the
266 age of sixteen?

267 *Cameron:* Well what I'd say is (.) I think there are GOOD ways of controlling immigration
268 and I think there are BAD ways of controlling immigration. GOOD way is, what I just
269 explained, saying the people can come here, they can WORK, they can contribute, but they
270 have to PAY in before they get OUT, and when it comes to immigration from OUTSIDE the
271 EU, which of course is more than HALF we DO put a limit on the number that come for (.)
272 economic reasons, but I would say, REALLY frankly that I think if we want to build
273 HOUSES, if we want to invest in our HEALTH services, if we want good SCHOOLS for our
274 children, we've GOT to STRENGTHEN and SAFEGUARD our economy. And pulling OUT
275 of the single MARKET, which is what the LEAVE campaign want to do that would
276 DAMAGE our economy. Nigel Farage SAID it, he said: <unintelligible> about that the GDP
277 isn't ALL that matters. GDP is the SIZE of our ECONOMY, it's the COMBINATION of all
278 the wealth that our country CREATES, he's BASICALLY saying it doesn't really MATTER.

279 He's so KEEN to get us OUT of Europe that he's PREPARED to scarifify JOBS and
280 GROWTH ALL the way, we MUSTN'T DO THAT. <unintelligible, host and Cameron speak
281 at the same time>

282 *Viewer, 0:32:52:* I'm sorry mister Cameron, I-I-I voted for YOU in the last election, because
283 one of the things on your manifesto was to get immigration DOWN, you HAVEN'T been able
284 to do that because you're not ALLOWED to do that. That, THAT's the bottom line. So, HOW
285 are YOU, my, I can see MY standard of living and my family standard of living going
286 DOWN, BECAUSE of this (.) INFLUX that we CAN'T control now, I'm SORRY to say but
287 your closing statement last week WAS that: if we LEAVE the EU, we're rolling a DICE with
288 our children's future. I think quite an opposite, with you telling us to stay IN, you've rolled
289 that dice ALREADY. <audience clapping>

290 *Cameron:* Well, obviously, I-I <waiting for the applause to stop, app. 5 sec.> OBVIOUSLY I
291 don't agree with that. I think the biggest RISK we can TAKE is to pull OUT of the EU, PULL
292 out the single market, DAMAGE our businesses, DAMAGE JOBS and there'd FEWER
293 opportunities for our CHILDREN and GRANDCHILDREN and I say AGAIN, I hope that
294 when people will go and VOTE on June 23rd, they think about their CHILDREN and
295 GRANDCHILDREN, they think about the JOBS and OPPORTUNITIES they WANT for
296 THEM, the sort of COUNTRY that we want to BUILD together and they VOTE to say <Host
297 says OKAY, tries to stop Cameron> we don't want little ENGLAND of Nigel Farage, we
298 WANT to be a GREAT Britain and we're GREAT if we STAY in these organizations and
299 fight the sort of values we believe in.

300 *Host, 0:34:03:* Okay, we want, we want to, to STAY on this issue of pressure of SERVICES
301 and immigration <gives floor to next Viewer>

302 *Viewer, 0:34:11:* Mister Cameron, I don't have to tell you that the NHS is under IMMENSE
303 pressure. We currently do NOT have enough RESOURCES for the demand the services uses,
304 if we REMAIN in the EU, what PLANS do you HAVE to deal with the pressures (.) of
305 MIGRANTS on the NHS and its workers?

306 *Cameron:* Well FIRST of all, I think if we stay IN the EU, we keep our economy STRONG,
307 that is the absolute KEY to providing strong NHS and that's why the HEAD of the National
308 Health Service, Simon Stevens, said it's ONLY with the strong economy that you can put
309 MONEY and resources INTO the NHS. ON THIS ISSUE with migration, I ABSOLUTELY
310 agree, it IS a challenge, but I don't think it's a challenge that we should meet by DAMAGING
311 our ECONOMY, and as we THINK about it, I think we should also THINK about the 50
312 THOUSAND EU nationals that work IN our NHS, very OFTEN you find that PEOPLE-

313 *Viewer, 0:34:57:* - People that we do not NEED the EU nationals to work in, in NHS, we've
314 got ENOUGH skilled PEOPLE in the NHS, if you, if that was your main CONCERN, you
315 wouldn't be taking away the funding for the NURSES, for students who go study NURSING.
316 My issue is what PLANS are we going to have in place, so that the PEOPLE can get MRI
317 scans when they NEED to, so that I don't have to let DOWN people on the day to day basis.
318 We're REALLY under resourced. So as much as it's NICE that we can bring DOCTORS and
319 NURSES, what RESOURCES, what FACILITIES can you put in PLACE, to ENSURE that
320 we can DEAL with this higher demand?

321 *Cameron:* Wh-What we 're gonna put IN, is an EXTRA 12 BILLION IN THIS
322 PARLIAMENT into the NHS, but I WOULD just-

323 *Viewer, 0:35:30:* 12 billion into WHAT? We keep HEARING –

324 *Cameron:* 12 billion into making SURE that we MEET waiting times not just for CANCER
325 but also for mental HEALTH,-

326 *Viewer, 0:35:38:* Okay, I WORK as nurse, I just want to SAY, me and my COWORKERS,
327 we're DOING our part, we're providing EXCELLENT patient care-

328 *Cameron:* Yeah, thank you-

329 *Viewer, 0:35:44:* You need to do YOUR part and provide us with the RIGHT resources.
330 <audience applauding>

331 *Host:* Let's LEAVE it there, Mister Cameron [...]

332 *Viewer, 0:35:53:* Mister Cameron, you went into the EU to REFORM our membership and get
333 a better DEAL. Do you SHARE my FRUSTRATION that EU citizens are still ABLE to come
334 INTO the UK (.) and CLAIM benefits. What assurances can you give us that if, if we STAY,
335 you'll up for further REFORM?

336 *Cameron:* Well FIRST of ALL, I AGREE with you, the REFORM doesn't END on the JUNE
337 of 23RD. If we vote to stay IN, we should KEEP REFORMING this organization, but I
338 WOULD say, and I think it is really IMPORTANT, I think we DO have a special STATUS in
339 the EU, ALREADY, we're NOT in the EURO, we've got our OWN CURRENCY, we're not
340 in the NO BORDER ZONE, we've KEPT our own BORDERS, we're now going to be OUT
341 of the ever closing Union proposal, so OUR membership is right BRITAIN <supportive hand
342 gesture shown in detail> it gives us the TRADE, it gives us the COOPERATION, it helps us
343 WORK with the other COUNTRIES to GET what we WANT. Now in TERMS of (.)
344 REFORM, I think the things I've SECURED (.) DO really HELP us. They SAFEGUARD our
345 currency, in means we CAN'T be DISCRIMINATED against, they MAKE SURE that the
346 TARGETS for cutting the REGULATIONS on business that people could find
347 FRUSTRATING, and so YES the REFORM goes ON, but of COURSE if we LEAVE, the
348 REFORM ENDS. And here's what REALLY happens if we LEAVE: of COURSE we still
349 want to sell INTO that single market, so we still have to meet all of the RULES and
350 REGULATIONS that BRUSSELS lays DOWN, but we won't be at the TABLE. We'd be like
351 a country with our ear and a face PRESSED up against GLASS, trying FIND OUT what's
352 HAPPENING with the other 27 countries, making RULES that affect our COUNTRY. And I
353 would say that is NO way for the fifth biggest country, biggest economy in the WORLD to
354 BEHAVE, we need to be IN this organization, FIGHTING for British interests and British
355 JOBS. LEAVING is quitting. And I don't think, I don't think Britain, we're quitters. I think
356 we're FIGHTERS. We fight in this organizations for what we think it's right.

357 *Viewer, 0:37:40:* SURELY when you WENT for this deal that was an opportunity to say: I've
358 got this referendum coming, (.) this is my opportunity to get the DEAL that would be right for
359 BRITAIN, but you weren't ABLE to ACHIEVE that. I don't see how we're going to be able
360 to achieve that LATER on down the line.

361 *Cameron:* So you mentioned particularly the issue of the (.) BENEFITS and one of my KEY
362 demands, which I've GOT was to say, if you COME here, you don't get an unemployment
363 benefit, if you HAVEN'T got the job in six months you have to LEAVE, it IS the free
364 movement to come and WORK but it is not a free movement to come and live OFF someone
365 else's TAX payers. And, UNIQUELY in Britain, you're gonna have to WORK here for FOUR
366 years, PAYING into the system, CONTRIBUTING to our economy, before you get a FULL
367 access to our WELFARE system. I think that this is a really GOOD proposal <host saying:
368 okay, tries to wrap it up>, and one OF COURSE that we only GET, if we stay. If we LEAVE,
369 REFORM is over and I WORRY for what would happen to our ECONOMY and the JOBS
370 and the livelihoods of the people, which I think is the most important thing <host says OKAY
371 again> in this referendum.

372 *Host:* Okay, thank you very much indeed. And just on the, on the point of information, by
373 HOW many figures do you EXPECT the migration from the EU to FALL as a result of the
374 REFORM we have secured?

375 *Cameron:* I haven't made a FORECAST, because FRANKLY, we have got a pretty
376 extraordinary YEAR as RECENTLY in the, in the European Union. The FIRST five years I
377 was Prime Minister, our ECONOMY created MORE JOBS than the REST of the European
378 Union put TOGETHER. And so we HAVE seen a LOT of people coming to LIVE and
379 coming to WORK here. Actually, Nine out of ten people in WORK ARE British nationals.
380 Two THIRDS jobs created since I was Prime Minister have been British, BRITISH people
381 taking those jobs. So I'm NOT going to make a forecast, but I think it stance the stance. If it is
382 TODAY you can COME IN from the EU and get 10 THOUSAND pounds of TAX CREDITS
383 on TOP of your WAGES and I'M saying you're not going to HAVE that in future, CLEARLY
384 that will make a difference. <no clapping>

385 *Host:* Okay, thank you very much in deed, Mister Cameron. [...] <question about European
386 Parliament and sovereignty> We're going to PRESS on the question on LAW and ORDER
387 [...]

388 *Viewer, 0:44:47:* Mister Cameron, just TODAY we've seen yet MORE evidence of the type
389 of crimes committed by the EU nationals, who've <unintelligible> in our HOME country, and
390 come HERE to commit MORE crimes. If we REMAIN in the EU, how can WE protect the
391 public from the EU nationals who've committed offenses in our home countries?

392 *Cameron:* Peter, VERY good question. I, I can answer very specifically. First of ALL, we'll
393 KEEP our BORDER controls, we can stop ANYONE at our border, EU nationals included,
394 and if we think they are RISK to our country, we don't have to let them IN. And IN my
395 renegotiation, I've STRENGTHEN that to give us MORE (.) freedom to do that. FIRST point.
396 SECOND point, we've a lot of EUROPEAN and OTHER foreign nationals in our prisons and
397 one of my GREATEST frustrations as a Prime Minister is going around to some of these
398 countries, whether it's going to NIGERIA or Jamaica, o-o-or Pakistan, TRYING to GET
399 FOREIGN nationals OUT of prisons and OVER to the countries where they CAME from. In
400 EUROPE, we DO at least HAVE a DIRECTIVE on prisoners transfers, which is now
401 COMING into FORCE and we will be able to GET those people OUT of our prisons so they
402 can be PAID for the governments of the citizens they ARE. Now if we LEAVE, we'll be
403 BACK to the situation that we had before, far, FAR more difficult <Host says: OKAY> to get
404 these people out of our country. Please, please come back <to the viewer>

405 *Viewer, 0:46:02:* There were FIFTY, fifty NAMES of individuals released TODAY in (.)
406 PRESS. YOU, the government <pointing at Cameron> tried to GET them out of the country,
407 because they committed SERIOUS, serious offenses, but Brussels said NO, they have to
408 REMAIN, so-

409 *Cameron:* But that's of course –

410 *Viewer:* So how, how, HOW can we DEAL with that issue?

411 *Cameron:* Because of this Prisoner's TRANSFER agreement is NOT YET FULLY
412 ENFORCED.

413 *Viewer:* So when will that be?

414 *Cameron:* It is COMING in in the coming months, so we're going to see BIG, we've already
415 seen SOME GO, and we're going to see a lot MORE go- and- sorry sir- the CERTAIN is this
416 – if we LEAVE and we're OUTSIDE these directives, we'll be BACK to the situation we
417 have with the OTHER countries on the OTHER side of the WORLD where it can take
418 MONTHS, it can take YEARS it can take sometimes DECADES, I mean, I'm old enough to
419 remember, I expect some of you may remember when INSIDE Europe (.) people could FLEE
420 Britain to go to Costa del Crime in, in SPAIN and it gates DECADES to get them BACK,
421 because – one more point, I promise I will get back to you <to the viewer, who wants to
422 respond>, because of the European ARREST warrant, we can now GET people BACK, ONE
423 thousand on hundred MURDERERS, rapists and CRIMINALS have been BROUGHT back to
424 Britain and FACE justice in our country, BECAUSE of that and the ILLUSION-

425 *Viewer, 0:47:08:* Why, why are they entering the UK in the FIRST place? I UNDERSTAND
426 the European Arrest Warrant <Cameron says YES>, and that's GREAT <Cameron agrees
427 again>, taking BACK to our country to face justice, but WHY are they entering the UK in the
428 FIRST place?

429 *Cameron:* Well they SHOULDN'T and that's why we KEEP, we KEEP our borders and MY
430 renegotiation <Host says OKAY and THANK you loudly again> means we have MORE
431 freedom to STOP people coming in in the FIRST place, we LEAVE and those things go.

432 *Host:* OKAY. Thank you. [...]

4. THE ITV Referendum Debate

For remain Amber Rudd (Tory), Nicola Sturgeon (SNP) and Angela Eagle (Labour)

For leave: Boris Johnson (Tory), Andrea Leadsom (Tory) and Gisela Stuart (Labour)

Each politician has a minute to introduce the topic and take a position.

1 *Boris Johnson, 0:02:21:* On June, 23rd, we ALL are facing a historic choice, to REMAIN
2 locked in EUROPEAN Union, ruled by unelected elite, frankly INDIFFERENT to the
3 suffering that their policies are CAUSING, OR to TAKE back control. TAKE BACK control
4 of HUGE sums of money, three hundred fifty million pounds a WEEK and spend it on OUR
5 priorities such as the NHS, TAKE back control of our IMMIGRATION in a BALANCED
6 and FAIR way. Take back control of our TRADE policy, TWO deals with the growth
7 economy around the world, TAKE back control of our DEMOCRACY so that we can
8 MAKE our laws and SET our taxes according to the need of the UK economy. And to the
9 prophets of doom I say: They were WRONG in the PAST and they are WRONG today. Let
10 us BELIEVE in ourselves, let's TAKE back control. Let us SPEAK up for ALL the people
11 AROUND the European Union, who are looking to us to SPEAK for democracy. TAKE
12 back control on June the 23rd and we will prosper <host signals the times is up> as never
13 before.

14 *Amber Rudd, 0:03:29:* Thank you, tonight I'll be making a POSITIVE case for why our
15 GREAT country is STRONGER, SAFER and BETTER off by being in the European Union.
16 STRONGER because it gives us influence by dealing with some of the world's biggest
17 problems, SAFER because there is STRENGTH in numbers and BETTER OFF, because it
18 gives us access to world's LARGEST market, which makes us more prosperous at HOME,
19 gives us JOBS and opportunities for our families and CRITICALLY FUNDS for our public
20 services. NOW, I know there is a lot of claims and counterclaims flying around and quite a
21 lot of HEAT, but at the CORE of it is THIS: We know what we GET if we vote to remain,
22 but If you ASK what we get if we vote to leave, they say WE JUST don't know. Well I say
23 JUST don't know JUST isn't good enough. As a MOTHER, I WON'T take that risk with my
24 children's future. The stakes are high. Either VOTE and take a LEAP in the dark or you vote
25 to remain and BUILD on that prosperity.

26 *Gisela Stuart, 0:04:29:* Everyone watching tonight, just ask yourself a ONE question. Would
27 you join the European Union today? If you want control over your money, the answer is NO.
28 If you want control over your BORDERS and your security, the answer is NO. If you want
29 control over your taxes and trait, then the answer is NO. The European Union just isn't
30 WORKING anymore. The NOBEL idea, dreamt up in the LAST century is turning into a
31 NIGHTMARE. Fifty percent of the under twenty fives in Greece are unemployed. The
32 ONLY continent, which has just got HIGHER growth rate than Europe, is and
33 ANTARCTICA. Our MEMBERSHIP fee to the European Union is THREE hundred and
34 fifty million a WEEK. That's YOUR money that you NEITHER see again <stumbling a
35 little bit>, NOR do you have any control over. And this is for THAT reason that I say to
36 you, TAKE back control, VOTE leave on June the 23rd.

37 *Nicola Sturgeon, 0:05:34:* As you know, I BELIEVE that nations should be
38 INDEPENDENT. But I also want the UK and Scotland to stay PART of the EU. The reason
39 is SIMPLE. In the modern world, independent countries MUST work together. And that's
40 what the EU is all about. INDEPENDENT CHOOSING to cooperate for the benefit of ALL.
41 Working together for PEACE and shared security. To INCREASE trade and create JOBS, to

42 PROTECT the workers rights, to TACKLE CLIMATE change and to GUARANTEE our
43 freedom of movement. A vote to leave is not a vote for independence. The UK like
44 FRANCE and GERMANY is ALREADY independent. But a vote to LEAVE WOULD cost
45 jobs, it would DAMAGE workers rights and it would NARROW all of our horizons. By
46 voting to REMAIN on the 23rd of June, you can CHOOSE to stay PART of building a
47 BETTER future for YOU, your children and your GRANDCHILDREN.

48 *Andrea Leadsom, 0:06:32:* THANK you. As a former city minister and with twenty five
49 years running financial services, businesses but ALSO as a MOM, I come at this at what is
50 the BEST thing for our CHILDREN and our GRANDCHILDREN. And there are TWO
51 points I want to make. The FIRST is that we have a SUPERB future ahead of us if we
52 TAKE back control and LEAVE the European Union. 80 percent of the world's economies
53 are NOT in the EU single market and the UK as the world's FIFTH biggest economy can do
54 an ENORMOUS amount of trade as a FREE and independent democracy. But my second
55 point is, there are GRAVE risks ahead if we stay in the EU. That project if FAILING, it has
56 FAILED a generation of young people and we CANNOT escape from the risk that it is to us.
57 So for ME, the choice is CLEAR. EU is the yesterday's game. OUR future is to take back
58 control and vote LEAVE on June the 23rd.

59 *Angela Eagle, 0:07:36:* Thank you. We're at the crossroad. Whichever path YOU choose in
60 this referendum, there will be no turning back. The choice YOU make will affect YOUR
61 prospects and those of your loved ones for GENERATIONS to come. Now, TONIGHT
62 you're going to hear a LOT of NONSENSE and even misinformation from the LEAVE
63 campaign. DON'T fall for it. THIS is a vote about JOBS. Three million are linked to our
64 trade with Europe and they would be at risk if we left. And your rights at WORK are on the
65 ballot paper too. Paid leave, time off to have children – LEADING Leave campaigners think
66 that red tape to be cut. LEAVING would lead to a BONFIRE of worker's rights. So DON'T
67 vote for a race to the bottom. Let's be OPTIMISTIC, let's be CONFIDENT in our ability to
68 project OUR values in Europe AND in the world, that's why I am the Labour party
69 <unintelligible, host thanks> telling you to vote REMAIN on June the 23rd.

