

Order! Order!

The Official Journal of the Association of Former Members of Parliament



WINTER 2022

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SIR MICHAEL HIRST

A short biography



Michael Hirst's interest in diabetes started when his youngest child was diagnosed with Type 1 diabetes at the age of four.



Then a Member of the UK Parliament, he could then readily see how care could be improved for those with diabetes and their carers. His 'eureka moment' came when he was asked to inject an orange with an unwieldy glass syringe, so that he could learn to inject his child; shown a disposable syringe, he could see the immediate advantages for everyone. However, families had to buy these syringes, and he felt that was discriminatory.

Campaigning for the addition of disposable syringes and blood glucose monitoring to be added to the Drug Tariff in the UK, he found strong resistance from the Treasury and Health Department. Finally, he approached Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to explain the problem and suggest solutions. Thanks to her direct intervention, money was found for not only disposable syringes, but soon after, for blood glucose monitoring.

In 2001, he was elected Chair of the Board of Trustees of Diabetes UK and served until early 2006. In 2005, IDF the International Diabetes Federation set up an international steering group to campaign for a United Nations Resolution on Diabetes, and he was asked to serve as deputy chair. The Resolution was finally obtained in December 2006.

In 2006, Michael was elected to the board of IDF, becoming President-Elect in 2009, and taking up the Global Presidency in January 2013 until December 2015. Among the initiatives commenced during that triennium, was the IDF Education Recognition Programme for Professional Education of doctors, nurses and other health professionals.

One of his particular interests as President was the formation of PDGN, the Global Network of Parliamentary Champions for Diabetes. Two successful Global Forums took place in Melbourne and Vancouver, following which PDGN became a self-standing organisation of which he is still Co-Chair.

Michael is a graduate in law, and was a partner in KPMG chartered accountants until his election to Parliament. In 1992, he was knighted for his political and public service.

Since leaving Parliament, Michael has been involved in the cause of Diabetes, initially as the first non-medical Chair of Diabetes UK and, thereafter as the first Scot to be Global President of the International Diabetes Federation, which at that time was the largest health NGO in the world.



THANK YOU, JOHN!

Gordon Banks

John Corrie has had a busy life and now he has decided to take a rest from his position on our UK Executive Committee and as Vice Chair of the Scottish Branch. We wish him well!

JOHN WAS A MEMBER IN WESTMINSTER from 1974–1987 and was an MEP from 1975–79 and 1994–2004. He has a passion for improving democracy and transparency in African politics and sits as a member of the AWEPA Governing Council and is Honorary Life President of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Joint Parliamentary Assembly. So, all in all, on top of his involvement in farming, John has been very busy indeed– he's even chief of the Clan Corrie!

Despite not knowing John till I became an Executive member of the UK Association, it was obvious that we both appreciated having a supportive voice from Scotland. We worked closely in persuading the UK Association of Former Members of Parliament of the virtues in forming a Scottish branch and his voice and support in this was crucial in securing the decision to go ahead with the branch.

Thereafter, in working to get the branch off the ground John's support was important and then as Vice Chair of the branch, John was fundamental in ensuring our meetings and speaking events went well.

In supporting me in my role as Chair of the Scottish branch John has always been available, responsive and considerate in his advice. It's never easy effectively starting an organisation from scratch and it's always best to have multiple minds working on the same project with the same agenda. This was most definitely the case with our Scottish branch, and I can say without fear of contradiction that John and I worked well together.

But John isn't getting away with all the thanks; I must take the opportunity to say a big thank you to his wife Sandra who was always on hand to support John and me as hosts at our after-meeting receptions and was never found wanting in ensuring we had ample refreshments and nibbles.

Our Association is established on a non-party basis and of course this is the same for the Scottish branch. Working with John on the Executive at a UK level and as Vice-Chair of the Scottish branch, I think we have proved perfectly how this aspiration can come to fruition.

I know John will always be at the end of a phone or a computer should I or anyone else need to seek his advice and I have no doubt that once sought his response will be well thought out and of great value.

