

## A Study of Political Communication in British Mass Media: The Emperor's State Visit to the UK and Hashimoto - Blair's Letters to the Sun

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和文要旨：1998年5月の天皇皇后の英国訪問は各地で強制収容所で犠牲となった元捕虜から強い抗議を受けたが、ある意味で大成功だった。タイムズをはじめとする高級紙、デイリー・メールなどミドル・マーケット紙、サンやミラーをはじめとするタブロイド紙、地方新聞、さらには日本語週刊新聞などの活字メディア、BBCを中心とするテレビ、ラジオの放送メディアの多面的で精力的な報道(社説・コラム・投書欄・パネルでの論争)において戦争捕虜問題、日英関係、天皇皇后公式訪問が深く論じられ、慶子・ホームズの活動なども紹介されたからである。同時に、日英の宮廷外交、メディアのあり方の違い、さらには、日英両国民のお互いの国に対するイメージ、距離感の違いも浮き彫りにされた。小論ではまずそのきっかけを作った橋本龍太郎首相とブレア首相のサンへの投稿のポリティカル・ディスコース分析を試みる。事実上、二通とも、キャンベル報道官によって書かれたものであり、新労働党政権の政治コミュニケーション戦略の興味深い実施例である。

【キーワード】ブレア首相、キャンベル報道官、政治コミュニケーション、戦争捕虜、謝罪と和解

**Abstract** : The Emperor's state visit to the UK in May 1998 was greeted by a series of noisy and visible protests by former prisoners of war, civilian detainees and their supporters. It was, however, one of the most successful cases of royal diplomacy of the House of Tenno. Broadsheets, middle-markets and tabloids created a controversy and covered the process extensively. Broadcasts such as BBC TV and Radio put up ambitious programmes. The issue of and promoted deeper understanding and mutual images in the two countries. In this paper I shall apply a political discourse analysis of then Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto's letter and Tony Blair's letter to the Sun, which initiated and incited the controversy. Both letters were virtually written by Alastair Campbell, Blair's press secretary. It was a political communication project by Blair and Campbell and an interesting case of media management of Blair's New Labour Government.

【Keywords】Tony Blair, Alastair Campbell, political communication, prisoners of war, apology and reconciliation

### 1. Introduction

In early January 1998 Tony Blair made an official visit to Japan, as always the case Alastair Campbell, his press secretary was with him and they met then Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto in Tokyo. One of the most important items on the agenda for their meeting was a forthcoming state visit by the Japanese Emperor and Empress to the UK. The Japanese

government, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Agency of the Imperial Household, traditionally was very cautious in exploiting the prestige of the House of Tenno<sup>1)</sup>. It was a big fuss when the Emperor visited China in October 1992 for the first time after WWII.

There was virtually no big diplomatic problem between the UK and Japan. Because Margaret Thatcher eagerly invited and

encouraged Japanese investments, Japanese companies in all sizes stationed their European headquarters and main factories all over the UK: Nissan in Sunderland, Toyota in Derby, Honda in Swindon, Panasonic and Sony in Wales and NEC in Scotland for example. The Lake District and Cotswolds in England and the Highlands and Edinburgh in Scotland were among the favourite destinations in Europe for Japanese holidaymakers. Many young Japanese were studying in British Universities and language schools and some younger people were even in public and boarding schools. Royal Prince, Hironomiya, his wife and Prince Akishinomiya had studied in Oxford University and they were said to be anglophiles. Some Japanese universities built extensions in the UK for students who wished to study one or two years out of four. There was, however, one long-outstanding problem. Precisely because of this problem the Japanese Prime Minister was not invited to the fiftieth anniversary of VJ-Day (Victory against Japan Day, 15 August 1995) although the German Chancellor had been invited to the fiftieth anniversary of VE-Day (Victory in Europe, 8 May 1995). It was the issue of British prisoners of war and civilian victims of the Japanese military during the last war, especially sufferers in the labour camp. They have been asking for a full apology and financial compensation from Japan and its symbol, the Emperor of Japan on the occasion of his state visit to Britain once and for all. They saw this as the final chance because by now they were very old and many were dying.

Before visiting Japan Blair promised to renew Britain's demand for an apology at the meeting with Hashimoto, on the other hand he made it clear that he would not raise the issue of financial compensation for the sufferings of former prisoners of war and civilian detainees.