70 <host thanks and moves on to the debate, reminds audience each of the speakers will have
71 40 seconds to answer prepared questions before moving on to free floating debate>

72 *Manraj Othi, 0:09:06:* Good evening. A factor that will sway many people's decisions of the
73 vote is the immigration. Immigration is GOOD for the country and economy but only when
74 appropriate controls are IN place. Which decision, LEAVE or REMAIN ALLOWS us to put
75 in place the appropriate controls to ensure that we only have and immigration that improves
76 and adds to our country?

77 *Host:* Manraj, thank you. And the first to respond is Angela Eagle.

78 *Angela Eagle, 0:09:25:* Well of COURSE it's important ALL immigration is FAIR and
79 properly MANAGED and this is a DIFFICULT problem and if we get it WRONG it DOES
80 lead to a terrible pressure in particular areas of our communities. But I think that the LEAVE
81 camp is actually offering very SIMPLISTIC solutions to a complex challenge. They've said
82 that the Australian point system is the ANSWER, but if you actually LOOK at the Australian
83 point system, they have MORE people per head going to Australia, putting immigration UP,
84 not DOWN. So there are NO simple solutions to this DIFFICULT problem.

85 *Boris Johnson, 0:10:06:* The REMAIN campaign are offering absolutely NO solution
86 whatever. WE are proposing an Australian STYLE BRITISH solution, which will ALLOW
87 people to COME in on the bases of the SKILLS they have to offer our country and our
88 economy. A points based system. And it would be FAIRER because we CURRENTLY
89 discriminate MASSIVELY against NINETY TWO percent of the world who DO not come

90 FROM the European Union while having unrestricted access to people from 28 countries
91 without even being able to CHECK whether they have criminal RECORDS.

92 *Amber Rudd, 0:10:42:* Thank you very much. Well the questioner has concerns about it and
93 he has a RIGHT to have concerns about it, but Angela is RIGHT. This is a COMPLEX
94 problem, there isn't a SILVER BULLET and I know that this is what Boris and his team
95 would like to have, but you NEED to look at the numbers, although I FEAR that any number
96 Boris is interested in is the one that says number TEN <audience laughing, it is a hint to
97 Downing Street number 10, where Prime Minister sits, implying Johnson is eyeing the
98 position> But the FACT is, as Angela has said in AUSTRALIA it is TWICE as much as it
99 would have here if we adopted their system. They DON'T have an answer to it, the RIGHT
100 answer is the approach that David Cameron has take, has TAKEN, which is negotiating a
101 SPECIAL arrangement with us with the European union, where by people who COME here
102 can ONLY take out if they've put in, they should come here to WORK, NOT to take out.
103 <host thanks several times, implies time is up>

104 *Andrea Leadsom, 0:11:26:* Immigration is very VALUABLE to our ECONOMY. We NEED
105 more people to come here and WORK as we are living longer, that's a GOOD thing. The
106 PROBLEM is, as the member of the EU, it is UNCONTROLLABLE immigration and that's
107 where the PROBLEM is, and so what we're FINDING according to the Bank of England,
108 that uncontrollable immigration is having a dampening effect on WAGES so people are
109 UNABLE to EARN. And what we are finding is, SCHOOL places have pressure on,
110 DOCTOR's surgeries appointments, and OF COURSE getting onto the HOUSING ladder,
111 concreting over the Green Belt. These are the problems of the UNCONTROLLED
112 immigration. We need to TAKE back control and vote LEAVE on the June the 23rd.

113 *Nicola Sturgeon, 0:12:09:* Well YES, the immigration is causing a pressure in SOME areas
114 in public services, I see that in parts of my own constituency, but you know WHAT, the
115 ANSWER to that is to INVEST in our public services. Not to impose NEEDLESS austerity
116 cuts. Secondly, EU migrants make a POSITIVE contribution to our ECONOMY and they
117 bring MUCH needed SKILLS. And THIRDLY and LASTLY, freedom of movement is a
118 TWO WAY street. It is not just about people coming here, it's about our freedom of
119 movement as WELL. There are TWO million of British citizens living in other parts of the
120 EU, we don't call them MIGRANTS though, we call them EXPATS. I wanna to do what
121 BORIS once said he would do, make the CASE of the immigration and the
122 CONTRIBUTION it makes.

123 *Angela Stuart, 0:12:52:* I'm an IMMIGRANT. But when I CAME, I had to have a SKILL,
124 which they were looking for, one that was NEEDED, it took FIVE years before I had
125 unlimited rights to work and STAY here. TODAY we have a FREE movement of people.
126 Within the area that includes the Eurozone, with MASSIVE unemployment rates.
127 WITHOUT control, what will happen is our ability to plan for SCHOOLS, for HOUSING
128 AND for hospitals is LIMITED. We can take control and THAT control is that IF we leave
129 the European Union and we introduce the Australian BASED POINT system, then we can
130 PROTECT our public services, we can CHOOSE who crosses our borders and YOU, the
131 voter, will have control.

132 *Host:* Thank you, Gisela Stuart. Thank you for those opening comments on this issue. Amber
133 Rudd, if I open the floor for the debate to you first, on this QUESTION of controls on
134 immigration.

135 *Amber Rudd, 0:13:41:* Yes, yes. My MAIN issue with the Leave campaign's proposal is they
136 are NOT facing up to the issue that it IS a complex problem, which is really
137 HIGHLIGHTED by the questioner's point. There are BENEFITS and there are

138 DIFFICULTIES. Instead they think there is silver bullet and that JUST doesn't FACE up to
139 the truth. What we NEED to address is how to get the BEST out of immigration, WHILE
140 protecting as Nicola has said the advantage of people to move abroad. What it ISN'T is,
141 there is NO answer to the immigration question which is CRUSHING the economy, by
142 LEAVING the European Union.

143 *Boris Johnson, 0:14:12:* I- I-I think Aber is <.> a really, we BOTH fought on the SAME
144 manifesto, which is to CUT the immigration to TENS of thousands... And it is
145 IMPOSSIBLE to do that. We BOTH I think HOPED that there would be a REFORM of the
146 European Union TREATY so that it would ALLOW us to DO that by TAKING back control
147 of our borders, that DID not happen in the renegotiation. We didn't get ANYTHING of the
148 kind, we- we didn't even SUCCEED in our attempt to make sure people had a JOB to COME
149 to, that was 77 THOUSAND people who came to this country from the EU without even a
150 JOB offer the last year. 184 thousand NET. Now, I am MASSIVELY PRO immigration, I'm
151 the decedent of TURKS and very PROUD of it, TOO. But there has to be a democratic
152 CONSENT for the SCALE of the flows that we are seeing. At the moment is it corrosive
153 distrust of democracy.

154 *Nicola Sturgeon, 0:15:02:* You know, I HEAR the Leave campaign talk about Australian
155 point system but the AUSTRALIA has HIGHER immigration per head of population than
156 the UK does. THAT is the FACT, but you do NOT hear many facts from the LEAVE
157 campaign. It's also the FACT we here a talk of HIGH rates of immigration, there's also
158 generally speaking record HIGH levels of employment across the UK right now, because
159 OPEN inclusive economies tend to be STRONGER economies. So if you are
160 STRUGGLING to access public SERVICES or struggling to access HOUSING, when Boris
161 was mayor of London, of course, building an AFFORDABLE housing <unintelligible, host
162 thanks> Blame the politicians, DON'T blame the immigrants, because THEY are the once
163 not investing in our public services.

164 *Host:* Okay, let me just bring Gisela Stuart on it.

165 *Gisela Stuart, 0:15:46:* The POINT of the POINT system is that you actually have a control
166 of the numbers. If the Australians have designed the system in such way that the numbers
167 INCREASE, then it is EQUALLY possible to design the system where they DICREASE.
168 What we have NOW is a MAINLAND Europe of 500 million workers AND people who
169 have AUTOMATIC right to be here. You CANNOT plan public services if you have a
170 control of only about HALF of people who come in here.

171 *Angela Eagle:* BORIS Johnson pretending to be WORRIED about the problems with public
172 services when in his EIGHT YEARS of mayor he has LEFT London with a HUGE housing
173 shortage and he built HARDLY any HOUSES and we've GOT the LEAVE campaign
174 TALKING about the PRESSURE of public services, when BORIS JOHNSON voted with
175 the Conservative government to have a HUGE cut in public services <camera on Johnson as
176 he shakes his head in disagreement> isn't it THAT'S where a lot of this pressure is coming
177 from?

178 *Andrea Leadsom, 0:16:43:* The TRUTH is, that IF we stay in the EU, there is NO chance of
179 controlling our immigration. The REMAIN camp FAILED to answer that question. People
180 are genuinely CONCERNED, the Bank of England SAYS, WAGES have been pushed
181 DOWN, it is ONLY by taking back CONTROL that we can ACTUALLY sort this OUT.
182 People are GENUINELY STRUGGLING with ACCESS to public services and the
183 REMAIN side has no answer to that.

184 *Amber Rudd, 0:17:10:* Andrea, you KNOW that there is no SENSE on that, on the IMPACT
185 on WAGES and the fact is I come BACK to the fact that YOUR plan simply doesn't stack

186 up. You NEED to LEVEL with the British public here. There are EXPERTS involved here,
187 Migration watch, who are NOT necessarily FRIENDLY to immigration have observed that
188 this could have EXACTLY the opposite effect. We NEED to address this, it is a COMPLEX
189 issue, but YOUR proposal does NOT do that.

190 *Andrea Leadsom:* I will just reformulate EXACTLY what Gisa said. AUSTRALIA is a
191 MASSIVE country with a SMALL population. They CHOOSE, because they have a
192 CONTROL system. If WE have a control system, WE can choose.

193 *Boris Johnson, 0:17:48:* What ANDREA said. But <audience laughing> If I, if I may SAY
194 so, I think the REAL problem here has been that he FLOWS have increased exponentially or
195 very very considerably over the last ten twenty years, we have ABSOLUTELY no way of
196 controlling, the city of a size of NEWCASTLE arriving EVERY YEAR, that's a VERY
197 considerable PRESSURE on our population growth, we NEED to sort it out and we
198 PROPOSED at the last election that we could do it and ALL politicians SAY that they can
199 do it, we ARE actually offering a way to do it, which is to TAKE BACK control –

200 *Nicola Sturgeon, 0:18:26:* The PROBLEM with the Tory commitment in the last election is
201 that it is a DISHONEST commitment, it was dishonest then and it is dishonest NOW. The
202 FACT is, most EU migrants who come here, come here to WORK. They WORK, they
203 provide skills, they contribute, they actually PAY more than they TAKE OUT. Our economy
204 would SUFFER if we would <unintelligible> stop people coming in. And I know that it puts
205 pressure on public services, I said I represent Glasgow, I SEE that in the part of my own
206 constituency, but I SAY again, the answer to pressure in public services and HOUSING is to
207 INVEST in our public services and housing! Because the IMPACT of AUSTERITY on our
208 public services is MUCH greater than the impact of immigration.

209 *Gisela Stuart, 0:19:06:* I'm GLAD to know that the Scottish parliament at once stage have
210 CONSIDERED the Australia point system and I would invite them to come BACK to that
211 because the BIG thing is about the ANY asylum and immigration policy a country has
212 REQUIRES a consent of the people. YOU voters have to know WHO you can hold
213 accountable for the decisions you've made. At the MOMENT it's only about the HALF of it
214 which you can control and I want to invite you to TAKE BACK control.

215 *Amber Rudd:* You're just not LEVELING with the British people, the fact is it is NOT
216 THAT simple. There were over TWO hundred thousand people from the European Union
217 who WORK in our public services. 50 THOUSAND doctors and nurses in the NHS alone.
218 YOU CAN'T just pick this RADICAL step without RECOGNIZING this is difficult ISSUE,
219 we need to ADDRESS it and NOT in the way you're proposing.

220 *Angela Eagle:* Why on Earth don't we bring back the Migration Impact Fund and STOP
221 actually cutting the AREAS that are the MOST vulnerable, in local services the MOST, MY
222 local authorities had a HUGE cut, MUCH larger cut than some OTHER areas and YET they
223 HAVE more of the PROBLEMS. The government have to get to pull up their SOCKS and
224 ACTUALLY ensure that they LOOK at the PRESSURES that the CUTS are CAUSING at
225 the local communities, up and down.

226 *Boris Johnson, 0:20:19:* Of COURSE, people can always ARGUE for spending MORE
227 money on all SORTS of priorities, what we are saying is, by the way if we TAKE BACK
228 control of our money, we had 10 billion pounds more, if we left the EU we had TEN billion
229 pounds more on spending EVERY year on our public - <Angela Eagle says Boris lies and he
230 knows it>

231 *Boris:* ...And I may point out, I MAY point out that the MOST important EFFECT of
232 immigration on HUGE numbers of people, as ANDREA has rightly SAID is to COMPRESS
233 wage growth and to compress their wages, as the Bank of England has said. For every TEN

234 percent growth in immigration there is a TWO percent reduction in wages and THAT bares
235 thinking about.

236 *Host:* There was quite a course there from the side, there was a very SPECIFIC point there
237 on wages , could any of you address that? <towards Remain camp>

238 *Amber Rudd, 0:20:58:* Well JUST on the wages, the FACT is that there is not a
239 CONSENSUS on that and I think you know it. It is 10 BILLION that he particularly said
240 that we had a COURSE of because the fact IS, as it has been said today, when doctor Sarah
241 Wollaston today have stepped down from, when she decided to STAY with the Remain
242 rather than vote for OUT, you DON'T SAVE MONEY by leaving the European Union.
243 INSTEAD you have LESS for the public services. That's what is so WRONG about your
244 proposal.

245 *Andrea Leadsom:* I, I'd LIKE to make a point that, you know, IF we DON'T take back
246 control and vote LEAVE, what's going to happen FURTHER down the line, and we've had
247 this DISCUSSION about the problems that we have today, we had 77 THOUSAND people
248 coming here from the EU, who DON'T have a job, now of course ACROSS the Eurozone,
249 you have 50% YOUTH unemployment in GREECE AND in Spain, 38 PERCENT in ITALY
250 and EVEN more in Portugal. The problem for THOSE young people is, it is going to put
251 even MORE pressure on the United Kingdom as those people are QUITE rightly looking at
252 future career. And it's DEVASTATING impact on the United Kingdom, let alone when we
253 see FURTHER ACCESSION countries coming in.

254 *Host, 0:22:11:* Let's on THAT point of the inequalities of WAGES and EMPLOYMENT
255 across the EU, Angela Eagle.

256 *Angela Eagle:* Well look, the TUC says <The National Trade Union Centre> if we LEAVE
257 the European Union, WAGES will actually go DOWN, there will be MORE pressure on
258 already PRESSURED PEOPLE- <Boris Johnson disagrees, unintelligible> That is not
259 TRUE, Boris <he responds it IS true> Your ENTIRE campaign is BASED on falsehood, it is
260 EMBLAZED across your bus, it DOESN'T cost THREE HUNDRED and fifty MILLION
261 pounds to be a member of the EU and YOU <pointing at Boris> know that <.> it's not true
262 and you have emblazed it across your bus and you REFUSE to take it back, now the Head of
263 the Statistics Authority has told you it's not TRUE, because it doesn't take account of the
264 REBATE and the money we get back. TUC says <host thanks Angela> we get 10 POUNDS
265 from every ONE pound we put in the European Union.

266 *Boris Johnson, 0:23:09:* It IS true, it is PERFECTLY true and verifiable that there is in fact
267 slightly MORE than 350 million pounds A WEEK that we DO NOT control. HUGE sums of
268 it go to Brussels and never comes back. We could USE some of that money to elevate some
269 of the pressures IN the NHS caused by UNCONTROLLED immigration.

270 *Nicola Sturgeon, 0:23:36:* To HEAR the man who USED to say we should be CHARGED to
271 use to NHS pretend that he's a DEFENDER of the NHS is... I am SAD that Boris Johnson is
272 STANDING here tonight, still defending the 350 million pounds a week figure, it's a
273 SCANDAL that that's still emblazed across the CAMPAIGN bus, because it is an
274 ABSOLUTE improper, the statistics authorities have said so and the House of Common
275 Select Committee has said so-

276 *Boris:* Are you saying we are in control of that money?

277 *Nicola:* The CONTRIBUTION to the EU that EACH of us makes, every week is less, every
278 day is less than a POUND but what we GET fir that money? We get FREEDOM of
279 TRAVEL, we get SINGLE market of FIVE hundred million people, we've got a CHANCE
280 to COOPERATE, to keep ourselves SAFER, these are the GAINS of being in the EU <host
281 thanks, unintelligible after that>

282 *Angela Eagle*: Get that LIE of your bus <pointing by finger towards Boris Johnson, audience
283 laughs>

284 *Amber Rudd*: We are going to REPAINT the bus. <audience claps>

285 *Andrea Leadsom, 0:24:31*: May I respond to that? If I ASK you HOW much you EARN and
286 you TELL me THIRTY THOUSAND, are you TELLING me the sum after tax and national
287 insurance and your household bills? Of COURSE you're not. The POINT is that 350 million
288 pounds a week is EXACTLY what the office of financial statistics SAY is the amount due to
289 EU, the POINT is, 25 percent of it ROUGHTLY is then given back to us in the form of the
290 REBATE, which the EU CONTROLS, it will ONLY last till the end of this decade,
291 ANOTHER 25 PERCENT comes back in the form of SUBSIDIES, AGAIN, the EU controls
292 it and a TEN BILLION POUNDS a YEAR GOES to the EU, which we NEVER see again!
293 THAT's enough to meet the NEEDS of the NHS. <host thanks>

294 *Amber Rudd, 0:25:13*: What is SO misleading about this is being the FACT that being IN
295 European Union MAKES us money, doesn't SAVE us money. There is no SAVING from
296 leaving the European Union and what WE are going to DO is REPAINT that bus and we are
297 going to put a Leprechaun on one end, the RAINBOW on one side and the pocket of gold at
298 the end. <audience laughs> because that is ALL it IS, it is a PURE FANTASY, that bus.

299 *Boris Johnson, 0:25:36*: Now you are TALKING about the COLD HEART CASH that
300 belongs to the people of THIS country that is send EVERY WEEK, EVERY YEAR - <host
301 thanks, audience claps anyway>

302 *Host*: Thank you, I'm going to DRAW a line and you can all DRAW breath and we will –
303 thank you for your contributions all on that issue, I don't DOUBT it may arise again at some
304 point and we will go to our SECOND question this evening, <question about the economy>

305

5. #EURef The EU Debate, Telegraph, Huffington Post and Youtube

1 *Host:* <presents all panellists, gives word to first viewer> Tony Smith, your question.

2 *Viewer 1, 0:02:20:* Thank you, good evening NET immigration to the United Kingdom is
3 CURRENTLY equivalent to adding the population of the NEW Castle upon time EACH
4 YEAR. Given the cost and TIME needed to increase water RESERVOIR capacity, plants,
5 electricity generation, hospital and school places, train GPs over TEN YEARS, build roads
6 and HOUSES in our small island, CAN the panel SAY WHAT annual RATE of net
7 immigration to the UK is actually PRACTICAL for us to COPE with and if they CANNOT so
8 say, is it no IRRESPONSIBLE to advocate UNCONTROLLED immigration?

9 *Host, 0:03:00:* Boris Johnson, what is ACCEPTABLE level of immigration?

10 *Boris Johnson, 0:03:06:* Well FIRST of ALL let me SAY I am PRO immigration in the sense
11 that I am the <.> BENEFICIARY of this country's GENEROCITY to my TURKISH great
12 grandfather many many years ago. He came in 1912 to Wimbledon as it happened <...> and
13 very lucky my family WAS and I think London benefits MASSIVELY, HAS benefited
14 massively from immigration. But what you say sir is quite RIGHT when we are running at the
15 rate of 300 and 33 THOUSAND a YEAR so you have a size of NEW CASTLE, net
16 immigration from the European Union is running at about 184 THOUSAND last year, I think
17 MOST people in this country think this is VERY high indeed and probably TOO high. If you
18 look at the recent PROJECTIONS from the MIGRATION watch, if we go on at this RATE,
19 the population will PRETTY rapidly get to about 80 million people in the next, in the next
20 <host starts speaking>

21 *Host:* SO if you had to put a figure on it, Boris Johnson, what would you put?

22 *Boris Johnson:* I would SAY that we need to go LOWER, but the ONLY way to DO that is to
23 TAKE BACK control of our immigration policy.

24 *Host:* HOW low?

25 *Boris Johnson:* Get BACK to a MANAGEABLE figure and I'm not going to, I'm not gonna
26 give a –

27 *Host:* Nigel Farage said 30-40 thousands

28 *Boris Johnson:* I'm not, I'm not gonna do that. I think what, WHAT you WANT is a FIGURE
29 that CORRESPONDS to the NEEDS of British industry and business and the economy. And
30 at the MOMENT we've got A <.> a SYSTEM which allows in HUGE numbers of people who
31 don't even HAVE a JOB offer. 77 THOUSANDS people came LAST YEAR who had no job
32 together, FROM the European Union. And I don't think, so just so you can, you can subtract
33 77 THOUSAND from 184 thousand you can SEE you know, you're ALREADY making some
34 SERIOUS reductions. I think that you NEED to get to positon that the Prime Minister and
35 indeed OTHER members of the government said we SHOULD get to, before the
36 renegotiations BEGAN and make sure people CAN'T come here unless they have a job to
37 come to, I think THAT is, THAT is reasonable. <host tries to stop him> And I would ALSO
38 like an Australian style POINT based system that is FAIR to everyone.

39 *Host, 0:05:24:* Liz Kendall, Nigel Farage has TALKED about 30-40 thousands being an
40 ACCEPTABLE LIMIT, acceptable NUMBER. Back to the levels of kind of 60s and 70s. It is
41 CURRENTLY running at 300 THOUSANDS. Is 300 thousands TOO high?

42 *Liz Kendall, 0:05:36:* I'm not going to say any number EITHER and I think one of the
43 REASONS WHY people are so FED UP with the politics and politicians is they make
44 promises they DON'T end up KEEPING. You are RIGHT that immigration DOES bring
45 pressures and I think those have to be DEALT with. Coming HERE should be to come to
46 WORK, to PAY IN before you take out, we need I BELIEVE to see more EFFORT to make
47 sure we have enough HOUSING in PARTS of the country and the EXTRA money migrants
48 put INTO system I'd like to see more of that funding go to the areas that need it the MOST.
49 But I'm also going to be HONEST, SOMETIMES we TALK about the immigration as IS it IS
50 a DISEASE. When MIGRANTS actually contribute a HUGE amount to this country, they DO
51 pay in more than they take out and our NHS would STRUGGLE without the contribution ...
52 <host thanks>

53 *Host:* Okay, let's go back to the question.

54 *Viewer 1:* We're ALL in favour of immigration, I haven't MET anyone who ISN'T in favour
55 of immigration. I haven't MET anyone who doesn't see BENEFITS. But the BENEFITS to
56 WHOM? In over the previous two YEARS nearly ONE HALF of the MATERNITY units at
57 SOME point had to CLOSE their doors, because they could not COPE with the demand. Are
58 you SAYING to those pregnant women who had to DRIVE to <.> another MATERNITY unit
59 unexpectedly that THIS is NOT about whether immigration is GOOD or BAD in the moral
60 sense. We're ALL inn favour of immigration, we ALL love new people..

61 *Liz Kendall, 0:07:04:* Okay, can I , I need to COME BACK to that sir. Because YOU ARE
62 MORE likely to be treated by SOMEONE who comes from the European Union to works in
63 the NHS then you are to wait behind them in the queue. It is SIMPLY not RIGHT to say the
64 REASON our NHS is STRUGGLING and under pressure is to DO with migrants. They tend
65 to be YOUNGER, HEALTHIER and of working AGE. The REASON why our NHS is under
66 pressure is we are having AGING population, MORE people living with LONG TERM and
67 chronic conditions and because quite frankly THIS government has cut the CARE SERVICE
68 for the elderly people <host speaking, unintelligible, audience claps>

69 *Host:* Okay, Tony <to viewer> I will come back to you, I promise. Priti Patel. There is a point
70 Liz is making, the SQUIZE on public services SOME people are experiencing is NOT JUST
71 or perhaps ONLY because of IMMIGRANTS, it's because of CUTS to the NHS and CUTS to
72 public services.

73 *Priti Patel, 0:08:01:* Well let's be very CLEAR about this, if we LOOK back not just over the
74 LAST TWO YEARS, but actually over the last FIFTEEN years in particular, we should
75 ACKNOWLEDGE and I think, you know, our government DOES quite WELL, there are
76 quite frankly because of our membership in European Union means we are not fully IN
77 CONTROL of our immigration policy and I think that is the important point here to NOTE.
78 And on TOP of that, PREVIOUS governments, I think Liz would also agree, you know
79 previous LABOUR governments simply didn't ANTICIPATE the numbers of people through
80 the Freedom of the movement directive in particular that CAME to the United Kingdom and
81 YES, Liz <unintelligible, host speaks>

82 *Host:* Priti, okay but you haven't answer Liz Kendall's point, which was that some of the
83 pressure that NHS and other public services are currently undergoing is BECAUSE of cuts.
84 Can you ADDRESS that point?

85 *Priti Patel, 0:08:46:* What I would SAY actually, this is, this is a FAILURE of successive
86 governments when it comes to NOT planning for that level of migration that CAME, the
87 PRESSURE that basically led to, YES pressure on HOUSING, public SERVICES, on
88 SCHOOL places, we've seen the Department of public education publish figures again
89 PRESSURE on SCHOOL PLACES. That APPLIES to the NHS as well <Liz Kendall
90 speaking through> And actually successive governments to be able to WAKE UP to this, to
91 successively anticipate –

92 *Host, 0:09:12:* Okay, is it a FAILURE of successive governments?

93 *Alex Salmond, 0:09:14:* WELL, the gentlemen <viewer> has said that we ALL like
94 immigration and you know, I wish that were true, but, BUT it's NOT. And it's NOT in this
95 campaign. And It's NOT in this campaign because immigration is being presented as a
96 negative THING. As an awful thing. And many people I'm afraid so actually BELIEVE
97 THAT. Now I don't accept that for a second. We've been in the European Union for 43
98 YEARS. And FIVE percent of the country came from other European countries, so FIVE of
99 the HUNDRED in the UK on average, in the present moment came from other European
100 countries. Now, after 43 YEARS this doesn't STRIKE me as the country's being OVERRUN,
101 it strikes me as people who are HARD working, DILIGENT, making an ENORMOUS
102 contribution to this country and I am FED UP in this campaign seeing it presented as
103 NEGATIVE. It is NOT FAIR, it is NOT RIGHT and it is NOT TRUE. <audience clapping>

104 *Boris Johnson:* If I may come back on that.

105 *Host:* Boris you can come back on that in a second, I want to go to the audience, who agrees
106 with what Alex Salmond has said or Priti Patel is saying? How about gentlemen over there in
107 the front row?

108 *Viewer 2:* Yes, I subtly agree with Alex Salmond's. I think if you look at the FIGURES,
109 actually, there has been periods in our history being in the EU, where there have been more
110 BRITISH people immigrating to EUROPE than other way AROUND. The British economy of
111 the last 10 YEARS has been pretty STRONG compared to the rest of Europe, which means
112 MORE Europeans are coming to Britain TODAY.

113 *Host:* OKAY, who disagrees with Alex Salmond? No one? Oh my goodness. Okay Tony, the
114 question you have.

115 *Viewer 1:* The question is simply a PRACTICAL ONE about resourcing of cost. Building a
116 reservoir for example, and don't forget, in the South East, the water company has pressed the
117 government NOT to allow further housing development, because it SIMPLY cannot cope with
118 WATER provision. To build a new RESERVOIR for example takes BILLIONS and takes
119 several YEARS. The question about RESOURCING unconstrained population growth is a
120 FAIR question. Please don't TURN it into CARTOON politics about the attitudes to
121 IMMIGRANTS and IMMIGRATION. That's NOT my question. Don't DEFLECT. Do you,
122 Mister Salmon have ANY idea at ALL how many immigrants per YEAR this country can
123 either AFFORD or cope with, bearing in MIND, we're NOT talking about the Leafy Suburbs,

124 where the elite leaves, we're talking about the Midlands where ORDINARY and DECENT
125 people live.

126 *Alex Salmond, 0:12:00:* Sorry, I didn't demean your question in any way whatsoever. But I
127 don't live in Leafy Suburbs. I live in the country, which has suffered not from
128 IMMIGRATION but from EMIGRATION. And I've seen emigration and DEPOPULATION
129 and BELIEVE me it's a lot WORSE, the problems that it CAUSES than the immigration
130 causes. We've got FAMILY in the Highlands, the BRAIN family from Australia, who've
131 attracted to Scotland, in campaign that I've launched, the Highland Homecoming Campaign
132 and they are about to be kicked out SADLY, despite the fact that they are HARD WORKING
133 people, you know, their son, LACHLAN, is 7 YEARS OLD, his first language is Scots Gaelic,
134 he'll be KICKED BACK to Australia, betraying ALL of the promises we've MADE to them
135 BY IMMIGRATION POLICY which regards PEOPLE coming to your country as a
136 PROBLEM. And I'm NOT saying YOU do, SIR, but MANY people got that impression in
137 this campaign.

138 *Host, 0:13:00:* Okay, okay, Boris is agreeing with Alex Salmond, this is a MOMENT.

139 *Boris Johnson, 0:13:02:* I do, I do agree very STRONGLY with Alex about that, because the
140 Brain family, I've studied the STORY³, they are of COURSE from Australia if I remember
141 correctly and THEY are victims of the IMBALANCE in the whole immigration policy that we
142 HAVE in this country as a result of our, of our EU membership. And WE at the moment
143 CANNOT, if we want to have brilliant engineers from India or paramedics from
144 AUSTRALIA who are VITAL for our AMBULANCE services, we face OBSTACLES that
145 the Brain family faces, we have absolutely NO WAY. HUGE numbers of PEOPLE are
146 coming from the OTHER EU countries and in the way that we CANNOT control. Now it's
147 CONTROL that matters <Alex Salmond reacts> Because it is REASON why across Europe
148 you are SEEING the rise of the far right parties, it is REASON why you're seeing immigration
149 ESCALATED in the whole conversation at the moment, that is, I think, because people feel
150 they HAVEN'T GOTTEN democratic consent to what is happening. And it's BECAUSE we
151 can't DO that and BECAUSE we don't have control that you are seeing <unintelligible>

152 *Alex Salmond, 0:14:17:* Your government HAS control over the future of the BRAIN family,
153 it is TOTALLY under control of your government. You HAVE control over the future of
154 Brain family. And the IDEA is that you can currently go to Scotland and say look you'll have
155 a freedom in Scotland to have lots more immigrants while your CAMPAIGN in England is
156 saying keep them out at ALL COSTS, it's a NONSENSE this campaign. A TOTAL nonsense
157 Boris and you know it! <audience clapping>

158 *Boris Johnson, 0:14:42:* If I may say so, you're guilty of completely presenting in Scotland of
159 what I've just SAID. It is UNFAIR and IMBALANCE, at the moment there is a
160 discrimination AGAINST people from OUTSIDE the EU.

161 *Host:* I don't want to talk about the Brain family for the next ten minutes, let's move ON. The
162 immigration will surely pop out throughout the debate. The second question now. It is from
163 the one of the BIGGEST names on Youtube. [...]

³ Brain family story here: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-highlands-islands-37421599>

6. Question time with Justice Secretary Michael Gove, Leave campaign, Special edition

1 *Host:* So, we will take our first question from the audience, please.

2 *Viewer1:* Hi, if we DO vote to leave the EU, will YOU be supporting George Osborne's
3 punishment budget?

4 *Host:* This is the budget that Gorge Osborne announced today, including increases in taxation
5 [...]

6 *Gove:* [...]

7 *Host, 0:23 :* We have created two million jobs, more than any other government in the history,
8 that doesn't sound like a job destroying machine, are we out of the EU in terms of all that?

9 *Gove:* Many of the JOBS that we've created <laughing> were ACTUALLY filled by people
10 who (.) CAME from European countries, which were suffering as a result of the single currency
11 and the euro and I think we would create even MORE jobs if we left the European Union and
12 that is not just my view, that is the view of INDEPENDENT experts and authorities who have
13 LOOKED at the capacity of NEW trade deals <supportive hand motions> to generate MORE
14 jobs for us. If we vote to leave, if we take BACK control of our economic policy, then we can at
15 LAST begin to (.) allow this country to become GREAT again, to take off economically, to
16 provide the young people with the opportunities that they deserve.

17 *Viewer:* [...] they [the EU] have interfered so much with our law making and with our border
18 controls that we now came to our BIGGEST decisions that we will ever going to make.

19 *Gove:* I- I think that you are RIGHT and, I- I hoped that Europe might change. [...] The Single
20 currency has been a disaster, that the migration crisis on their borders at the Mediterranean has
21 been a TRAGEDY and that they [EU bureaucrats] would CHANGE. And our Prime Minister
22 tried to GET them to CHANGE, but unfortunately, THEY WOULD NOT.

23 *Viewer at 0:32:* [...] If we DO LEAVE, how can you get our immigration down to tens of
24 thousands, when we ALREADY HAVE hundreds of thousands of immigrants in our country at
25 the minute and you have ALREADY stated you wouldn't DEPORT any of them, fearing the
26 other countries would deport the people living in there, so – h- what is your opinion on that?

27 *Gove:* The ONLY way that we can control the number of people who come to this country is by
28 voting to LEAVE and taking back control of our BORDERS. Now (8 sec) <people clapping> ,
29 don't take me wrong, I favour CONTROLLED migration. I think it is a good think when people
30 COME here and have additional skills that we need and I also think that it is a very good thing
31 if there are people who are fleeing persecution and suffering, if we can give them a SAFE
32 heaven. BUT, the only way that you can maintain SUPPORT for migration and its benefits is if
33 people feel that this country CONTROLS the numbers and CONTROLS who comes here.

34 At the moment, under the European Union law, there are criminals here that we CAN'T deport.
35 There are TERRORISTS, people with terrorist pasts that we can't prevent coming in. That is a
36 REAL risk to our security. And of course, if we vote to leave, we can have an Australian style
37 pointing system, which means YOU can decide the numbers who come here and the basis on

38 which they come and that means the immigration can work in everyone's benefits, because we
39 TRUST the British people, their generosity and their sense of principle to decide.

40 *Host:* How long, how long, how long would it take to get to the target of under hundred
41 thousands of immigrants, when I think the figure now is hundred seventy thousands at the
42 moment. There are students and people coming for family reasons, because they are married,
43 they bring their wives in..

44 *Gove:* I think-

45 *Host:* How long it will take?

46 *Gove:* I think we can secure our exit from the European Union by 2020 and then we can move
47 to bring down the numbers in the next Parliament. And I think critically, CRITICALLY, it
48 should be for British people to decide what they think that appropriate numbers are.

49 *Host:* They did that, they voted for your government, under hundred thousand, nothing
50 happened.

51 *Gove:* And, And one of the reasons why we cannot fulfil that promise is that INSIDE the
52 European union we can't control the numbers who come from ANY EU nation.

53 *Host:* What about those who came from OUTSIDE the EU? [...] The government didn't deliver.
54 Hundred eighty eight thousands came from outside of the EU, which is QUITE crucial.
55 <audience clapping>

56 It all goes back to the issue of rhetoric, trust, confidence, delivery.

57 *Gove:* Yes, absolutely, there is more that we can DO to REDUCE the number of people coming
58 outside the European Union, BUT, BROADLY, HALF of the people who come here or came
59 here last year, net migration, came from the European Union. Half came from the outside. The
60 EU is about 8% of the world population, so FAR MORE proportionally come from the
61 European Union and the thing about the people who come from outside is that we CAN, if we
62 WISH to – you know- change the visa regime and HAVE fewer people come here. It is within
63 our power, within our control, if we REMAIN in the European union, we cannot place any
64 limits or ANY control on the number of people who come here from European Union countries.
65 So IF we want to have a controlled migration policy, we have to VOTE LEAVE, and TAKE
66 BACK CONTROL.

67 *Host:* Does anybody wants to come back on that particular issue?

68 *Viewer, 0:35:* The more you speak, the more offended I feel. I've been working in England for
69 more than 14 years now, paying my taxes, [...], I HELP to build this economy and THIS country
70 and that's how you <pointing finger at Gove> treat us. <audience clapping>. [...] We are not an
71 enemy mister Gove, we are not an enemy. WE are your FRIENDS and your HELP <pointing
72 finger at Gove again> [...]

73 *Gove:* I understand your point of view and you make your point with great passion and force,
74 but as I've mentioned to a gentleman just two rows along from you, I'm in FAVOUR of
75 migration, I simply want to CONTROL the numbers.

76 *Viewer:* I can't believe that, I'm sorry, but don't believe it-

77 *Host:* She doesn't believe-

78 *Viewer:* The message you are sending is not the same message, I don't receive the message.
79 Unfortunately for you, it comes to me like we are not welcome. You USE us to your
80 convenience and – and we are not of use anymore [...] you kick us out. I'm sorry and you,
81 you're trying to-

82 *Gove:* Can I make a point? I wonder which country you come from and what job you do?

83 *Viewer:* I am Spanish from Spain.

84 *Gove:* I have a brother in law, who lives in Spain and I, I value the fact that there are people
85 who come here like you, who contributed so much in life. [...] One of the reasons, why Canada
86 and Australia have support for migration is because they CONTROL the numbers and critical
87 thing is to maintain the support for our multiracial, multi-ethnic success story – we NEED to
88 take back control. <Viewer responding back in the background>

89 *Host:* Of course it's not, it's not just the (.) lady here, Michael Heseltine, former Deputy Prime
90 Minister, who's [...] saying „The Brexit case – I quote it- relies on fanning fears about
91 immigration and I'm amazed someone like you now marches to the drum of Farage, Trump and
92 Le Pen.“ <audience is clapping in support>

93 *Host:* What would you say to that?

94 *Gove:* I- I don't mind being attacked personally, but the question that ALL of us have to answer
95 IS: Michael Heseltine by saying that APPEARS to be saying that ANYONE, ANYONE who
96 things that we should control the numbers coming here – whatever that figure – is automatically
97 an allay of those three people. I think it is WRONG to say to the British people that if they
98 SIMPLY want to CONTROL the numbers of the people , that they are in the company of
99 THOSE three. <audience clapping > There is nothing WRONG (6 sec) , nothing wrong in
100 saying that we VALUE migration but we want to TAKE BACK control.

101 *Host:* All, all right.