At the summit meeting with Ryotaro Hashimoto in Tokyo in early January 1995, Tony Blair and Alastair Campbell, arguably Blair's closest and most influential aide, proposed a solution<sup>2)</sup>: to write a letter in the name of the Japanese Prime Minister, Ryotaro Hashimoto in the Sun, a British tabloid. It was one of the clearest cases of the political communication projects by Blair - Campbell<sup>3)</sup>. According to Nicholas Jones, a BBC political correspondent, it was an opportunity for Campbell "to try his hand at a Sun-style makeover for the Japanese Prime Minister"<sup>4)</sup>. Blair's stay in Tokyo was extended so that the officials of the two governments could discuss the detailed contents and the

style of Ryutaro Hashimoto's letter.

## 2. Ryutaro Hashimoto's Letter

### 2 - 1 **Headlines and Photos**

The Sun is one of the News International's institutions owned by Rupert Murdoch, which includes the Times, Sunday Times, Sun and News of the World. News International "controls combined circulation, which outstrips rival companies and, put together with his television interests, gives Murdoch an unprecedented grip on the British news media"<sup>5)</sup>. The Sun is by far the biggest selling tabloid in the UK mainly and for the working class. Hashimoto wrote a letter to the Sun. It was a "planted article" in popular newspapers, which was increasingly utilised in the British political scene, especially under the Blair government but almost unheard of in Japan<sup>6)</sup>.

The political communication project materialised almost immediately. With photos of Hashimoto and Trevor Kavanagh, its political editor, the front page of the Sun, January 14, 1998 carried a huge headline: "Japan says sorry to the Sun" and a lead: "Japan today makes an unprecedented plea to Sun readers to forgive its atrocities to British prisoners in World War Two"<sup>7)</sup>.

On Page 6, above a big photo of Tony Blair and Ryutaro Hashimoto shaking hands in front of a camera and electronic appliance mega shop in Shinjuku, Tokyo, another headline runs as "Japanese Premier writes for the rising Sun". The rising sun is another way of referring to Japan. Shotoku-taishi, a Royal Prince in ancient Japan coined this phrase in his letter to the Chinese Emperor. By this line the Sun is saying that Japan has some, almost predestined affinity with the best selling British tabloid by fate and by extension with the great British people. It is also making reference to the fact that because of the remarkable achievement in its economy Japan was called "the land of the rising Yen" in the English-speaking world from the late 1980s. It congratulates both Britain and Japan for rising economically and hopes they can further progress in future economic performance if the two countries keep a good relationship.

### 2 - 2 **Hashimoto's Letter: Britain and Japan must go forward together**

The letter signed by Ryutaro Hashimoto starts as follows:

must go forward together”, which is precisely the message Hashimoto's letter wished to get across to the wide readership of the Sun. It can be elaborated:

Let bygones be bygones although there were times Britain and Japan fought and soldiers killed each other, although Japan sided with Hitler and invaded British colonies in South East Asia in WWII. Although British prisoners of War suffered atrocities by Japanese military exactly in the manner as the Hollywood movie, “ Bridge over the Kwai ” depicted, please accept our apology. Japan will be a beneficial and friendly county to Britain forever. Together, we prosper! So please welcome our Emperor and please help make our Emperor's upcoming state visit to your country as an opportunity to celebrate fifty years' friendship after the war and to pledge an everlasting future friendship.

In order to convey this message to the British people and persuade them to welcome Emperor Akihito and his wife, and to prevent an undignified scene in London, Hashimoto calls on Tony Blair seven times in his short letter. Hashimoto is thereby relying on Blair's huge popularity among British voters<sup>8)</sup>. Almost all points that Hashimoto wishes to make in order to bring his argument to a logical conclusion are associated with Tony Blair someway or other. They include:

1. Tony Blair and I are both determined to achieve a more compassionate yet efficient society and take the tough decision required.
2. ... our relations are conducted by not only politicians and diplomats but by real people what Tony Blair has called “ people to people diplomacy ”.
3. On Tony's arrival in Japan, Toyota announced a new deal creating 300 jobs in Wales.
4. ... I made a formal statement to Tony expressing our feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology for the tremendous damage and suffering of that time.
5. Nobody who has seen the welcome given to Tony Blair by the people of Tokyo can fail to realise the strengths of the ties between our countries.
6. I welcome Tony's statement that they (the Japanese Emperor and Empress) would be warmly welcomed by the British people.
7. I am looking forward, after Tony's successful visit here,

to continuing to work with him in the spirit of friendship and co-operation that underlines a relationship I values.