102 *Viewer:* <unintelligible, begins speaking without microphone> [...] migrants who come here to
103 do the JOBS that INDIGENOUS British people DON'T or WON'T do, they, there are
104 FACTORIES, there are ware houses, there are processing plants – not just in Nottingham, but
105 ALL over the country that are – some a hundred percent, some 98% the WORKFORCE are EU
106 migrants, because British people won't do that and if we will LEAVE, people will FIND that
107 there aren't CARE stuff in the residential homes, there aren't the FRUITS and VEGITABLES
108 in the shop, because we haven't got the migrants who pick them, there are whole... I can HOW
109 many, HOW many new migrants you know, that WORK here... the country will COLLAPSE,
110 you talk about control of migration - <audience clapping, host speaks at the same time> And it
111 is largely people with DEGREES, with PhDs that work in HORRIBLE ... <Host says it's not
112 enough time, asks viewer to let Gove answer>

113 *Gove:* Th- thank you for the point you make, I-I value EVERYONE who is hard working in this
114 country, we are not going to- as the gentleman in the second row pointed out <pointing to that
115 man by the finger >, I'm not going to DEPORT or kick anyone out who is hard working, BUT
116 there is a CONSEQUENCE for people working in this country as a result of migration – the
117 Bank of England published a report, which pointed out that it is working people, who have their

118 wages held out as a RESULTS of MIGRATION, it is people who are UNSKILLED or
119 SEMISKILLED in - in the terms of the Bank of England experts, WORKING PEOPLE
120 <supportive hand gestures> in MY VIEW – who have their wages CUT 2% for every 10%
121 increase in migration. I DON'T think, I don't think it is RIGHT to SET a community
122 AGAINST the community and to be SO dismissive of what you call an “indigenous” <makes
123 air quotes gesture> people of this country, I BELIEVE in the people of this country, I want them
124 to have HIGHER WAGES, I WANT them to have JOBS and I don't want them to be – to be
125 honest- TALKED DOWN TO in the way... <viewer responds without the microphone,
126 unintelligible>

127 *Host:* All right, those- you made the point, I want to – we only have a couple of minutes –
128 Edward Neill, QUICKLY if you would-

129 *Viewer:* Does VOTE LEAVE regret using <unintelligible sum of money> figure on its battle
130 bus?

131 *Host:* Money you claim that we give to the EU, which is being loudly criticized not by the –
132 advertising agencies – they are not allowed to say anything about the political campaigns, but
133 it's described as being MISLEADING to put it generously.

134 *Gove:* SOME HAVE, but I STAND BY that figure, because that is THE AMOUNT that the
135 European Union controls. Ultimately, this debate is about CONTROL. Who do you think
136 should spend OUR money BETTER – people that YOU elect an WHOM YOU can kick out or
137 people you've never heard of, over you have no control. That 350 million pounds- YES, SOME
138 of I comes BACK here, some of it comes back through REBATE, but you CAN'T count on the
139 rebate <supportive hand gesture> , it has being CUT in the past and if you VOTE to remain, it
140 will be CUT in the FUTURE. SOME of it comes back and we've heard from a lady in the third
141 row – to spend money on the SCIENCE and FARMING, and OF COURSE, it is a good thing
142 that we invest in this areas and we will carry on investing in those areas. But at least HALF OF
143 THAT MONEY goes into European Union and we NEVER see it again. I think if we vote leave
144 and TAKE back control, we should spend that money on OUR priorities. <audience clapping>

145 *Host:* <points out to lady above him>

146 *Viewer:* SO much of what you say sounds INCREDIBLY promisable, but I can't help sitting
147 here that you're a WOLF in sheep's clothing, that this DECISION <audience clapping> to
148 LEAVE is really – is, has SO many consequences we are NOT talking about: new political
149 issues, ISOLATING the UK, THE KNOCK-OFF EFFECT on Europe, what's going to happen
150 – you you know with Greece, what will happen to the other countries, this DECISION goes
151 against the HEART of what us British- I think- BELIEVE in, in collaboration and joining
152 together-

153 *Host:* All right- <audience clapping> just to get 30 seconds, cause we REALLY have to stop.

154 *Gove:* Umm, if we vote to LEAVE, we will be affirming our faith in DEMOCRACY, we will
155 also be sending a message to the European Union that the people who've been running it for the
156 past ten years have been running the countries of Europe INTO THE GROUND. The way that
157 we will help Greece is by saying to the people responsible for the single market currency: YOU
158 ARE WRONG, CHANGE direction. The way we will help international cooperation, is by

159 saying - <host says "okay"> we believe Britain STRONGER, FRIER and FEARIER can be a
160 progressive beacon for the WHOLE WORLD. <audience claps, supports loudly too>

161 *Host:* Thank you very much, just to say this ends- obviously ends this edition [...]

162

7. Question Time EU Referendum Special with David Cameron, BBC1

1 *Host:* [...] RIGHT, Prime Minister, our FIRST question comes from.. JOE COX, please <>
2 from <> sorry [...] what a TERRIBLE thing to say, [...] <says the name of the city from which
3 viewer comes from, it is however unintelligible>

4 *Viewer:* Mister Cameron <2 sec>, how does referendum sour the political debate in this nation
5 in the light of TRAGIC murder of JOE Cox?

6 *Cameron:* Well FIRST of ALL, let me SAY how SHOCKED I think the whole country has
7 BEEN by this appalling murder, TWO children have lost their mother a LO-LOVING husband
8 has lost his wife and my HART breaks when I think of them and what they are going
9 through... And I think most IMPORTANT thing for the <> POLITICIANS is to
10 REMEMBER what SHE was all about, which was SERVICE, COMMUNITY, tolerance,
11 THESE are the values that we should all try to live by and promote in order to remember
12 HER. [...] I think what we DO know is, wherever we SEE INTOLERANCE, HATRED,
13 DIVISION we should try and drive it OUT of our COMMUNITIES, OUT of our public life
14 and we have to be CAREFUL that debates, YES they can be PASSIONATE, but we have to
15 make sure that <> they are not based on THOSE things.

16 *Host:* Has it been rather SOUR debate in your view?

17 *Cameron:* It's been very PASSIONATE and I UNDERSTAND that because there are very
18 <> strong and passionate views on BOTH sides <supportive hand gesture> , I'll be FRANK, I
19 think there have been some <> MOMENTS like the <> NIGEL FARAGE poster <>, which
20 I think is WRONG. WRONG in FACT, because it is a PICTURE of PEOPLE in the European
21 continent <supportive hand gesture> from SYRIA and elsewhere, they are NOT coming to
22 Britain, but it's actually WRONG IN MOTIVATION, because it's an attempt to FRIGHTEN
23 people <hands> , to SCARE them, to DEVIDE people...

24 *Host:* Haven't – haven't all sides been guilty of any of that?

25 *Cameron:* I- I would SAY there is NOTHING more POSITIVE than trying to have
26 GROWING economy and having JOBS and opportunities, which is what the CASE for
27 REMAIN is ALL about, I'm sure I'd come on to the <> economic WARNINGS, but – look
28 <hand gesture for a host to stop interrupting Cameron>

29 *Host:* John, John Major CALLED the other campaign “squalid”, YES? YOU said that the
30 leader of ISIS would be HAPPY if we <> LEFT the EU. Are THOSE contributions to a
31 measured debate? Either you or John Major?

32 *Cameron:* Well I'D take the ISIS ONE, I ACTUALLY think that's TRUE, I think that
33 terrorists that want to do us HARM, they want the West to be DEVIDED. They DON'T want
34 Britain and France and Germany and Belgium to work TOGETHER to DEFEAT terrorism,
35 they'd like to see us <> SEPARATE from each other –

36 *Host:* Do you think that umm <.> an ARGUMENT about immigration's SQUALID as John
37 Major said?

38 *Cameron:* I- I use my OWN words, I think that POSTER was IRRESPONSIBLE-

39 *Host:* All right-

40 *Cameron:* I think that there is an attempt to frighten people.

41 *Host:* You sir-

42 *Viewer, 0:04:* Do you think by COMPARING the EU referendum to ISIS thought you're
43 nearly scaremongering rather than portraying FACTS? <audience clapping>

44 *Cameron:* I said it wasn't COMPARING the referendum to ISIS to <unintelligible>, I was
45 simply SAYING that I think one of the STRONGEST ARGUMENTS for remaining in the <.>
46 European Union is that we're stronger TOGETHER, that we are SAFER together , we DO
47 face a dangerous and insecure WORLD and I've been your Prime Minister for the last six
48 years and I SIT in those MEETINGS and I see that we WORK TOGETHER <supportive hand
49 gestures> to try to face DOWN these threats and I think we will be STRONGER IF we
50 WORK together! Working TOGETHER against terrorism, working TOGETHER against
51 Putin and his aggression in Europe, it MUST be BETTER to try and STAY together, to
52 WORK together, rather than to- <.> to be separate.

53 *Host:* Alright we move on, one more point from you-

54 *Viewer, 0:05:* I have to say, I find the campaigns very CONFUSING, I don't think EITHER
55 side has made a very good point and you know- I'm an educated young woman. I don't know
56 HOW I'm going to vote [...]
57 [...] questions about economy

58 *Viewer, 0:19:* Mister Cameron, why in your manifesto did you say you would bring down the
59 number of the EU immigrants down to thousands when you knew VERY well you couldn't
60 CONTROL these numbers? <audience clapping>

61 *Cameron:* Well I believe <5 sec> that immigration – NET migration- on that scale is the right
62 AMBITION for our country. Every year, many British people and EU nationals here in Britain
63 leave and go work in Europe and many Europeans come and <.> work here. And as
64 RECENTLY as 2008 there were actually MORE British and EU nationals leaving the EU than
65 there were arriving to WORK. So I think we are having VERY EXTRAORDINARY PERIOD
66 for the last five years where we've created IN BRITAIN MORE jobs than the rest of the
67 European Union put together. That is now CHANGING as the other European Union
68 ECONOMIES are starting to grow, so I think what we need to DO is BETTER control
69 migration from OUTSIDE the EU – that is MORE than HALF of the total and then bring in
70 the changes that I NEGOTIATED, which I think will bring a big difference, BECAUSE we
71 are saying to people – if we STAY IN – let me just <hand motion as a response to someone n
72 audience trying to interrupt Cameron> QUICKLY do this, if we STAY in, if you come and

73 work in Britain, you CAN'T claim unemployment benefit, if you DON'T get a JOB after six
74 months you have to LEAVE <.> and if you DO come and WORK you have to WORK here
75 for FOUR years, paying INTO our system, before you get full access to our tax credit and our
76 welfare (system) <Host speaks>

77 *Host:* Is your target still a hundred thousand NET migrants?

78 *Cameron:* It's a right ambition-

79 *Host:* No, sorry, is it your TARGET <pointing at Cameron> because you see a LOT of people
80 SAY that you're a failure to HIT that target is what EXACERBATED the argument about
81 immigration, people said: He promised, he promised it, it's NOT gonna happen. Michael
82 GOVE said the other day: If we LEAVE the EU, I can do it within the Parliament.

83 *Cameron, 0:21:* Now I- I accept.

84 *Host:* Do you agree with that?

85 *Cameron:* NO, I ACCEPT that it is very CHALLENGING, controlling immigration, as I've
86 said HALF of it- more than HALF comes from OUTSIDE the EU and we find that QUITE
87 difficult, even if closed down those <unintelligible>, INSIDE the EU we've HAD this VERY
88 STRONG GROWTH HERE, very WEAK growth in the rest of Europe – that is CHANGING,
89 but what I'd say very FRANKLY s that there are GOOD ways of controlling immigration and
90 these welfare changes are I think good ways- <supportive hand gesture> and there are BAD
91 ways of controlling immigration and that I think will be LEAVING the single market,
92 DAMAGING our economy, COSTING jobs and hurting British working families in the
93 process, that's not the RIGHT way to control the immigration.

94 *Host:* All right, we have a lot of hands here, let's see from some- some members of the
95 audience- yes you-

96 [...] question about establishment [...]

97 *Host:* Let's stick with immigration

98 *Viewer, 0:22:31:* You said Europe is INCREASING workwise <pointing towards Cameron>,
99 SPAIN, GREECE, ITALY, FRANCE they have HIGHER unemployment than we HAVE and
100 NO prospect of increasing jobs. WHY you're telling us that EUROPE is INCREASING when
101 it is NOT? Europeans come HERE because they see the problem at HOME and yet WE try
102 and stay in EUROPE and not see the problems that THEY've got. You want to spend 5
103 minutes with ME, I can tell you ALL about it. <applaud, Cameron laughs>

104 *Cameron:* The facts are, you're absolutely right about the GREEK economy still being very
105 GREAT difficulty –

106 *Viewer:* -AND FRANCE-

107 *Cameron:* French economy is growing, the German economy is growing, th-THAT is
108 beginning to CHANGE and you can SEE that, the IRISH economy grew 7% LAST year, more
109 than TWICE as fast as WE did

110 *Host:* All right, I want to STICK with the immigration point, WHO wants to actually speak to
111 the immigration point? <asking audience> Yes you [...]

112 *Viewer, 0:23:28:* I think that it's only a LOGICAL thing to UNDERSTAND that if we have
113 absolutely NO limitations on the IMMIGRATION from the EU, that people ARE obviously
114 going to immigrate over here, we've got a PUBLIC sector, we've got an NHS, it's under
115 TREMENDOUS strain at the moment, you're not doing ANYTHING to invest any kind of (.)
116 thing in term of make them any STRONGER or better, we've knowing for well if we don't
117 put a limit on this immigration – and the ONLY way to do that is to LEAVE the single market
118 – then everything is just going to get flooded. You're not DOING anything to counterbalance
119 ALL the immigration coming to the services.

120 *Cameron:* Le- Let's take HEALTH SERVICE, it is a VERY important point. What I say is
121 that we ARE putting more money into NHS, now we can ARGUE we should put even MORE
122 in, let's WORK OUT how to get GROWTH in our economy INTO the NHS, but when you
123 LISTEN to the people In the NHS, they're all college od midwives, they're all college of
124 physicians, the guy Simon Stevens who RUNS NHS, the trade unions who WORK in NHS,
125 they ALL want us to remain IN the REFORMED European Union, because they think it's
126 BETTER for the NHS, BECAUSE a bigger ECONOMY, a BETTER economy a STRONGER
127 economy is ALWAYS better-

128 *Viewer:* But you keep saying these *reformed* <in the tone meaning so-called> European Union
129 that we are PART of, you FAIR enough negotiated some changes, which you say will make a
130 massive difference to the immigration but REALISTICALLY it's NOT. It's not gonna make a
131 massive difference to the levels of immigration, ESPECIALLY considering we have another
132 countries that are about to JOIN the European Union. <audience clapping>

133 *Host:* So, so what do you want to happen?

134 *Viewer:* To LEAVE the single market! Leave, negotiate our trade worldwide.

135 *Host:* Okay.

136 *Cameron:* Can I just take a MOMENT on this ISSUE of let's LEAVE and negotiate our trade
137 agreements with the European Union-

138 *Host:* <pointing towards Cameron> H- Hang on, this is going to stop the immigration- it's
139 what she's saying -

140 *Cameron:* That's some people thinking, that's what we should do, but the BEST trade deal
141 Europe's EVER DONE is CANADA, it's taken 7 YEARS to negotiate, it STILL hasn't been
142 COMPLETED, it DOESN'T get full access for SERVICES, it doesn't get full access for
143 FARMERS. So what we'd be LOOKING AT - <host speaks, unintelligible> No, I think <hand
144 gesture of "stop" towards the host> it's, it's IMPORTANT for the people WATCHING this. If
145 we vote to LEAVE, we are facing POTENTIALLY a DECADE of UNCERTAINTY, TWO
146 years to get OUT of the European Union, SEVEN years to negotiate a TRADE deal with the

147 European Union and for the YOUNG people starting working life that means a whole
148 DECADE of NOT knowing the direction in which their country is going, I think it would be a
149 MISTAKE for our country.

150 *Host:* Al, alright. You sir, yeah –

151 *Viewer, 0:26:* Is there anything FAIR about the immigration system that prioritizes unskilled
152 workers from in within the EU over the skilled workers coming from the OUTSIDE of the
153 EU? <audience clapping>

154 *Cameron:* Sir, we EFFECTIVELY have TWO systems, so we have a system INSIDE the
155 European Union, WHERE British nationals who want to go and WORK in Spain or Italy or
156 France or elsewhere ARE able to DO that and European nationals can come and <.> work
157 HERE and then for OUTSIDE the European Union we have a point-based system, where we
158 ONLY take people in if they have SKILLS and if we've got GAPS in those SKILLS, so the
159 ARGUMENT we have to MAKE to ourselves is I think – IS IT REALLY WORTH
160 LEAVING the single market, DAMAGING our economy, i- in order to try to make the
161 progress with this issue? And I Don't think it IS. And those LEAVE campaigners who say
162 they want an Australian point-style system for INSIDE the EU, AUSTRALIA has nearly more
163 than TWICE as much net migration per head as WE do. There is no SILVER bullet on this
164 issue, no simple way <audience speaking> of solving this issue.

165 *Host:* P-Prime Minister, if you <.> left the EU <.> there WOULD be a silver bullet, because
166 then you have TOTAL control of the number of people who come here to this country.

167 <audience clapping>

168 *Cameron:* First of ALL sir, you DON'T have control, more than half, we have MORE than
169 half coming OUTSIDE the EU-

170 *Host:* Why don't you have control over them? <surprised tone>

171 *Cameron:* Tha- that's more than half, so you have to, you have to work on THAT-

172 *Host:* But you can control them!