Obviously Tony Blair is the most important keyword in this letter. Hashimoto is trying to boast of his closeness with Tony Blair by venturing to refer to him as Tony. Hashimoto even writes: “ He (Tony Blair) is a new star on the world stage and, whether addressing our top business people or meeting the people of Tokyo, he has made a huge impression which can benefit our relations further ”. We might say the road to friendship between Britain and Japan is paved with glittering images of Tony Blair just as all the streets in Jipang were once believed to be covered with golden slates.

The second most important keyword in this letter is “ people ”, which is used even more often than “ Tony Blair ”, i.e. ten times. One message is Japanese people liked Tony Blair, your beloved Prime Minister. “ Tony Blair ” is liked and admired by Japanese ordinary people as well as Japanese business leaders, diplomats and politicians. He was very well received in Japan and enjoyed all kinds of hospitality and business favours. Another message is Hashimoto cares for ordinary British people's, or what Tony Blair has called 'real people's' understanding of the Anglo-Japanese relationship and British people's welcome to the Japanese Emperor.

### 3. The Sun Says

#### 3 - 1 Kavanagh's Article

In addition to the political communication project by Blair-Campbell there was support from the Sun itself. Hashimoto's letter was accompanied by a shorter article by Sun's political editor, Trevor Kavanagh, who is one of Tony Blair's and Alastair Campbell's preferred journalists. Just before the general election of May 1997, as a result of which Blair returned the Labour Party to power for the first time since 1979, the Sun showed its clear support for a New Labour Government headed by Tony Blair. From then on Blair wrote “ planted articles ”several times in the Sun. This relationship continues even today. On 17 April 2003, in order to reach out to the British people who did not like Bush and Blair's war in Iraq, Blair gave an exclusive interview to Kavanagh in the backyard of No 10 Downing Street. Although Peter Shorthard, editor of the Times Literary Supplement was granted an exclusive access to Tony Blair, it was Prime Minister Tony Blair's first interview since the outbreak of Iraq War<sup>9)</sup>.

Kavanagh started his article on the front page with a lead: "Japan today makes an unprecedented plea to Sun readers to forgive its atrocities to British prisoners in World War Two". This article is intended to be a short introduction to and a convenient summary of Hashimoto's letter for busy, impatient Sun readers. Kavanagh introduces Hashimoto's letter as "his first article for any newspaper in the world" and "an extraordinary personal article" in which Hashimoto admits for the first time that his country caused "tremendous damage and suffering". The accuracy of this introduction is questionable but no doubt it should sound fine as far as Sun readership is concerned. On page 6 the Sun's political editor continues that once again in the Sun, for the readers of the Sun, Hashimoto repeated his admission to Tony Blair of deep remorse and apology in Tokyo. Hashimoto offered Tony Blair a number of new initiatives to heal the wounds of many people with bitter memories. In Kavanagh's opinion, Hashimoto's understanding is important and ground breaking because he understands "This will not bring back the dead", Kavanagh also echoed that Tony Blair was admired by Japanese people and described as "a new star on the world stage" by Hashimoto.

Under a sub headline, "Jobs", Kavanagh emphasises economic and business interests involved in the Anglo-Japan relations. Although a shared commitment to peace and democracy is also reiterated, it is overshadowed by "jobs". In retrospect this part on the vested business interests both in Hashimoto's letter and Kavanagh's article seems to be a main cause of the backfire of the political communication project. Hashimoto's letter lists up the business interests as follows.

1. There are now 60,000 Japanese living in Britain ... contributing to British Business ...
2. More than 250 of our companies have created tens of thousands of jobs in Britain.
3. Each year more than 60,000 our people visit your country.
4. On Tony's arrival ... Toyota announced a new deal creating more than 300 jobs in Wales.
5. He also opened a new British Industry Centre in Yokohama to help British companies work in Japan.
6. We welcome British investment here as we know the British people welcome Japanese investment.

Kavanagh repeats these points and even adds that Japanese investment probably rescue the troubled, £ 785million

Millennium Dome.