173 *Cameron:* - it TAKES time and as I said, that's been difficult, INSIDE the EU, what I'M
174 arguing is-

175 *Host:* What, what do you mean when you say it's been DIFFICULT? You mean you haven't
176 ACHIEVED it? Why, why is it being difficult? <audience claps>

177 *Cameron, 0:27:30:* It is, it's lots of PEOPLE, LOTS of people want to come and STUDY and
178 WORK and LIVE in our country, we've taken a LOT of STEPS-

179 *Host:* But that's YOUR decision <pointing at Cameron> you CAN'T say it's difficult, it's
180 YOUR decision as Prime Minister – <applaud>

181 *Cameron:* No, I-I'm sorry, I'm EXPLAINING, I'm explaining, I'm explaining why it's been a
182 DIFFICULT thing to DO. But the REAL argument here is: Do we want to LEAVE a single
183 market and DAMAGE our economy in order to TRY and deal with this issue? And I think that

184 is a WRONG way to GO, because you're going to be CUTTING jobs, cutting livelihoods,
185 harming the interest of the families in our country and that ISN'T what we should be doing –
186 *Host:* We have LOTS of hands, but I want to get that, I just want to ask you one thing, you're
187 Home Secretary Theresa May has SAID: There are some CHANGES coming up in free
188 movement rules in the EU and we should look for FURTHER REFORM in the future. ARE
189 you saying as a part of this campaign: Don't worry, we know we're going to CUT BACK on
190 the EU ENTRY to this country, in the way that Theresa May suggests?
191 *Cameron:* What, what, what SHE's saying is, that there is a SET of REFORMS coming in IF
192 we STAY, which we negotiated, so there is changes to WELFARE, <counting on fingers>,
193 *Host:* Changes that you've already done?
194 *Cameron:* <stop motion with hand> They, they haven't come IN
195 *Host:* She says there'll be FURTHER reform-
196 *Cameron:* Hang on I'm gonna answer that. The WELFARE changes that make a difference,
197 we've ALSO got FURTHER changes to make sure that we can THROW out CRIMINALS,
198 that we can stop people with sham marriages, that people who are THIRD country nationals
199 CAN'T come in because of a marriage they've made – THOSE changes are coming TOO,
200 we're REOPENING the freedom of movement-
201 *Host:* So she isn't thinking of anything that isn't already on the table-
202 *Cameron:* Obviously this is ON-going process, the more we can DO, the BETTER.
203 *Host:* OKAY. Who hasn't – the man over there in the corner-yes-
204 *Viewer, 0:29:* Mister Cameron you KEEP saying THAT you PROPOSED to STOP
205 immigrants from – to CLAIM benefits- is this just a PROPOSAL or can you ENFORCE it or
206 have you gotta go BACK to the EU to GET it enforced? <applaud>
207 *Cameron:* Yes, sir – it's AGREED by the 27 other Prime Ministers and Presidents, it's a part
208 of what would become a LEGALLY BINDING document and THESE changes are coming in,
209 the (.) Head of European Parliament has said that to, so THESE are things that are coming if
210 we VOTE YES to REMAIN the REFORMED European Union on Thursday, THOSE
211 proposals get PUT in front of the European Parliament and start to be passed STRAIGHT
212 AWAY.
213 *Viewer:* What happens if someone VETOES you?
214 *Cameron:* Well they've ALL agreed they WON'T. <loud noise from the audience>, they've
215 ALL agreed –
216 *Viewer:* I don't BELIEVE that-
217 *Cameron:* This is, <2 sec>, this is part of our DOCUMENT that is a LEGALLY BINDING
218 AGREEMENT and I'm very confident, I wouldn't be STANDING here saying this to YOU
219 sir if I didn't believe it, I'm VERY confident ALL of this changes will coming in and they
220 ARE significant – to the lady who said -<Host speaks> Hold on, let me QUICKLY say this-

221 TODAY someone can COME in to our country, GET a job and get on the top of the FIRST
222 year salary TEN THOUSAND POUNDS in EXTRA benefits. Now that will STOP, IF we
223 vote to REMAIN a-and my changes will go through, which they will, THAT I believe –
224 *Host:* All right, all right, [...]
225 *Viewer 0:30:27:* HOW long are THESE changes meant to LAST? <2 sec> The FOUR
226 YEARS, etcetera etcetera, the WELFARE changes, how LONG are they to remain in place-?
227 *Cameron:* They EFFECTIVELY last till 2028, <2 sec> <audience speaks unintelligibly> if
228 they COME in – by then there will be - all SORTS of, I’m sure- that is TWELVE YEARS
229 from NOW, they will still BE in place <host asking other member of audience at the same
230 time>
231 *Viewer, 0:30:48:* What about people with children still wanting to COME to our country from
232 the EU? We would have a duty to CARE for those children and those families, are you saying
233 that they- they WON’T get benefits, they WON’T to have (.) somewhere to LIVE or would we
234 still PROVIDE the FUNDING FOR those children to, to – to live in this country?
235 *Cameron:* Rules would be that if the people would come here TO WORK and want (.)
236 ACCESS to the welfare system, instead of the INSTANT access they get NOW, with tax
237 credits and childcare credit and the rest of it, they’d have to WORK for FOUR years, before
238 they get a FULL access. That is – I THINK- a very SIGNIFICANT change – and I think that it
239 GOES to it, the VALUE that we have-
240 *Viewer:* But what if they don’t have a WORK and they have CHILDREN?
241 *Cameron:* If they can’t get WORK and they CAN’T support themselves, they HAVE to GO
242 HOME! They do! <Audience speaks unintelligibly>
243 *Viewer:* But we would have a duty to CARE for these children if they came to this county?
244 *Cameron:* YES, because the freedom of movement to WORK
245 *Viewer:* Because they’re CHILDREN-
246 *Cameron:* The freedom of movement to WORK is not an unqualified right, this is really
247 important <audience speaks>, I think that people – I’m not sure that we got this across – if you
248 COME to BRITAIN, and you CAN’T support yourself and you CAN’T find a JOB, you
249 HAVE to go HOME. And that’s being strict under our RULES <audience speaking again>
250 It’s very IMPORTANT, the freedom of movement to WORK is NOT a freedom of movement
251 to CLAIM.
252 *Host:* Let’s take question from here, we will move on <points to member of audience>
253 [...] question not about immigration [...]
254 *Viewer, 0:37:20:* OBVIOUSLY immigration has been the most pressing ISSUE for MOST
255 people, I just wonder HOW much you would accept personal RESPONSIBILITY for
256 AUSTERITY in the country that is FUELING most, because PEOPLE are CONCERNED ,
257 because they FEEL that there is a pressure on the PUBLIC services and would you AGREE

258 that's the effect of the CONSERVATIVES rather than the effect of immigration? <small
259 applause>

260 *Cameron:* Well, OBVIOUSLY I will defend ALL of the things that MY government has done
261 over the last six years trying to get our economy back on TRACK, and I know that PEOPLE
262 will DISAGREE with SOME, maybe many of the decisions, but it is incontrovertible that the
263 ECONOMY is moving forward, we've created over two million jobs, we are beginning to see
264 opportunities again for the people in our country, what I PASSIONATELY don't want to
265 happen, after SIX YEARS of this and all of the HARD WORK that British people have put in,
266 is to GO back to SQUARE one! To go back to square one, to DAMAGE our economy, to put
267 up BORROWING, to see MORE austerity, because you'd have this GAP in our PUBLIC
268 finances, I think that is the WORST thing for us to DO to our COUNTRY. We don't HAVE
269 to do it, we can vote for a stronger economy by voting REMAIN on Thursday-

270 *Host:* She's talking about the people's earnings and the LEADER of your campaign, Lord
271 Rose, the former head of Marks and Spencer's GAVE evidence and said: The price of
272 LABOUR will frankly go UP if we leave the EU, so the people will be better OFF if we leave
273 the EU.

274 *Cameron:* That is – OVERWHELMING majority of EXPERTS all say-

275 *Host:* He's your LEADER! He's your leader <some audience members laughing>

276 *Cameron:* If we LEAVE you'll see economy SUFFER. It is very clear-

277 *Host:* Sorry, WHY did he say this? Is it UNTRUE?

278 *Cameron:* If you actually look at the FULL context, you'll see it is MUCH more complicated-
279 <unintelligible, audience chatters>

280 *Host:* I, I can READ it to you: if FREEDOM of movement were to END following the Brexit,
281 isn't it REASONABLE to SUPPOSE we could see INCREASES in wages for the low skilled
282 workers in the UK?", Lord Rose: "Well, if you're SHORT of labour, the price WILL frankly
283 go up, so YES."

284 [...] <both host and Cameron speaking at the same time>

285 *Cameron:* What you've got, you've got all this independent organizations saying the
286 ECONOMY would SUFFER and they SAY it for very good REASON, which is: if HALF of
287 our EXPORT goes to a SINGLE market of 500 million PEOPLE, if you DAMAGE your
288 ACCESS to that market, BY DEFINITION, you will be a less WELL OFF. A- And
289 TALKING about the freedom of movement – I don't want the MOVEMENT of the British
290 CAR worker JOBS to go to CONTINENT, I don't want the movement of the people making
291 Air Bus wings go to the CONTINENT, I don't want BUSINESSES and JOBS and LIVES to
292 suffer as I BELIEVE they would if we vote to leave the European union.

293 [...]

8. In or Out – Jeremy Corbyn with Host Faisal Islam

1 <Corbyn talks about different issues, real question time starts at 0:18>

2 *Islam:* Thank you , Mr. Corbyn, I think that we should press on the.. with the questions ahead
3 of this IMPORTANT referendum, maybe young people want to know some ANSWERS and
4 we are going to bring in <.> Lucy KENDRICK for the first question – Lucy-

5 *Lucy, the viewer:* Hi, do you really think the public understands WHY we are having this
6 Referendum and what are we VOTING for?

7 *Corbyn:* I HOPE they do, but I somewhat DOUBT it, because this is the referendum that has
8 been discussed among the political classes for some YEARS, pushed very HARD by those
9 who wish to LEAVE the European Union (.) and then finally got the fruition in the last general
10 election, when the Conservatives promised the referendum and when the vote was put in
11 Parliament to HAVE the referendum, after the general election that we all supported , so it
12 went through the Parliament without the problem – do people fully understand ALL of it?
13 Probably NOT, umm (1 sec) I would hope so, BUT (.) people I HOPE will just think quite
14 SERIOUSLY about it, it is a big decision. If we STAY in Europe, there are implications, if
15 we LEAVE Europe there are MASSIVE implications, but it's also a turning point, because if
16 we LEAVE, I don't think there is any EASY way BACK, if we remain – I believe- Europe has
17 got to change quite DRAMATICALLY, to something much more democratic, MUCH more
18 accountable and SHARE our wealth and IMPROVE our living standards and working
19 conditions ALL across the whole continent, BUT , there are couple of days to GO and <umm>
20 in MY experience – and I've been involved in LOTS of elections in my life – that is last TWO
21 or three days , when ALL politicians will became exhausted with the campaign, the public
22 finally catches on and gets interested in it, so we've got TWO days of INTENSE interest, I
23 hope [...]

24 <Questions regarding British stance on NHS, TTIP etc.>

25 *Viewer, 0:29:* The EU's response to REFUGEE crisis has been APPALLING, it's FAILED
26 the most fundamental test of ANY political organization (.) to protect BASIC human rights.
27 GIVEN this, WHY should we vote to stay in, can we CHANGE it for the better and HOW?

28 *Corbyn:* The refugee crisis is APPALING and the human right issues are VERY important,
29 this country has signed (.) the European CONVENTION on basic human rights after
30 SECOND world war and that in term established European Court of Human Rights. That is
31 actually NOT an EU institution, it's Council of Europe institution [...] We LEAVE the
32 European union, we than have a PROBLEM of what we do about that, those areas of human
33 rights law. I think we have treated human rights law very BADLY, many of our media has
34 spent time DENEGRATING human's rights [...] You and I are both appalled by the conditions
35 that we saw and I think the treatment of the refugees by THIS country and by Europe
36 DEEPLY disturbing. We now got MORE distressed and displaced people around the world
37 then ANY point in recorded history. We are NOT gonna solve this crisis [...] we are only
38 going to solve it BY humanity and by political solving in Syria, so the EU HAS given aid,
39 HAS given a support in that sense. But the Member States have started to erect BARRIERS to
40 prevent the movement of the refugees. I think the GERMANY has probably done the BEST,
41 other countries have done considerably WORSE [...] They are not threat at all, NOT, the

42 threat is the HATRED put towards this people by THOSE people who has put up that poster
43 <talks about an incident covered by media, audience clapping>

44 <debate continues about the refugees, not necessary about immigration>

45 *Viewer, 0:41:* You are the leader of the party who traditionally supports working class people,
46 SO HOW you intend to HELP out people on the LOWEST wages, who are
47 POTENTIONALLY seeing their wage being driven down by the UNCONTROLLED levels
48 of the migration from the EU?

49 *Corbyn:* BY insuring that local wage rates are PAID, that the minimum wage is RESPECTED,
50 that the living wage becomes a REALITY – 10 pounds an hour seems to me the figure that
51 we should be CAMPAIGNING for, but ALSO, to insure that we LOWER levels of
52 DISPARITY (.) so that people don't necessary feel so attracted to go work elsewhere given
53 the wages - now I think it's COMPLICATED, it's not EASY, but it's ALSO 2 million British
54 people – thereabout – million and others who work on short term contracts living IN Europe
55 and working IN Europe. If we decide to LEAVE, there is a PROBLEM a-about those people
56 as well, because I guess many of us would know people who has gone living in France or
57 Spain or wherever else, who are ACTUALLY working and living and contributing to THOSE
58 societies as well.

59 *Islam:* Did it convince you, Ryan?

60 *Viewer, 0:42:* Yes, my question was – people who come from [...] Eastern European countries
61 – is an example- work LONGER hours – forgetting working hours directive- longer hours and
62 SOMETIMES harder than SAY- BRITISH people would DO, now I don't say that the British
63 people think that they are a step ahead, but the companies know that they can employ labour
64 FROM the EU for CHEAPER that what would British people be prepared to WORK FOR. So
65 that's what the underlying issue IS, I believe, that (.) the companies know that they can pay
66 low wages, without the uncontrolled level of migration, the companies will be forced to
67 paying higher wage to attract British people to DO the jobs.

68 *Corbyn:* EXACTLY my point. Those companies ARE (.) exploiting the migrant workers as
69 well as the people that are here – they ALL suffer as a result of it, because of the lack of
70 regulation of what they DO, THEREFORE, higher minimum wage is important- it would stop
71 that happening and much more CONTROLLED the way that THESE companies BEHAVE
72 [...] Most of the people here employed – actually three quarters of them- are here on the zero
73 hours contracts and SO, people are BROUGHT here under the FALSE pretence that they are
74 going to get a STEADY job with a (.) GOOD income and in REALITY, they get very LOW
75 income on ZERO hours contract, so – one of my STRONG proposals is to JOIN the
76 MAJORITY of OTHER countries across Europe that HAVE actually BANNED zero hours
77 contracts and said: ANYONE in work has to have a MINIMUM number of hours and
78 therefore a MINIMUM income as a result of it. People shouldn't BLAME other migrant
79 workers, people should blame a GROTESQUE exploitation – and I'm sure you AGREE with
80 me on – of THESE companies and the – the way that they TREAT people. It's a question
81 surely of a SOLIDARITY for those who are those victims as well.

82 *Islam:* Mister Corbyn, on those issues you have some STRANGE bedfellows now – the
83 chancellor, George Osborne told the Guardian news last week: It's the people on the lower

84 incomes who will be hit first if there is a recession, Brexit is for the RICHEST in our country.
85 Do you agree with the chancellor?

86 *Corbyn:* It is a very ODD statement coming from George Osbourne, it is a first I hear this, so-

87 *Islam:* But, in theory – you may be able to reflect on that – later, let’s go to- anyone else wants
88 to come BACK on the issue of – [...]

89 *Viewer, 0:44:* You’re a socialist and (.) I’m – I mean I’m sure even YOU agree that there
90 should be SOME control of migration - [...] – I think the immigration is good for our country,
91 but HOW can you defend the system where by any limits unlimited immigration in the EU,
92 therefore OUTSIDE we have to (.) PREVENT people who are SKILLED from coming here,
93 so why should someone from outside the EU be favoured down in favour of someone
94 UNSKILLED from the inside?

95 *Corbyn:* Well it isn’t our liberty in either respect, actually. I’ll explain. Outside the EU it’s
96 certainly not restricted, sorry it certainly IS restricted and it’s quite DIFFICULT often to have
97 family reunion, I have many constituencies who are VERY upset about that. WITHIN the EU
98 there is not an immediate ACCESS to benefits, there isn’t IMMEDIATE (2 sec) BENEFITS
99 of every kind, such as access to housing and things like that and so, people coming IN,(.)
100 WORK here and CONTRIBUTE here. The VAST majority of the EU nationals who make
101 their home in Britain are actually WORKING and PAYING tax and NOT drawing benefits.

102 *Viewer, 0:46:* But that’s not the POINT, the point IS that you still turn down the skilled people
103 from the outside in favour of the UNSKILLED people from the INSIDE, how’s that fair?

104 *Islam:* Quick answer, we need to move on-

105 *Corbyn:* Well if YOU RESTRICT movement of LABOUR across Europe, then you’re
106 DEFEATING the WHOLE point of the being one market within Europe, now – I made point
107 EARLIER to the gentleman over THERE that there are MORE than million British people
108 who work in another parts of Europe, so if we’d decided to LEAVE, THEREFORE STOP
109 people working HERE, we would have a PROBLEM, because we would lose very large
110 number of people working in very crucial industries in this country, there would POSSIBLY
111 be a retribution and what would happen to those million British people (.) living in Europe?
112 SURELY, the important thing is to IMPROVE working conditions and living STANDARTS
113 across the whole CONTINENT, because AT this moment there is a pretty big DISPARITY
114 between working conditions and living STANDARTS in the WEST of Europe and in the
115 Central Europe and the EAST. Surely that imbalance has to be regressed. There are POLISH
116 people coming here to work, whom actually many have gone and (.) helped develop the
117 economy there as well. So there is an economic benefit both ways. <Islam already started
118 speaking at the end of the sentence>

119 *Islam:* <asked another viewer for question, unintelligible>

120

9 EU Referendum: The Great Debate at Wembley Arena, BBC

1 *Stuart, 0:03:30:* Ask yourself just ONE question, if you were not in the TODAY, WOULD we
2 join it? And if the ANSWER is NO, then on THURSDAY you will vote LEAVE and TAKE
3 control. [...] It does NOT have to BE like this, we can TAKE BACK control over our LAWS,
4 we can TAKE BACK control over our TAXES, we can TAKE back control over our
5 BORDERS, immigration policy and SECURITY. You know, SOMETIMES voting doesn't
6 make much difference (.), on THURSDAY it REALLY does.

7 *Khan, 0:05:10:* <opening statement did not involve anything about immigration>

8 *Host:* Thank you, now the QUESTIONS that we've picked for the debate tonight come from
9 our HUGE audience, OBVIOUSLY they can't ALL ask a question, but we DEVIDED
10 questions up to three SECTIONS: the ECONOMY, IMMIGRATION and Britain's PLACE in
11 the WORLD. And (.) the KEY issues (.) those three KEY issues are what we're doing but
12 what we want to do FIRST, before we go onto the questions is to TRY and give you and
13 OBJECTIVE view of the ISSUES that are at stake. So let's have a look at the ISSUES that
14 both SIDES have identified on the ECONOMY. <there is a huge screen in the hall, which
15 shows the short video clip introducing the topic of the economy>

16 *Host, 0:39:28:* Thanks Michelle, well now (.) the SECOND topic, we've DEALT with the (.)
17 ECONOMY, is IMMIGRATION. The second BIG argument in this whole case. Once again,
18 before we get our questions and the DEBATE going, our REMINDER of the KEY issues
19 being IDENTIFIED around the subject of immigration. <plays video again> So there's the
20 issue, our FIRST question is from JANE Williams who is REMAIN supporter. Jane-

21 *Viewer, 0:41:34:* My family and I have first time experienced RECENTLY the NHS. How
22 would it manage if we LEFT the EU, given the UK's inabilities to TRAIN and RETAIN
23 sufficient doctors and nurses? <audience clapping>

24 *Host:* First answer <towards Boris Johnson>

25 *Johnson:* Well, the FIRST thing we should do tonight in a discussion about immigration is
26 CELEBRATE IMMIGRANTS and immigration <audience clapping> Everything they do for
27 our COUNTRY, if I speak ENTIRELY PERSONALLY, they ARE (.) at MY family. MY
28 family whose benefited MASSIVELY from immigration and so I know MILLIONS of people
29 who are WATCHING us TONIGHT, the crucial thing though is to (.) LOOK in INFORMED
30 way at what is going ON, look at the NUMBERS, look at the PRESSURE that is (.) LARGE
31 scale UNCONTROLLED immigration is CAUSING for public services, SUCH as the (.)
32 NHS...AND the DOWNWARDS pressure on wages that I've already MENTIONED that
33 Sadiq KHAN has discussed, AND, LOOK, look at the way in which we are FORCED by (.)
34 our INBALANCED system to PUSH AWAY people WHO MIGHT contribute MIGHTLY to
35 our NHS (.) in favour of (.) uncontrolled access to (.) FIVE HUNDRED ten million from the
36 rest of the, of the EU. What WE think should happen is AUSTRALIAN STYLE POINT
37 BASED system, the only – so we GET the people we need, FOR the NHS and in ALL of other
38 businesses and SERVICES <Host says: ALRIGHT BORIS>, and the ONLY way we can DO
39 that is to VOTE leave and TAKE BACK control on THURSDAY. <applause>

40 *Host, 0:43:02:* Sadiq Khan-

41 *Khan:* <still applause in audience> Well FIRSTLY, the Australia has DOUBLE the
42 immigration <unintelligible > on the population, so I don't want FACTS to get in the WAY,
43 Boris. But, you know, OF COURSE, of COURSE we need to have a FAIR immigration
44 policy, it shouldn't be FREE for all, and you know, you don't hear me say it OFTEN, but
45 David Cameron deserves the CREDIT for the DEAL he renegotiated with the EU. What it
46 MEANS <people screaming in the audience, partly clapping> What it MEANS, what it
47 MEANS is YOU PAY in before you can take out, you work FOUR year before you can
48 receive BENEFITS, but here's the head of it, the IMMIGRATION brought huge
49 ECONOMIC, CULTURAL and SOCIAL benefit to our COUNTRY. <audience clapping>
50 And, and the EU migrants, EU migrants, more than a HUNDRED and THIRTY thousand
51 work in the NHS and SOCIAL care, THANK YOU. EU migrants working in our SCHOOLS
52 and at the construction sector, THANK YOU. More than 1.5 million BRITS are employed by
53 the companies run by the EU citizens HERE, THANK YOU. And the problem is, Boris, the
54 problem is, you MIGHT start off with the <unintelligible> saying how WONDERFUL the
55 immigration IS, but YOUR campaign has been project FEAR, has been project HATE as far
56 as the immigration is CONCERNED. <audience applauding for about 10 seconds>

57 *Stuart, 0:44:43:* I AM, I AM the IMMIGRANT. I'm also a MOTHER and a
58 GRANDMOTHER. And I think it is IMPORTANT that AS we plan for our public
59 SERVICES LIKE the NHS, LIKE the schools, LIKE housing, that we can actually PLAN
60 AHEAD PROPERLY. And IF we have uncontrolled IMMIGRATION, with the BEST will of
61 the WORLD, we WILL have situations like in the West <unintelligible > where there are
62 FIFTY THOUSAND primary school places missing. This is SIMPLY a statement of FACT. If
63 you CANNOT plan, and what I OBJECT <audience clapping, 5 sec> I think this is REALLY
64 IMPORTANT the CURRENT immigration policy UNFAIRLY DISCRIMINATES against
65 NON EU citizens. <audience clapping>

66 *O'Grady, 0:45:36:* Well JANE made a REALLY, REALLY important POINT in HER
67 question about NHS. And LET'S not FORGET, the NHS was built BY and FOR working
68 people and we should all be REALLY proud of it. <audience clapping> We, we've got
69 THOUSANDS of (.) EU nationals, and from ALL OVER the WORLD! Nurses, midwives,
70 doctors, other health professionals, the WHOLE HEALTH TEAM WORKING to SAVE
71 LIVES and keep us HEALTHIER. We SHOULD give them credit where that's DUE and we
72 should RECOGNIZE that there would be a STAFFING crisis if we LOST those staff, there'd
73 be LONGER waiting lists, FEWER life-saving jobs. But DAVID <to Host> if I MAY, I've
74 got a REALLY important QUESTION that I (.) just LEARNED about today, because
75 TODAY we LEARNED that VOTE LEAVE took SIX HUNDRED thousand POUNDS
76 donation from a FORMER member of the BNP <British National Party, far-right> Are you
77 going to PAY it BACK?

78 *Host:* All right, will you, a BRIEF answer from one of you to this question <towards Vote
79 LEAVE camp>

80 *Leadsom, 0:46:55:* Well, this is UNWORTHY of this debate. You know there are MILLIONS
81 of PEOPLE who have VERY REAL and GENUINE CONCERNS about the impact of the free
82 movement on this COUNTRY and who have donated to the campaign, to Vote LEAVE and
83 take back control. Now the PROBLEM with FREE movement – to ME as a MOM- is NOT
84 just about UNCONTROLLABLE numbers coming HERE and PUTTING pressure on public
85 services, it's ALL about SECURITY. For ALL of our children, for ALL of us. FREE

86 movement does NOT ALLOW us to even ASK people if they have a criminal RECORD, the
87 European court has OVERRULED the British judges in being able to DEPORT criminals, we
88 KNOW RON NOBLE, former head of the Interpol he said that the SCHENGEN FREE AREA
89 in Europe is like hanging out the SIGN “WELCOMING TERRORIST TO EUROPE”. FREE
90 movement –

91 *Host:* I don't want to interrupt- I just want to, just before I go, just before I go to the other side,
92 I just want to remind JANE's question, the SECOND half was: HOW would we MANAGE If
93 we LEFT the EU, given the UK's INABILITIES to train and retain DOCTORS and nurses?

94 *Leadsom, 0:48:02:* WE, as GISELA and Boris have already said, AT the moment,
95 UNCONTROLLABLE immigration from the EU means we DISCRIMINATE against NINTY
96 TWO percent of the WORLD. There are BRILLIANT health professionals in, in SOUTH
97 EAST ASIA <audience clapping> in CHINA, in (.) SOUTH AMERICA, who would LOVE to
98 come here, but we HAVE to put up barriers to THEM, because we are REQUIRED to allow to
99 come here from the EU, whether or NOT they're TRAINED to support of HEALTH services.

100 *Host:* Okay, thank you. Thank you very much, Ruth –

101 *Davidson, 0:48:43:* It's not true. Not true. You know, immigration is HARD and it's really
102 TEMPTING, it's TEMPTING to believe there is one single SILVER bullet like the living EU
103 that can fix it ALL. <Johnson screams: YES, take back control!> But there ISN'T. <audience
104 clapping> We need a PROPER, credible PLAN to MANAGE our migration, but they <to the
105 Leave camp> won't HAVE the alternative PLAN, they're just complaining about what USED
106 to be in the PAST, when they used to be able to COME and take out without putting IN and
107 that's CHANGING. They say they want to have POINTS system, Migration Watch Result has
108 MORE people from the outside of the UK come here rather than LESS. BORIS says he wants
109 and AMNESTY for the ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS, never mind the LEGAL once that are
110 COMING here. They've got a SLOGAN in this campaign, they have a POSTER in this
111 campaign, but they don't have a PLAN for MANAGING migration and there ISN'T a
112 SILVER bullet! <audience clapping>

113 *Host:* Okay, <unintelligible>

114 *Johnson, 0:49:32:* I just want to respond to (.) some of the, I think unnecessary INVECTIVE
115 that we've HEARD earlier on. By pointing out, somebody on the panel opposite have said,
116 only the couple of YEARS ago: In the PAST, we were too QUICK to DISMISS CONCERNS
117 about immigration, even WORSE, ACCUSE people of PREJUDICE. Now, who do you think
118 that WAS? It was, it was Sadiq KHAN. <audience applauding> I agree, I, I do agree with
119 Sadiq, I think we need a GROWN UP approach to this, I'm a passionately a BELIEVER in
120 the immigration, but it's got to BE CONTROLLED. When you have numbers running AT 3
121 HUNDRED and thirty thousand NET globally, 184 thousand NET from the EU, 77 thousand
122 coming (.) without even an offer of a JOB, LAST YEAR, it's OBVIOUSLY TIME to TAKE
123 BACK CONTROL.

124 *Host:* Sadiq? <Johnson still speaking, now both speaking mutually>

125 *Khan, 0:50:30:* BORIS, all of us ACCEPT that there are legitimate CONCERNS about
126 immigration that NEED to be addresses. The point is you're not being HONEST by not
127 admitting you have no silver bullet and let me say this: you're SCARING people to VOTE to

128 leave the EU, because I'd tell you this, you're saying LIES. TURKEY is NOT set to join the
129 EU. <applause> Tu-Turkey is not to join the EU. Li-Listen, Boris, BORIS, you're TELLING
130 LIES and you're SCARING people because you have used TAX payers money to put out the
131 Action Leaflet that says: TURKEY SET TO JOIN and there's a MAP, there's a
132 MAP<showing the leaflet as he speaks> and this map shows in RED Turkey, but the only
133 countries NAMED in this map are SYRIA and IRAQ. That's SCAREMONGERING BORIS
134 and you should be ASHAMED! <Applause>

135 *Stuart, 0:51:26:* I would QUITE like the REAL David Cameron to (.) step forward and tell us
136 what the policy on TURKEY is. <applause, still> BECAUSE on the ONE hand, he tell us that
137 it will be (.) they year THREE THOUSAND. OR is it now THIRTY years? On the OTHER
138 hand, we are spending 1.9 billion of EUROPE MONEY to ACCELERATE accession of
139 Turkey. We've got a SPECIAL SECTION EMBASSY to actually deal with (.) speeding up
140 accession. He has just THREE months ago signed the Joint Statement with the all the other
141 heads of governments of the European Union to ACCELERATE accession. And they're
142 CURRENTLY negotiating VISA access for the million from Turkey. So, and he REFUSES to
143 say that he will use his VETO, so WHICH David Cameron are we (.) like to believe?
144 <applause, 10 seconds>

145 *O'Brien, 0:52:19:* Let me answer on Turkish accession and let me say THIS: It's NOT going
146 to happen, it's just simply not on the CARDS. NOT my WORDS <audience screams> BORIS
147 JOHNSON SAID THAT on BBC Radio TWO months ago. THOSE were the WORDS of
148 Boris Johnson TWO months ago. What've changed in two months, Boris? What have changed
149 in TWO months? It's SIMPLY not on the CARDS.

150 *Johnson, 0:52:42:* It's government POLICY. It's government POLICY as far as I, as far as I
151 know LAST time LOOKED it, the government wants to accelerate the Turkish membership. I
152 mean, Gisela posed the <unintelligible> very, very clearly, it IS something that they want to
153 happen in the year Three Thousand, or is that something that they, that they wish to
154 ACCELERATE. And I think that it's PERFECTLY reasonable to ASK, to ASK people
155 whether they would RATHER precede on the basis of the government PROMISES on the
156 immigration, or whether they would rather TAKE BACK CONTROL and institute a POINT
157 based system, so, so that ELECTORATE could actually HOLD the government to
158 ACCOUNT! So there's a problem -<audience clapping>

159 *Host:* All right, Sadiq. BORIS, Boris, Boris. I'm trying to make a BALANCE between the two
160 sides.

161 *Johnson:* I was ASKED question.

162 *Host:* I know, but when you TALK in LENGTH then I have to GO – thank you. Sadiq.

163 *Khan, 0:53:33:* B-but let DEAL with this BIG FAT LIE once and for ALL. Turkey isn't about
164 to JOIN. A-and until three months ago you knew this wasn't the CASE, Boris Johnson,
165 because, look, in 1997 TURKEY FIRST applied to join, there were THIRTY FIVE
166 conditions-

167 *Johnson:* 1963, actually. <Host asks Johnson to let Khan speak>

168 *Khan:* There were thirty five chapters, of the thirty five chapters one ONE has been made. At
169 THIS rate it will take year THREE THOUSAND before they REACH the criteria and here's

170 the point, Boris <audience clapping>, you are USING the ruses of Turkey to SCARE people to
171 vote to LEAVE and you and I both know there is NO chance of them joining to.

172 *Host, 0:54:15:* All right, all right, moving on. We're moving on. Can I just SAY, can I just say
173 ONE thing to you in the audience. I DID say in the BEGINNING of the debate, APPLAUSE
174 fine, PLEASE don't shout out because if you DO, you drown out the debate HERE and people
175 at home can't hear it. If you could just (.) restrain yourself, applaud if you want to, but please
176 don't try to conduct a SECOND debate with the speakers on the panel. We're going to our
177 NEXT question, which is from Karim Kasal (?), who is LEAVE supporter. Karim.

178 *Viewer, 0:54:44:* As a young working class man, I feel at the BACK of the queue for ENTRY
179 level JOBS at HOUSING and public SERVICES. HOW many people can EACH year the UK
180 REASONABLY COPE with? <audience applauds>

181 *Host:* Frances O'Grady will start.

182 *O'Grady, 0:55:10:* Well there is NO DOUBT that we need to manage MIGRATION
183 BETTER. And you're RIGHT, Karim, there SHOULD be MORE OPPORTUNITIES, there
184 should be MORE jobs and not just MORE jobs, BETTER jobs. But I have to say, I get FED
185 UP (.) migrants ALWAYS getting the BLAME for something the politicians at
186 WESTMINSTER OUGHT to be doing something about. <applause, 5 sec> BECAUSE it
187 SEEMS to ME, that, you know, ZERO HOURS? I wanna TACKLE zero hours and I suspect
188 everybody else in this hall does TOO! Westminster can do something about THAT (.) when it
189 comes to paying a decent WAGE that's WESTMINSTER'S job and we really SHOULD be
190 investing in MORE new homes, in BETTER public services where we have PRESSURES on
191 COMMUNITIES and SCHOOLS and HOSPITALS. But instead of CUTS we NEED
192 INVESTMENT! But FINALLY I have to SAY, why I get FED UP with migrants being
193 blamed is: "WHERE did all this START?" You know the big PRESSURE on our paying jobs
194 wasn't to DO with low paid migrant WORKERS, it WAS that greedy bankers CRUSHING
195 the ECONOMY!

196 *Host:* All right, Frances.

197 *O'Grady:* And if we LEAVE, if we LEAVE <audience clapping> they'll CRUSH it AGAIN.

198 *Host:* All right let's try within REASON to stick to the points that we've been ASKED to
199 raise. Karim raised the point: How many people can each year the UK REASONABLY cope
200 with? Gisela.

201 *Stuart, 0:56:32:* And that is HEART of the matter, the point you've just RAISED, because
202 EVERY government, with the BEST of the world, when it HAS to plan its public services
203 whether it is SCHOOLS, whether it's NHS, whether it's telling how many doctors and
204 NURSES we need. HOUSING, the getting on HOUSING matter. ALL those things are
205 IMPOSSIBLE with the BEST will of the WORLD, if you've got UNCONTROLLED
206 numbers coming IN. <applause> and the Australian, AUSTRALIAN type POINT system
207 ALLOWS you to ADJUST things. AUSTRALIA happens to have MORE immigration
208 because it's a LARGE country, BUT (.) you can REDUCE it. And the ONE thing that I find
209 REALLY extraordinary is that UNCONTROLLED immigration does ALSO allow BIG
210 companies NOT to do the kind of training of OUR workers that they OUGHT to be doing
211 because they're allowed to recruit CHEAP from the REST of Europe. <applause >

212 *Host:* All right, RUTH, KARIM's question WAS, he FEELS, his PREFACE was, he feels at
213 the back of the que for ENTRY level JOBS, housing and public services. HOW many people
214 can UK cope with?

215 *Davidson, 0:57:38:* Well I DO think we need to bring down the migration, I ALSO think we
216 NEED to be LOOKING at sort of SKILLS that we want to BRING here. It USED to be the
217 case that you could COME from the EU, TO this country and TAKE OUT the day that you
218 ARRIVED. And that is STOPPING, you will now have to pay in for FOUR years before you
219 could take out FULL BENEFITS. If you don't find the JOB within the first six MONTHS, you
220 could be asked to LEAVE. But I don't think that we should (.) DISCOUNT- and Gisela
221 TALKS about public SERVICES and SCHOOLS and HOSPITALS, you can't discount the
222 CONTRIBUTION that the EU migrants MAKE. The hundred TEN THOUSAND in the NHS
223 and social CARE, hundred and FIFTY thousands in the schools across England and WALES
224 <applause>. But my BIG issue is THIS: my big issue is this: you don't FUND schools and
225 hospitals and you don't control the immigration by CRUSHING the ECONOMY. And
226 THAT'S what leaving the EU would DO. <applause>

227 *Host:* All right, and –

228 *Leadsom, 0:58:33:* THAT is JUST simply not the CASE, if we vote LEAVE and TAKE
229 BACK control this THURSDAY, we will HAVE a 10 BILLION POUND a YEAR
230 independence dividend that we will be able to SPEND on our PRIORITIES. The Bank of
231 England has been very CLEAR in ITS REPORT that UNCONTROLLED immigration has
232 had DOWNWARD pressure on WAGES in this country. They are people who simply haven't
233 had a PAY RAISE for YEARS <Davidson saying in the background: This is NOT true> and
234 not ONLY that, but EVERY family in this country KNOWS how DIFFICULT it IS to get
235 PRIMARY school place of your CHOICE <applause> to get a DOCTOR'S appointment and
236 YES, to AFFORD RENTS or to get on to the HOUSING ladder. THESE are the very
237 LEGITIMATE CONCERS and the WAY to get OVER that is by voting LEAVE and
238 TAKING BACK control. <applause>

239 *Khan, 0:59:27:* IMMIGRATION is a CONCERN to a lot of PEOPLE, but LEAVING the EU
240 isn't the ANSWER. Because look <Leadsom responds: YES it is> But it's NOT! <Leadsom
241 laughing: But it IS!, applause continues> How is it having MORE CONTROL if you have
242 LESS money in your pocket as <unintelligible> money experts say? How is it having MORE
243 control if we have a RECESSION as a Bank of England and IMF say? HOW is it having
244 MORE CONTROL if we're not investing in the SCHOOLS and HOSPITALS and
245 <unintelligible> PRACTICES. How is having MORE control if KARIM CAN'T get a job
246 because local employers are SUFFERING? How is it more CONTROL if there is DOUBLE
247 the immigration as there WOULD be with the Australian POINT system? How is it having
248 more CONTROL if there are business from CHINA, INDIA, AMERICA <applause>
249 choosing Germany and France over London? How is having more CONTROL if there are
250 YOUNG people stuck with the opportunity that WE have? <applause>

251 *Host:* I think Boris it's YOUR turn.

252 *Johnson, 1:00:31:* Let me say, let me say DIRECTLY to SADIQ KHAN, there is actually a
253 lot of AGREEMENT around this-

254 *Khan:* Join our SIDE! <unintelligible>

255 *Johnson:* From EVERYTHING I HEARD tonight it's THEIR admission that there is
256 something WRONG with our IMMIGRATION system, there is only ONE WAY to FIX IT
257 and that is to TAKE BACK control. DAY after DAY in the last (.) week we've SEEN
258 SENIOR figures in the LABOUR party (.) I think Jeremy CORBIN this morning, the
259 LEADER (.) <audience laughs> SAID that there was NO WAY controlling the immigration as
260 long as we are in the EU, TOM WATSON, HARRY <unintelligible> they're ALL, they're all
261 FINALLY accepting (.) that the DEAL was DONE, that the DEAL that was DONE did
262 ABSOLUTELY nothing to RESTORE the CONTROL of our immigration system in this
263 COUNTRY <applause> and there is only ONE WAY to ACHIEVE THAT <applause> there
264 is only ONE WAY to ACHIEVE that and THAT is to vote LEAVE and TAKE BACK control
265 and PUT IN the AUSTRALIAN style POINT based system that makes SURE that we get
266 people that WE need <opposite team talking back to Johnson, unintelligible> in OUR NHS,
267 that -

268 *O'Grady, 1:01:37:* BORIS, I find it a bit RICH to listen to YOU, BORIS I find it a little bit
269 RICH to hear people saying they're worried about WAGES when YOUR government has
270 imposed a PAY CUP on SIX MILLION PUBLIC SERVANTS YEAR after YEAR after
271 YEAR <applause> BUT, can I ALSO say, cause, KARIM'S, KARIM'S question was about
272 NUMBERS and I think the LEAVE campaign is SELLING people a big CON, because
273 YOU'RE not promising to REDUCE NUMBERS, you have NEVER promised to REDUCE
274 numbers and you're PRETENDING that you are going to REDUCE numbers <pointing at
275 Boris Johnson> it's a big CON, don't BELIEVE them, this is a ONE way ticket, if we're out,
276 we're out and we will PAY with our jobs and our wages if we go.

277 *Host:* Hang on, so- The, the accusation is that you never promised <talking to the Leave
278 campaign representatives, pointing at them > you've NEVER promised under LEAVE
279 campaign to REDUCE numbers, is that true?

280 *Stuart, 1:02:43:* What the AUSTRALIAN system would ALLOW you <noise of boo in the
281 background> is to actually DECIDE what the numbers ARE, at the MOMENT you CAN'T.
282 But can I just make ANOTHER point. THIS debate today isn't about-

283 *Host:* Sorry, can ANYONE answer her point. D-did you PROMISE ever -? <huge applause,
284 Khan laughing to the microphone, 5 sec> Have the LEAVE ever PROMISED to REDUCE
285 numbers?