Towards the end of the article Kavanagh reveals how Hashimoto's letter came to materialise in this manner, exclusively in the Sun. According to it, Japan's appeal came in "an astonishing series of high level contacts" after Tony Blair's Summit meeting with Hashimoto in Tokyo. Japanese Ministers asked Kavanagh whether the Sun would take a hostile stance to the Japanese Emperor. Kavanagh's reply was that "The answer is for the Premier to address directly to Sun readers". It is said that the first part of summit talks between Blair and Hashimoto was devoted to the problem of whether Hashimoto should write to the Sun or not.

### 3 - 2 Sun's Editorial: We have published many unique articles

The Sun's editorial shows that the Sun's management have anticipated not only the benefit to be created by this collaboration but the risk the political communication project by Blair and Campbell (and agreed by Hashimoto) could incur.

On page 8 of the same issue the Sun put a carefully worked-out leading article under the title of "Pay the Debt". The lead starts with saying that it never has published such an historic article as Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Hashimoto's extraordinary letter. It admits that many people will think it amazing that Hashimoto chose to write in the Sun because in the past the Sun has "often expressed such hostility over Japan's attitude over its war record". Traditionally the Sun was the most influential Tory tabloid and has been completely behind the former prisoners of war and the civilian internees in Japanese labour camps.

Here, in advance the leading article apologises to war veterans and their families if the Sun's decision to print Hashimoto's letter offends them. The Sun is aware it is eating its words printed many times in the paper over the last fifty years and that their editorial decision of this occasion must appear as a betrayal in the eyes of its readers. That is why they believe they have to offer an apology to war veterans and their families in advance. It even says: "Let us assure them it (Sun's decision) has not been an easy decision".

The editorial concedes atrocities the Japanese military caused and sufferings and damages British citizens received in the war by the hands of Japanese are impossible to forgive. It, nonetheless, insists however difficult and however painful it might be, we, British people have to try to forget the Japanese government for the brighter future of our children. But it does

not mean the Sun will stop the calls for compensation. Therefore, the leading article also carries a title: " Pay the debt ". At the same time the Sun insured itself by showing its willingness to listen to its readers. It asked: " Tell us what you think. Write or dictate or fax. Is this apology enough? Has Japan healed the rift or do victims need more? "

However, Hashimoto's letter collaborated by Campbell and the Sun backfired and fuelled the fierce controversy in all kinds of British news media. As soon as Hashimoto's Letter was published in the Sun all the other newspapers, broadsheet, middle-markets and tabloid in all political persuasion joined the debate and covered the development. BBCI, BBCII, ITN and Channel Four produced ambitious programmes.

In Letters to the editor of the Times on 5 May, Chairman of Association of British Civilian Internees - Far East Region wrote:

My Organisation, together with the Japanese Labour Camp Survivors' Association, wrote to the Japanese Ambassador seeking an audience of Emperor...This request was refused...and leaves us no alternative but to demonstrate and protest publicly...Our Queen has been informed that no lack of respect is intended to her...

He even wrote:

Mr Peter Collier suggests that the Emperor could no more be expected to be held accountable for Japan's war crimes than the German President for the crimes of the Third Reich; but Chancellor Willi Brant went on his knees in the Warsaw Ghetto...

The Japanese side did its utmost to make the state visit a success, or at least to prevent it being marred by the demonstration of POWs. On May 3 the Japanese Ambassador wrote a letter to the letters to the editor of the Times. On 12 May in Tokyo Emperor Aikito and Empress Michiko held a press conference on his forthcoming state visit to Britain, inviting many British journalists to the Imperial Palace. The Emperor said, " The war was truly regrettable "and when asked what he thought of the hostility to Japan by former prisoners of war and their family, he answered: " It is important to put oneself in their position and try to grasp how much pain they suffered in their hearts ". The Empress said that she and the Emperor would bear in mind " that even today some people are suffering from painful memories of our relations with Japan. I would like to spend each day of the trip wishing that our bitter, bitter history will never be repeated ".

#### 4. Blair's Letter

##### 4 - 1 Its Appeal

On the front and the second page of 26 May, on the morning of the day the Japanese Emperor and Empress were due to arrive at Heathrow from Japan via Portugal the Sun reported: " Angry war veterans will defy Tony Blair today by snubbing Japan's Emperor Akihito during his controversial state visit ".

The Sun put Tony Blair's letter on page 6 of the same issue. Blair's letter was clearly a follow-up and follow-through of the political communication project of Hashimoto's. It was also a well-meant but desperate intervention on the part of the British government as the local organiser of the state visit. Tony Blair, after all, had invested a great deal of effort in the visit of the Japanese Emperor. On the official visit to Tokyo Blair told Hashimoto that the British people would warmly welcome the Japanese Emperor and Empress. As is discussed above, to make it surer Alastair Campbell even persuaded Ryotaro Hashimoto, the Prime Minister to apologise in the Sun. The Headline says: " Why we must welcome the Emperor of Japan to Britain today ". Under the headline it carries the photocopy of the above-discussed 14's January front page with a caption: " Apology ... Hashimoto says sorry in Sun, Jan 14 "<sup>10</sup>". The article is signed " By the Prime Minister: Tony Blair " with another big photo of Blair and longer than Hashimoto's article. The Subhead says: " Visit is a vital step on the road to peace ". This is a short answer to the question Blair posed himself.

A longer answer is intended to be found when readers follow bold-faced sentences in the main body of Blair's letter, which is one of the devices British tabloids invented for busy, impatient readers. It goes as follows.

1. I belong to the first generation which did not live through the horrors of the Second World War.
2. We must not forget the past or the terrible suffering of our POWs.
3. But I believe it would be wrong for these feelings to dominate our relations with Japan.
4. It is wrong for us to perpetuate this bitterness down the generations.
5. Hashimoto expressed his determination to work for reconciliation between the people of Britain and Japan.
6. He set in place a variety of schemes to do this.
7. This has to be the way forward for the sake of reconciliation, peace and prosperity of Britain and Japan as well as world as a whole.

Blair's message is clear and persuasive so far as this longer answer goes. The key concept of his argument is generation. Blair's generation and his children's generation owe a massive debt to the older generation which includes the former prisoners of war. Blair's generation owes today's democratic, modern Britain, democratic Europe and even democratised, modernised, pacified Japan to the older generation who fought against the tyranny of Nazism and Tennoism and made ultimate sacrifices for liberty and democracy. We should never forget the lessons of an appalling conflict during which millions lost lives. Among those who suffered most were prisoners of war and civilians captured by Japanese. It, however, does not amount to letting the bitter feeling of British POWs run wild and jeopardise the peace and prosperity of future generations. Blair's argument is one of the Burkiens' or at least one of the Whig's, which reminds us of the criticism that Blair is a Conservative rather than a Labour<sup>11)</sup>. However, we should not miss the importance of the concept of generation for Blair, which is not past-oriented but future-oriented. Either way it should have an ample appeal to the eleven million readership of the traditionally Tory downmarket tabloid<sup>12)</sup>.

Blair does not fail to explain to Sun readers that Britain and Japan have their share of international problems to tackle, which includes the threat of Saddam Hussein, rebuilding Bosnia, protecting the environment and seeking multi-lateral nuclear disarmament. Drawing on his recent experiences in Tokyo Blair also tries to teach the ordinary British how passionately Japanese people like all things British including British art and pubs. To show his closeness to Hashimoto, Blair addresses Ryutaro Hashimoto by his nickname, Ryu in the letter, by which Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi later ventured to reciprocate and offended his predecessor Hashimoto when the former Prime Minister visited Koizumi and addressed him by that nickname in the Prime Minister's office.

Blair even explains it is impossible for the Japanese Emperor to make a fresh and explicit apology during his state visit to Britain because the Emperor, just like the Queen, is above the political fray and is bound by protocol what he can say. Blair was aware his letter to the Sun was not enough. Blair also issued a statement through the BBC and other media urging British people to welcome the state visit by the Japanese imperial couple<sup>13)</sup>.

#### 4 - 2 Its Effects

A protest leader was, however, quoted as saying: " Tony Blair is a traitor. He has stabbed us all in the back. If he expects us to call off the demo he has misjudged our fighting spirit. It has made us more determined to show Akihito what we think of him "<sup>14)</sup>.