286 *Stuart:* What WE said is you TAKE BACK control and you can DECIDE and HOLD- HOLD
287 on <O'Grady laughing in the background> what we have NOT done, what we have NOT done
288 is what Prime MINISTER has done and actually PROMISED that he would REDUCE it to
289 TENS of thousands, even though he KNEW he couldn't DO it.

290 *O'Grady, 1:03:20:* So you HAVEN'T promised. They're NOT promising. It's a CON.

291 *Stuart, 1:03:25:* This is NOT about us six here on th- this podium and the debate, this is about
292 MY children's future, your children's future and GRAND children's future and I think unless
293 we TAKE back CONTROL over something as IMPORTANT as THAT we WON'T be able to
294 provide the public SERVICES THEY deserve. <applause>

295 *Host:* Ruth, Ruth Davidson-

296 *Davidson, 1:03:45:* I DO just have to REMIND the people at HOME in case they're mistaken
297 that there ARE actually MOMS and DADS, GRAND and GRANDDADS on THIS side of the
298 argument as WELL <laughter, applause> (9 sec) The immigration issue is a COMPLEX one
299 that need a proper GRWON UP argument, we're not having it TONIGHT, we CERTAINLY
300 haven't HAD it THROUGHOUT this campaign. Britain deserves BETTER than people that
301 say they've got QUICK FIX but won't tell you what it ACTUALLY MEANS for Britain
302 <applause> we need MUCH bigger conversation than this. <applause>

303 *Leadsom, 1:04:00:* That, that is just COMPLETELY NONSENSE. You know this country
304 WILL do INCREDIBLY WELL, if we TAKE BACK control and vote LEAVE. What we will
305 be able to DO is to MANAGE the NUMBERS of people who are COMING to this country so
306 that we can be FAIR to those who come here and FAIR to those who already live here. What
307 we've HAD for a number of YEARS now is a SITUATION where people's pay is DOWN,
308 where people SKILLS are down, where there's pressure on ALL of our public services
309 INCLUDING SCHOOL places, DOCTOR's places AND the housing market. And the ONLY
310 way we will EVER get that BACK under control is if we vote LEAVE on this Thursday.
311 <applause>

312 *Host:* Alright. Thank you very much. We'll take a brief PAUSE again and we'll go to the
313 OTHER side of the hall and hear again from Michelle and her guests. Michelle.

314 *Host2, 1:05:24:* David, immigration has been an IMPORTANT part of this debate for the
315 LEAVE side, so let's start our discussion of it with the REMAIN side and with Caroline Lucas
316 of the Green Party. How would you ADRESS the REAL concerns that people have about the
317 impact of migration ON housing, on SCHOOL places, on HEALTH?

318 *Lucas, 1:05:43:* Well it's EXACTLY about the real CONCERNS. The real concerns is about
319 PRESSURE, but that's not CAUSED by immigration, that's CAUSED by SUCCESIVE
320 government's FAILURE to INVEST in those SERVICES. <applause> We have HEARD that
321 you are FAR more likely to find SOMEONE from another EU country actually TREATING
322 you in the NHS –

323 *Host2:* The population is PROJECTED to INCREASE and MIGRATION is going to be a
324 large part of that.

325 *Lucas:* Migration goes TWO ways. We've also go freedom to LIVE and LEARN and STUDY
326 and WORK in 27 other countries OURSELVES. What an AMAZING gift is THAT. And
327 when you CONSIDER that people coming to OUR country are BRINGING with them not
328 only the benefits to our SOCIETY and our CULTURE, but also to our ECONOMY [...]

329

10. Europe: The Final Debate with Jeremy Paxman

Leave: Louise Mensch, Anne Widdecombe

Remain: Yvette Cooper, Akala (artist)

1 *Host, 0:02:29:* Now, Yvette Cooper, why do you think it all got so NASTY in the last week or
2 so?

3 *Yvette Cooper, 0:03:00:* Well I think it HAS and I think that is a REAL problem for us,
4 because it is becoming about ACTUALLY what it is like to be BRITISH and I think being
5 British is about being HONEST, being DECEDENT, being POSITIVE , being prepared to roll
6 up your SLEEVES and work with other countries and NOT just QUIT or run away and I think
7 being British is not the kind of COUNTRY we've SEEN in Nigel Farage's POSTERS
8 attacking Syrian refugees who are fleeing conflict and prosecution 800 MILES from our
9 shores. It is NOT the kind of LEAVE posters <audience clapping> attacking TURKEY for a
10 million people coming when they KNOW that's not <unintelligible> that is NOT British.

11 *Host, 0:03:04:* But take your OWN experience, you've had DEATH THREATS. This is
12 EXTRAORDINARY, isn't it? For the political issue?

13 *Yvette Cooper, 0:03:12:* It IS and I think we've SEEN obviously, on social media you have
14 GROWING levels of attacks and I think we've seen INCREASE in the last few months. [...]

15 *Host, 0:03:48:* Louise Mensch, this ISN'T only on ONE side.

16 *Louise Mensch:* No, I don't think it is only on one side. And I completely AGREE with Yvette
17 and everything she just said about the character of Britain being OPTIMISTIC, being OPEN
18 and GENEREOUS, but I think those characteristics apply to OTHER nations TOO and the
19 LEAVE side of the argument wants EVERYBODY to have a FAIR chance. I'm an immigrant
20 myself, I'm EMIGRANT, I MARRIED an immigrant. But we DO BELIEVE that people
21 from BURUNDI should have JUST as good as a CHANCE to live and WORK in Britain as
22 people from BELGIUM and I think it is very IMPORTANT. The FAIRNESS argument is
23 OPTIMISTIC and is UPBEAT. <Unintelligible, audience clapping>

24 *Host, 0:04:29:* Well we will COME to immigration in a moment or TWO because that's the
25 real HOT button ISSUE in this vote, but I'D like to hear from one or two members of the
26 audience FIRST about WHAT they think. Have you been IMPRESSED by this campaign?
27 [...]

28 *Host, 0:05:38:* Now, AKALA, has it DISTRACTED you think from the MAIN issue? <asking
29 about the tone from both sides of the campaign, with has been viewed as very negative>

30 *Akala, 0:05:40:* It showed that <.> well people have chosen to FOCUS on the FEAR of others,
31 it shows the complete lack of RESPECT for the people of Britain's INTELLIGENCE, when
32 they could just focused on FACTS, so to <.> according to the HMIC TAX figures 2013-14
33 MIGRANTS contributed 2.5 billion MORE than they took out in benefits. Between 2014 and
34 2015 WE took on just HUNDRED and SIXTY SIX Syrian refugees, whiles LEBANON as a
35 population of FOUR MILLION took on ONE MILLION. <audience clapping>

36 *Host:* So what is your point?

37 *Akala*: My point is very SIMPLE, it is over exaggerated FEAR that has <.> LONG historical
38 roots and the complete NAIVITY and AHISTORICAL sense in which it's being
39 DELIVERED reflects kind of BIPOLAR, schizophrenic identity we can't RECONCILE
40 within the country that SHAPED the borders of literally entire GLOBE but NOW acts like a
41 SCARED persecuted <unintelligible> that is on siege from foreigners. <audience clapping>

42 *Host, 0:06:36*: Yvette Cooper, this is PARTLY, this is PARTLY a CONSEQUENCE of what
43 happened when YOU were in government, I MEAN, who can forget 2003, YOUR
44 government predicted it would be 30 THOUSAND migrants coming here from Eastern
45 Europe. And, could you just, REMIND us what the exact figure probably WAS?

46 *Yvette Cooper, 0:06:52*: SURE, the figures were COMPLETELY WRONG and I think we
47 should've had TRANSITIONAL control of the borders <audience laughing>

48 *Host*: It was around 300 THOUSAND, wasn't it? And you predicted 30.

49 *YC, 0:07:00*: Sure, the figures were WRONG, and I think, I think the immigration reform is
50 NEEDED. I ALSO think you have to have a SENSIBLE debate about it, but I DO think there
51 is a big difference HERE. If you're TALKING about things like what's going to happen in the
52 ECONOMY, people might disagree with the Bank of England governor and OKAY, they are
53 FINE to disagree with him, but I don't think you can ACCUSE Bank of England
54 GOVERNOR of LYING or PITTING people AGAINST other people. What the LEAVE
55 campaign have done is push LIES and also pitch HUMAN BEINGS against OTHER human
56 beings. That is what is WRONG, immoral and just not BRITISH.<audience clapping>

57 *Host*: Anne Widdecombe.

58 *Anne Widdecombe, 0:07:37*: The TONE I think on BOTH sides sometimes has been
59 unfortunate. And I think EVERYBODY would admit that and should admit it, but at the
60 SAME time we CANNOT run away from the fact that CONTROL of our BORDERS is a
61 MASSIVE issue for Britain <audience clapping> AND CONTROLLING the borders doesn't
62 MEAN closing the borders, doesn't mean saying ALL immigration is BAD, but CONTROL
63 of the borders mean WE Britain are NOT obliged to accept someone JUST because there is
64 FREE movement from the EU, that WE BRITAIN can DECIDE the TERMS on which we
65 accept people, the NUMBERS of people that we ACCEPT and that we ALSO have the ability
66 to do the OPPOSITE as well, which is to REQUIRE people to go BACK <person in audience
67 agrees loudly, audience claps>

68 *Louise Mensch, 0:08:29*: If I may say so, Jeremy, are SITTING UP HERE, regretting the
69 TONE and yet I'm trying VERY HARD not to say ANYTHING nasty about people on the
70 REMAIN side who genially BELIEVE what they are campaigning for is RIGHT and proper
71 and BEST for Britain. And I HOPE she may consider if she perhaps STOPS saying we are
72 pitting humans against humans and acting of our hatred <mix noise from the audience, both
73 clapping and booing> at THIS stage of the argument, haven't we HAD all of the stuff out.

74 *Yvette Cooper*: Do you SUPPORT Nigel Farage's poster? Yes or no?

75 *LM*: I do not.

76 *YC*: Do you SUPPORT the poster saying a million people are coming from TURKEY? Yes or
77 no?

78 *LM:* You've heard from PERSON after PERSON after PERSON from the LEAVE side they
79 DO NOT support that POSTER.

80 *YC:* What about the million people coming from Turkey? Do you think that's right?
81 <unintelligible, multiple people talking at the same time>

82 *LM:* Not TODAY, those talks are starting on the 30th of JUNE that is NEXT week <talking
83 about summit between Turkey and EU about refugee crisis management> <audience cheers>

84 *YC:* Do YOU think a million people are about to COME from TURKEY when CYPRUS is
85 going to veto it, GREECE is going to veto it, countries are going to veto it across the whole
86 EUROPE.

87 *Anne Widcombe, 0:09:47:* Would you PLEASE answer my question, Yvette. Do you believe
88 that CUREENTLY we adequately CONTROL our borders?

89 *Yvette Cooper:* I think we should have MORE investment in our BORDER force, which THIS
90 government has helped. <unintelligible>

91 *Akala:* Can I just, can I just POINT OUT something? <unintelligible> publish article , the
92 BRITAIN is not part of the Schengen free movement if PEOPLE and ALSO currently
93 LEGALLY has a RIGHT to opt out from any EU law any ASYLUM and immigration... How
94 is that the EU fault?

95 *Host:* <many people talking at once> the poll showed up one in six people across the country
96 DON'T know which side they support. Their VOTE may be CRUCIAL and you can see on
97 the big screen just how this topic HAS affected the vote of those who've been listening, the
98 undecided people here <the screen shows 32% for Remain, 34% undecided and 34% for leave,
99 however figures change throughout the debate>. So it's CLEARLY, it's NOT SURPRISING
100 seems to ME that immigration HAS been such a big ISSUE in this campaign SO FAR when
101 you look at those FIGURES.

102 *Host, 0:12:26:* <after break> Welcome BACK, the elections are temporarily, you get to kick
103 out the people you VOTED a few years LATER, but tomorrow the referendum ISN'T like
104 THAT, it's a DECISION probably for generations to COME. BEFORE the break we were
105 discussing some of the CAMPAIGN TONE and some of the controls of immigration being
106 proposed. NOW we're onto look at some of the EFFECTS of immigration on our LIVES and
107 on our JOBS. NOW, Professor David Goldblatt from Great Ormond Street Hospital, I'd like
108 you to TELL us what YOUR fears are.

109 *Viewer David, 0:12:57:* Well at Great Ormond Street we focus on trauma with rare deceases
110 and <.> EUROPEAN collaboration is absolutely fundamental to the SUCCESS of our
111 research, BECAUSE when you look at rare deceases, if you have children with rare deceases,
112 we don't HAVE enough children in the UK to be able to do a MEANINGFUL research,
113 UNLESS we collaborate with our European COLLEAGUES where we have ENOUGH
114 patients to put together to make MEANINGFUL medical trials..

115 *Host, 0:13:18:* NOTHING is going to STOP you collaborating WITH them.

116 *David:* No, there isn't, but European REGULATIONS enable us to work TOGETHER under
117 the SAME regulations to GUARANTEE the QUALITY and SAFETY of the children we PUT

118 to trials. Without these regulations we wouldn't AUTOMATICALLY be able to roll out our
119 children IN trials across Europe and be CONFIDENT of the results. [...]

120 *Host, 0:14:10:* Well, joining us on the panel is Tory member of the European Parliament,
121 Daniel Hannan, novelist Dreda Say Mitchell for LEAVE and for REMAIN the FORMER
122 Home Secretary Alan Johnson and Minister for Small Business Anna Soubry. Now Daniel
123 Hannan, you've just HEARD Professor Goldblatt, what is your RESPONSE to that?

124 *Daniel Hannan, 0:14:24:* Well I SAW the effects of the clinical TRIALS directives in
125 BRUSSELS. We have ONE percent of the world's population in this country, in 2004 we
126 were conducting TWELVE percent of the clinical TRIALS, we were at the CUTTING edge of
127 the medical research. When the EU clinical trials directive came to EFFECT, it fell back to
128 ONE percent and that's what HAPPENS when you GIVE control to people who may not have
129 your interests at HEART, we must SURELY be BETTER off in CERTAIN world, taking back
130 control so we can regulate OURSELVES and DEAL with risks and mitigate them as they
131 COME UP, rather than passing power to other PEOPLE. <audience clapping >

132 *Host, 0:15:50:* ANNA SOUBRY, the LEAVE campaign tells us there's gonna be an extra
133 HUNDRED million pounds for the NHS, that's pretty good, isn't it?

134 *Anna Soubry, 0:15:56:* You know WHAT, I came on this program to TALK about the
135 European Union. Not because of ME and MY generation, but for my CHILDREN and my
136 GRANDCHILDREN. And I think we've been DISCUSSING this NOW for some SIXTEEN
137 minutes and we haven't had ONE discussion yet about what the EU is actually ABOUT. And
138 it's about PEACE and PROSPERITY. <audience clapping> And YET AGAIN, what have we
139 seen, I've been out in the REAL world. Out in the REAL world there is lots of UNHAPPY
140 SAD and FRIGHTENED <audience boos and laughs> PEOPLE and Yvette Cooper <pointing
141 towards previous speaker> was ABSOLUTELY right when she talked about the TONE and
142 what has happened to British POLITICS. And FRANKLY, Jeremy, I have a lot of respect for
143 you, this program doesn't HELP us, doesn't help the viewers at HOME discuss and debate and
144 DECIDE on whether TOMORROW they're going to VOTE <slight clapping in the audience>
145 in our out. Let's talk about TRADE, let's talk about 500 million PEOPLE, 27 countries, 28
146 countries, one set of RULES that do TRADE for the prosperity of the ALL the people.

147 *Dreda Say Mitchell, 0:17:05:* Let me PICK UP on this word, PROSPERITY, because I'll tell
148 you WHAT. In the LAST week and the HALF, what has COME OUT, WORKING class
149 voices started coming OUT and say: PROSPERITY for who? If you live in London, you go
150 outside, <...> What you are doing, you're using a BROAD TERM prosperity for ALL and it's
151 not TRUE. It is NOT true. <audience clapping>

152 *Anna Soubry:* Can I, can I explain what is HAPPENING? Let me EXPLAIN what we've
153 UNLEASHED. There are PEOPLE NOW using word IMMIGRANT in the derogatory
154 manner. There are NOW PEOPLE, oh yes <audience doesn't agree, responds>

155 *Dreda Say Mitchell:* Do you know what's interesting? We are sitting in the STUDIO in the
156 HEART of the East of London, I GREW up in this community as a MIGRANT. I went to
157 SCHOOL from across the road from here, so you DON'T have to LECTURE me about
158 MIGRANTS. <audience clapping, whistling>

159 *Anna Soubry*: I am not lecturing YOU AT ALL, I'm trying to LECTURE all those people in
160 Britain who are NOW looking at people < unintelligible>

161 *Host, 0:18:30*: Can I interrupt you for a second, this is NOT <unintelligible, gives word to
162 another panellist>

163 *Alan Johnson, 0:18:36*: The REASON WHY major trade union is on the side of Remain is
164 because PRECISELY those working class people. You know, I OBJECT the LEAVE camp
165 suddenly laying CLAIM to good terms and conditions when I've been fighting this as former
166 trade unionist all my LIFE <audience clapping> and it's not the European UNION that's
167 standing in our WAY, it's the European Union that's given workers' RIGHTS they've never
168 had BEFORE. <...>

169 *Anna Soubry, 0:22:20*: We've GOT to make a point that IMMIGRANTS, migrants
170 CONTRIBUTE to our society, we should WELCOME the fact that SO many people from
171 OTHER European countries WORK in our NHS, we'd be scuppered without them. It NEEDS
172 to be said. <audience clapping>

173

11. The Spectator Debate : Should Britain leave the EU?

Speakers:

- Nigel Farage (UKIP) for Leave
- Nick Clegg for Remain
- Daniel Hannan (Conservative) Leave
- Liz Kendall for Remain
- Kate Hoey (Liberal Party) for Leave
- Chuka Umunna for Remain

At the beginning of the debate, each speaker was given five minutes to present their opinion on the question of leaving or remaining in the European Union.

1 *Nigel Farage, 0:12:26:* [...] there is NO DIRECT DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY
2 within this European system, and FRANKLY, I believe <hands up, emphasizing> that those
3 that went BEFORE us and sacrificed so much into WORLD WARS did so, so that we
4 COULD be a FREE, INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN nation that governs itself. And PART of
5 that is we've lost control of our borders. NET migration into Britain is now running at TEN
6 TIMES the POST war average, and that's if you believe <smiling> the official FIGURES,
7 which FRANKLY, I don't. We have to build a new house in this country EVERY SEVEN
8 minutes, JUST to cope with current levels of the immigration. We are short TENS of
9 thousands of primary school places for THIS September and the National Health Service is
10 under LITERALLY intolerable pressure. What we NEED to DO, is TAKE BACK CONTROL
11 of our BORDERS, to say that our PASSPORT should NOT be available to five hundred and
12 eight million PEOPLE and let's put in place POST Brexit a SENSIBLE, PROPER, NORMAL
13 immigration policy along the style that the AUSTRALIANS do <gesticulating along the
14 speech> Let's have people with skills and traits to Britain. Let's have people who HAVEN'T
15 got the criminal RECORDS, which is new for the Aussies, isn't it? <audience laughing> and
16 let's, LET'S have people who will ADD and CONTRIBUTE to the ECONOMY, but let's
17 have them in SENSIBLE numbers. And IN this age of TERRORISM, when you remember
18 that TWO of the people that CAUSED the massacre in Paris have come into Europe posing as
19 MIGRANTS through the Greek islands, we'll be SAFER and BETTER and MORE SECURE
20 TAKING back control of our borders, putting in place a PROPER immigration system, getting
21 back the SOVEREIGNTY of our PARLIAMENT and our COURTS, REIMBRACING the
22 parts of the world that we've turned our backs on <strongly gesticulating> , like the
23 Commonwealth and elsewhere, while at the SAME TIME being FRIENDS and
24 NEIGHBOURS with all of those in EUROPE. THIS opportunity must NOT be passed up.
25 LET'S take back control of our LIVES. LET'S believe in ourselves. LET'S believe in Britain,
26 LET'S believe in the BETTER, stronger future for our nation. THANK YOU. <audience
27 clapping and cheering>

28 *Nick Clegg, 0:15:00:* <not speaking directly on migration> [...]

29 *Host, 0:37:40:* Now in the minute I'm going to go and get some questions from the audience,
30 but before I DO, just let me ask a couple of MY OWN. Nigel Farage, Nick Clegg says you just
31 wanna pull out the draw bridge, why?

32 *Nigel Farage, 0:37:56:* No Nick, I don't want to pull out the DRAW bridge, I want to control
33 whose coming OVER the draw bridge, THAT'S what we get by being and independent nation.
34 <audience clapping>

35 *Host, 0:38:06:* Nick Clegg?

36 *Nick Clegg, 0:38:09:* What's the question? [...]

37 *Nigel Farage, 0:38:20:* We want CONTROLLED migration, we want CONTROLLED
38 migration, into the United Kingdom, not the open doors.

39 *Nick Clegg, 0:38:23:* Why, WHY in THAT case, if being in the European UNION is the
40 GENESIS of ALL the ANXIETY by immigration, why is it then per head of population,
41 Australia and Canada have TWICE higher rates immigration than we do. They're not
42 members of the European Union. The United States net increase of a MILLION PEOPLE
43 EVERY YEAR, they're not the member of the European Union. There's this ABSURD
44 assumption in that Nigel Farage and others SAY that those DESSPERATE, DESSPARATE
45 refugees fleeing from CONFLICT and DESTITUTION in Syria will somehow STOP
46 <emphasis> trying to COME here when we're not members of the European Union. They are
47 FLEEING persecution and violence, they just want to be SAFE. We've got to have a slightly
48 more ADULT conversation on immigration. Immigration, PEOPLE moving LARGE distances
49 in LARGE numbers HAPPENS in EVERY continent around the world, it is not something
50 created in BRUSSELS, by the European Union and it is PROFOUNDLY misleading to claim
51 OTHERWISE. <audience claps>

52 *Host:* Nigel Farage, quick reply?

53 *Nigel Farage, 0:39:23:* Yeah, I'm SORRY, Nick, but the British PASSPORT is now HELD
54 by FIVE hundred and EIGHT million people, any of WHOM can come to this country. And I
55 WOULD say, the reason that AUSTRALIA and CANADA can take more migrants than WE
56 can is that they've got rather more SPACE and rather more ROOM than we have <audience
57 cheers>

58 *Host:* But NET migration from OUTSIDE the EU is higher than net migration from inside the
59 EU...

60 *Nigel Farage, 0:39:50:* And that's BAD British government, and that's why I AGREE with
61 that and I'm NOT saying that ALL of our faults have come from the EU, there are lots to be
62 sorted by the Westminster, too. But the FACT as, we have an OPEN door and we are
63 MEMBERS of the European Union, whose stated aim is to bring in NEW countries <pause>
64 like Bosnia, like Albania and CRUTIALLY, Misses Merkel – and she's the REAL boss these
65 days- and Misses Merkel wants TURKEY to be a member by TWENTY TWENTY FIVE. So
66 we are PART of the union that is letting in poorer and poorer countries, who ULTIMATELY
67 will have unravel free access to our NATION, and I think the point has come, FRANKLY,
68 where ENOUGH is ENOUGH. <audience cheering> [...]

69 *Host, 0:40:50:* Chuka Ummuna, what do you say to Daniel Hannan's point that by being in
70 the EU, we've SHACKLED ourselves to what is now the SLOWEST growing part of the <1
71 sec> OECD, of the ADVANCED economies.

72 *Chuka Ummuna, 0:40:52:* Well, they ARE our biggest customer [...] I should just say, I mean
73 on THIS point of immigration, I'm a SON of an immigrant and I think <disrupted by the host>

74 *Host:* No, we will COME to that and I will, but just on the ECONOMIC point, which is what
75 my question was ABOUT <audience clapping> Ugh, about TWELVE years ago we exported
76 FIFTY FIVE percent of goods and services to the EU, it is now FOURTY FOUR percent and
77 FALLING. That MAY be because DEMAND has fallen, because it is SO slow growing. My
78 question was, why would we shackle ourselves to <.> ECONOMY that has been STAGNANT
79 now for almost a DECADE.

80 *Chuka Ummuna, 0:41:40:* But I don't believe we ARE shackled [...]

81 *Chuka Ummuna, 0:45:51:* On the immigration point, our country has many problems, we
82 don't have enough homes, we need to invest in our public services, which are being drained at
83 the moment, but I think we do a GREAT disservice to immigration debate if we simply seek to
84 BLAME all of this on immigration. This DOMESTIC government, different political
85 persuasions, who in the end haven't done what NEEDS to be done. And the OTHER side of
86 the coin I, of COURSE we have TWO million BRITS, who are BENEFITING from free
87 movement and living in the EU, we've got EU CITIZENS, who've set up BUSINESSES here
88 who employ ONE point FIVE million PEOPLE, and our NHS, which is of course a big
89 STORY today, that over one hundred thousand EU nationals HELPING our NHS function. So
90 let's have a more MATURE and BALANCED debate about the immigration in this country
91 <disrupted by the host>

92 *Host, 0:46:30:* Okay, let's go to the audience. Thank you Chuka Ummuna, [...]

93 *Viewer, 1:24:00:* If we vote to REMAIN, how will we control the immigration from the EU?

94 *Host:* Liz Kendall

95 *Liz Kendall, 1:24:03:* Well I'm for one actually PLEASSED with a part of the renegotiation
96 that the <.> PRIME Minister has achieved by saying people who come to WORK in this
97 country, who come to this country should WORK and contribute BEFORE they're able to
98 claim benefits, that's something I've strongly ARGUED for during Labour Leadership
99 Campaign <.>, but <.> I BELIEVE that <.> you know, IMMIGRATION in this country
100 brought MASSIVE challenges, without a doubt, and I would be the FIRST to say that, I've
101 seen it in my constituency. But I also PERSONALLY think we need to STAND UP for the
102 contribution that migrants make in this country, setting up BUSINESSES, working for our
103 NHS, the fact that they put FAR more into the system they claim OUT, you know I WANT
104 clear RULES-

105 *Host, 1:24:52:* But, but excuse me, he didn't ask if the immigration was good or bad, which is
106 the question you are ANSWERING, but HE asked if we STAY in the EU, how will we
107 CONTROL the immigration? What's the answer?

108 *Liz Kendall, 1:25:03:* Well, I was SAYING the RULES that I believe NEED to APPLY!
109 Which is if you COME here, you should come to WORK and not claim BENEFITS, you
110 should ABIDE by the rules and values of this COUNTRY, but we ALSO need to SPEAK UP
111 for the POSITIVE benefits that immigration has brought to this country. That may not BE a
112 popular COURSE among many, but I've seen it in my own constituency, in the businesses and
113 the NHS and we should make this case FAR MORE LOUDLY and CLEARLY-

114 *Host, 1:25:32:* Are you, are YOU SAYING people should only come here if they've got a
115 JOB? That they couldn't just COME from the EU as JOB SEEKERS?

116 *Liz Kendall, 1:25:39:* Well MY understanding is, you know, since 1995 at least THREE
117 QUARTERS of people who've come here from the EU have <.> you know <.> WORK,
118 which has often been a HIGHER proportion in British... <unintelligible>

119 *Host:* Do they need to have a JOB, do they need to have a JOB? If you SHUT UP, I'll ASK
120 the question <host speaking to a woman shouting loudly in the audience, cheering>

121 *Liz Kendall:* NO, because that's part of –

122 *Host:* Are YOU saying that you should have to HAVE a job before you come? You're not
123 saying that?

124 *Liz Kendall:* No, I'm NOT. Because that's the part of the free movement of, you know, labour,
125 you can live, work, study in other countries –

126 *Host, 1:26:10:* So how would you control who comes here from the EU? Can you do it?
127 <audience making a noise>

128 *Liz Kendall, 1:26:14:* <.> <reluctant voice> I do believe we need to have, make SURE we
129 have stronger BORDER CONTROLS, that's something we have CAMPAIGNED on for a
130 LONG time <audience making noise>

131 *Host:* <to the audience> Hold on, hold on-

132 *Liz Kendall:* I BELIEVE we need strong border controls and those CLEAR rules, and I think,
133 you know, what the PRIME Minister have negotiated would HELP, but I ALSO want to make
134 the POSITIVE CASE for the benefits that the immigration brings.

135 *Host:* Is it a <.> Nigel FARAGE, DESIRABLE that we should CLAMP major controls on the
136 immigration from the rest of the EU, BECAUSE, given that our economy has been performing
137 pretty well and much of Europe HASN'T, WE have managed to attract some of the BEST and
138 the BRIGHTEST of Europe to come and work in our COUNTRY. WHY would you want to
139 stop that? <small cheer from the audience>

140 *Nigel Farage, 1:27:02:* Because when you have an open DOOR, when you have an open
141 DOOR, you will attract some of the best and the BRIGHTEST, but you will always attract
142 number of people that you rather haven't come in the FIRST PLACE. We're not even able to
143 stop foreign CRIMINALS from Europe coming INTO our country and we SHOULD be able
144 to DO so. That'd be the question. If we vote to REMAIN, what would we be able to DO to
145 control the immigration? The answer is: we WON'T be able to CONTROL immigration if we
146 STAY IN the European Union <audience clapping> and these LIES, I mean, CAMERON has
147 spent 10 million quid of YOUR MONEY putting a leaflet to your DOOR telling you that if
148 you VOTE to REMAIN, that we will retain BORDER CONTROLS. ALL we do is ask people
149 to FLASH a passport. We are COMPLETELY, EFFECTIVELY BORDERLESS, HALF a
150 billion people can FREELY come here, and let me PREDICT, that with the EU
151 ENLARGING, including TURKEY and given that the Eurozone is headed BACK into
152 SERIOUS crisis and GREECE will NEED to be bound out again at some point of the course
153 of this YEAR, the numbers of people FLEEING poverty in Europe can ONLY increase and

154 we need to be TOUGHT about this, we need to make sure, that we TAKE OUT, Andrew <to
155 the host> the BRIGHTEST and the BEST, but we gotta DO so in LIMITED numbers. This is
156 the NUMBER ONE ISSUE in British politics. EVERY single poll says: IMMIGRATION,
157 SECURITY, JOBS are at the TOP of people's agenda in Britain and the ONLY way of
158 dealing with this is to vote to LEAVE the European Union and TAKE BACK control of our
159 BORDERS. <audience clapping>

160 *Host, 1:28:35:* Can I just CLARIFY one point, I UNDERSTAND that if we LEAVE the EU
161 we get more control over who comes to WORK here from the EU, I take that point, but would
162 we have any more control over EU citizens who come here to visit us? I mean do you envision
163 to control THAT, you would introduce VISAS for the EU citizens?

164 *Farage, 1:28:58:* No, I don't think we should do that at all, there's not any NEED for us to
165 have VISAS, but I DO see the absolute need for PEOPLE, if they want to get jobs to
166 REGISTER, we know who they ARE, how long they're going to be here FOR and that we
167 don't even CONSIDER paying benefits and entitlements to ANYBODY until they LEGALLY
168 have been in the country, have worked for FIVE YEARS, pay TAXES into the system and
169 OBEY the law and that's plain common sense, FRANKLY, and that's what population
170 WANTS.

171 *Host:* Nick Clegg-

172 *Nick Clegg, 1:29:25:* I think David the – the bond sort of TRUTH IS – and I've strongly
173 disagreed with what Theresa May have said [...] I AGREE with the way she characterized
174 this, she basically said: LOOK, could FULLY controlling immigration – if THAT'S you
175 objective- it's actually pretty difficult whether you're INSIDE the European Union or not, as I
176 said EARLIER, you have a good example of MAJOR economies – Australia, Canada, United
177 States, which per head of population have MUCH higher and before Nigel says they are big
178 countries, SMALL countries like Lichtenstein, Switzerland, Norway have MUCH higher
179 immigration per capita than we do, even though THEY'RE not part of the European Union. In
180 FACT, in SOME respect it might be MORE DIFFICULT, the French could not have been
181 CLEARER when they said if we PULL OUT of the European Union, the BORDER
182 CONTROLS we presently have on the French soil would be MOVED to – to Cant <city> So I
183 think, I think, I think to TRY to have <.> a sort of ACCURATE debate on this we have to kind
184 of ADMIT, there is NO SCENARIO in or OUT of the European Union, where you can
185 COMPLETELY SEAL your BORDERS, so HERMETICALLY seal your borders and nor is
186 there another part of the world EITHER in the modern world In which it was-

187 *Host:* But the question, to bring you back to the question was, if we VOTE to remain, HOW
188 will we control the immigration FROM the EU? I mean, isn't the HONEST answer, is that we
189 CAN'T and we DON'T?

190 *Nick Clegg, 1:30:48:* The HONEST answer, people just like – many many Brits, MANY
191 MANY BRITS retire, study, WORK in the European Union, people who EXERCISE the right
192 to WORK in this country can come and SEEK to do so, there are plenty of <.> CHECKS and
193 CONTROLS, which we can REJECT people, as we have I think THOUSANDS of people, if
194 we think they will do our country HARM. But YES, you are absolutely right that the
195 PRINCIPLE that we can ALL, as many many Brits do, it is a TWO WAY STREET, to seek to
196 WORK in other parts of the European Union, REMAINED. My point simply was: DON'T
197 believe the kind of SUGGESTION, because there is no EVIDENCE, in ANY other country,

198 not at least in some of the countries, Norway etc., which are law <unintelligible> there is NO
199 EXAMPLE of the country, which has SOMEHOW managed to sort of build a <.> DONALD
200 TRUMP wants to build a WALL <.>against the Mexicans, that's a good EXAMPLE, they
201 have very similar debate, I don't think his WALL is going to WORK if they build it in the
202 same way and I DON'T think pulling out-

203 *Host:* The HUNGARIANS have already build a WALL, they're in the EU, the AUSTRIANS
204 have closed <unintelligible> In MONTENEGRO, which is planning to become member of the
205 EU, has build a massive FENCE.

206 *Nick Clegg:* Yes, and they're not going to work, they're not gonna work, in the LONG RUN,
207 in the LONG run in MY VIEW, and by the way this is a GOOD think that we remain out of
208 the Schengen arrangement, the Schengen arrangement is as you KNOW the ability to MOVE
209 around the Schengen countries in the European Union without showing your PASSPORT, the
210 reason why it is good that we are OUT of that is because the SCHENGEN – the fundamental
211 floor of Schengen is that they REMOVED internal borders without imposing EXTERNAL
212 BORDER checks, which is what they're now DOING through the NEW border force, that's
213 what they need to sort out. All these fences going up across Europe are ABSOLUTELY NOT
214 the way forward.

215 *Host, 1:32:27:* I want to hear the final question from Grand Eward if we can get the mic to
216 him, but before I DO, Dan Hannan –

217 *Daniel Hannan, 1:32:31:* You know WHY we are not falling for these GHOST stories from
218 the REMAIN campaign is because, in the middle of all the FEAR and DOUBT, you suddenly
219 get some UTERLY reusable , implausible CLAIMS, such as we have just HEARD that the
220 <unintelligible> jungle will move to CANT. NOW, the IDEA that we would have migrant
221 camps in Cant anymore that we have them in GATWICK of HEATHROW or any point of
222 entry is UTERLY ABSURD. ALL THREE speakers actually ASNWERED that question –
223 actually in very different ways- but they all get the same answer- if we STAY in the EU, we
224 CANNOT control the NET INWARD migration into this country, the KEY word here is the
225 CONTROL! I think Nigel and I slightly DIFFER in our VIEW about the immigration, I'm
226 quite in FAVOUR of having a measure of LEGAL PRIMARY immigration INTO this country
227 and I'm in FAVOUR of having a refugee element as well, probably a BIT more that NIGEL
228 has. But if I'm going to MAKE THAT ARGUMENT, people NEED to know in exchange that
229 we are in CHARGE ROUGHLY who comes in, and we are in CHARGE ROUGHLY of hat
230 NUMBERS. And as long as we are in the EU, we HAVE NO SUCH SENSE and apart from
231 the CRAZINESS of taking unqualified EU MIGRANTS over qualified migrants from
232 ELSEWHERE, I think that there is a BASIC immorality, a basic UNFAIRNESS with the way
233 that we are treating OLD friends and ALLIES that stood by us in the two wars where we were
234 the MOST in NEED. <audience clapping> I have constituency from the Commonwealth
235 backgrounds and all of the MPs have the SAME story. People who now may have, may have
236 FAMILIES <unintelligible> who CAN'T now bring AUNTIE over for WEDDING. Not, not
237 to SETTLE here, just to VISIT, because we've so CRACKED down on the non EU part of our
238 MIGRATION policy in order to free up UNLIMITED space for people who have ZERO
239 connection to this country.

240 *Host: 1:34:14:* But, hold on but there is STILL MORE migrants coming to this country from
241 the NON EU countries than from the EU countries.

242 *Daniel Hannan:* Yeah, but a LOT less from the world-

243 *Host:* But you just said they can't get IN!

244 *Daniel Hannan:* Yes, but-

245 *Host:* The auntie CAN come [...]

246 *Daniel Hannan:* The other MPs will say this as well. I have a constituent NOW have been
247 married to a WOMAN for TWELVE YEARS [...] he cannot now come to this country,
248 because there is a practical limit for the people you can bring in and we have to OPEN OUT
249 borders to everyone from the EU-

250 *Host:* But you say we still bring more from the NON-EU that we bring from the EU? That's
251 the figures.

252 *Daniel Hannan:* YES, but I want us to be able decide WHO comes in, on basis of marriage,
253 qualification, connection to this country etc-

254 *Host:* Chuka, final word from you on this?

255 *Chuka Ummuna:* Well I tell you what MY constituents say about this, the interesting think
256 about the immigration debate actually is, many of those who RAISE concerns when we're
257 around the immigration the MOST are my BLACK and Asian constituents. And all THEY in
258 the end tell me, they want people to PAY into the system before they take OUT, they want
259 PROPER enforcement of our labour market regulations, they want people to be HELPED to
260 learn English if they come here and to INTEGRATE, but the REASON in the end, they don't
261 go for this kind of DOG whistle stuff on immigration is, because in the END, all of the things
262 people are saying about the East Europeans NOW are VERY similar to what people were
263 saying about my FATHER when he came in mid 1960's and the Asian people. And they don't
264 want any <unintelligible> with that. <audience clapping>

265 *Host, 1:35:47:* Okay, thank you for that, and the one final VERY quick question before we go
266 to, to the vote, we are overriding a little bit, but I think you will understand WHY, given the
267 QUALITY of the debate, Grant Eward <asks Viewer to ask the question>

268 *Viewer, 1:35:58:* Thank you, thank you for leaving the best for last. <audience laughing>

269 *Host:* I'll be the judge for that.

270 *Viewer:* On, on JUNE 23rd, can we ALSO vote to LEAVE the Eurovision song contest?
271 <audience laughing> [...]

272 **[In the end of the debate, people in the audience had cards with either: UNDECIDED,**
273 **LEAVE or REMAIN. By the show of the cards, Host decided that Leave won.]**