In 1971 crowds greeted Emperor Hirohito, Akihito's father, who is widely believed to be directly responsible for the last war in Britain, with silence. In other words, they protested silently and in a dignified manner. This time, however, the crowds protested very noisily and in an undignified manner. In this regard Blair's letter and his statements through other media seem to have failed to persuade the British people to welcome the Japanese Emperor and Empress. At least they failed to prevent noisy protests by hundreds of war veterans, civilian detainees, their families and their supporters at almost every place the Japanese Royal Couple visited.

One day before the Sun carried Blair's letter, the Times had put the detailed itinerary of the six day state visit by the Japanese Emperor and Empress under the heading of " Japanese Royal Visit " in the Week's Itinerary section. Therefore, as soon as they arrived in Britain, noisily protesting war veterans and their supporters greeted them at Heathrow airport. At a Wales Castle and at Westminster Abbey groups of noisily protesting war veterans and their families greeted the Japanese Royal Couple.

The biggest and most undignified protest was mounted at the Mall. The itinerary in the Times says at 12.40 of 26 May the Emperor and Empress arrive at the Royal Horse Parade for formal welcome by the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh, followed by an open carriage drive down the Mall to lunch at Buckingham Palace and that the Japanese imperial couple will stay at the Palace for the remainder of their visit<sup>15)</sup>. About two thousands of Japanese nationals who lived in the UK greeted the Royal Couple with national flags and cheers in front of tourists and civilians<sup>16)</sup>. About one thousand protesters gathered there and boos and whistles echoed across the Mall<sup>17)</sup>. There were naked about turns and the shouts: " Go home! ". The Times reported that " some members of the Japanese Royal Family looked surprised and shocked as they rode past in the open carriage ".

What went wrong? In my analysis, it is not only the effect, or rather the lack of a sufficient impact of Blair's letter. In the first place, although the initial political communication project, Hashimoto's letter, Kavanagh's article and the Sun's editorial,

which were proposed, advised and coordinated by Blair and Campbell, were forward looking, they put too much emphasis on the aspects of the Japanese business link with Britain. Emphasis on jobs as well as investments in both sides are a little too much and too concrete. They backfired and stimulated the controversy over the state visit by the Japanese Royal Couple.

In addition to that the Queen's decision to award the Order of the Garter, England's highest order of chivalry to the Emperor of Japan, which was also advised by Prime Minister Tony Blair, further intensified the controversy. It was reported that the Duke of Edinburgh was unhappy with Queen's decision to award the Order of the Garter. He is the patron of the Burma Star Association who served in the Far East in the last war. In 1995 he marked the fiftieth anniversary of VJ-Day by marching down the Mall with the Burma Star Association rather than standing with the Queen. On 13 May Buckingham Palace had to issue a strange statement: "The Duke has not expressed any view, privately or publicly, over the award of the Order of the Garter to the Emperor of Japan"<sup>8</sup>. In hindsight there seems to be another factor: both Blair and Campbell seem to have been overconfident of Blair's standing in Britain as the "people's Prime Minister". After all, it was only eight months since Tony Blair had successfully returned the Labour Party to power for the first time in 18 years by a historic landslide. It had been impossible for John Major, Blair's predecessor on VJ-Day in 1995, but Blair and Campbell thought it could be possible for Tony Blair, the "people's Prime Minister" to realise reconciliation between Britain and Japan once and for all.

However, to urge British people to try to forgive the Japanese for the atrocities for the sake of peace and prosperity for future generations is one thing. But to show a long list of economic benefits from Japan while refusing to raise the issue of the financial compensation of victims of Japanese atrocities in the summit on behalf of the dying generation of the war veterans is quite another. The current and future generations might be happy to enjoy the prosperity as Blair and Campbell had expected, but Hashimoto's letter was too explicit in compiling a long list of "job, job, job!". It might have sounded a little too embarrassing for the ordinary readers to take. Besides, the British people had already known well Japanese investments had created many jobs in the UK by the household names of Sony, Matsushita, Toyota, Honda, Nissan and others and that Japan had been invited to contribute to the construction of the Millennium Dome by Tony Blair. It might be fair to say,

however, that although Hashimoto's letter and Blair's letter virtually written by Campbell failed to call off the demonstration by former prisoners of war, civilian detainees and their families and supporters it succeeded in promoting deeper understanding in both countries by provoking heated discussion all over Britain for more than five months.

In the next study I shall explore the roles of political advisers, Alastair Campbell and his colleagues in Blair's New Labour government and discuss the problems it involved.

## Notes

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