I thoroughly enjoyed working with John and wish him and Sandra well for the future.



AS YOU MAY KNOW, John Corrie has decided to step down from the Executive Committee and the Scottish branch. The Association wants to thank him for all his hard work and input over the years. On the opposite page, you see that Gordon Banks from the Scottish branch has written a tribute to John's contribution to the growth of the Association in Scotland.

Having lost John from the Executive Committee, we are delighted to be able to welcome Sir Michael Hirst to the Executive.

FOR YOUR DIARY

Please note that the next All Member meeting will take place on **Thursday 8th December at 4pm** in Committee Room 1 in the House of Lords. We are delighted that **Justine Greening** has agreed to be our guest speaker.



The meeting will be followed by the Christmas reception to be held in the River Room in the House of Lords. As in previous years there is a maximum number allowed in the River Room of 80. Depending on the response, partners will be welcome if there are enough places.

Please confirm by email to me at blakelb@parliament.uk if you wish to attend and the name of your partner if attending. Upon receipt of your confirmation I will send you the formal invitation.

A NOTE FROM THE SCOTTISH BRANCH

Gordon Banks,
Chair of the Scottish branch



AS YOU WILL SEE, the Vice-Chair of the Scottish branch has stood down. I am delighted however to let you know that

Sir Michael Hirst has agreed to take over this role.

I am very grateful that Michael (Micky) has agreed to this, and I look forward to working with him.

Other good news is that Lindsay Roy has agreed to take over the vacant role of Scottish branch Secretary and there is no doubt that Micky and Lindsay will be helpful in moving things forward in Scotland.

After the recent political activity, we are trying to arrange a meeting for the branch with the Secretary of State for Scotland – more info to follow.

Gordon.banks@cartmore.com

LEAVING PARLIAMENT

John Austin reports back on a meeting with The Speaker



FOLLOWING PUBLICATION of our report on the issues confronting MPs losing their seat or retiring from the Commons, I was invited to give evidence to the Administration Committee's Inquiry into General Election Planning and Services. We submitted the report as evidence

together with an addendum that I had prepared based upon feedback from our members to that report. The evidence has been published by the Administration Committee at <https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/108273/html/>

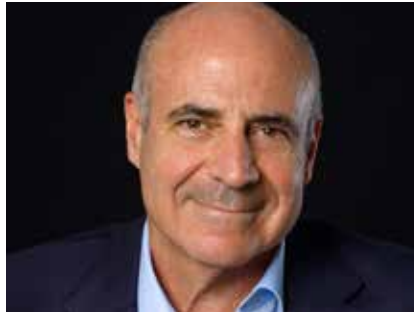
Unfortunately, a meeting with The Speaker, scheduled for July, had to be postponed due to Covid and took place in September. Eric Martlew and Victoria Borwick accompanied me at the meeting together with our Executive Secretary, Laura Blake. The Speaker, Sir Lindsay Hoyle, welcomed our report and had invited staff from the Administration Committee, the Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority (IPSA) and Members Support Services. We had a wide ranging discussion from which it was clear that support services for sitting members, including mental health and wellbeing and occupational health in general, were much improved since the time that most of our members served. There was recognition of the need to improve services for departing MPs including training and support both before and after departure. IPSA representatives and Members Services recognised the need for more flexibility and that the need for

There was recognition of the need to improve services for departing MPs including training and support both before and after departure

support after losing a seat might not be immediate. IPSA had given its own evidence to the Committee which can be seen at <https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/108460/html/>

We also discussed the issues of office accommodation and resources during the winding up period, access to the parliamentary IT network, data preservation and disposal and whether the terms of reference of the House of Commons Members' Fund, to which MPs themselves have contributed, need to be changed. Although not part of our report, a number of our members had expressed concern about the staff of MPs losing or retiring at an election. IPSA was liaising with the House authorities to make their support services more pro-active, joined up and accessible, recognising that making staff redundant was a sensitive time for both former MPs and staff. The Speaker indicated that, whilst MPs should continue to choose their own staff, consideration was being given to the possibility of the House or some other body being the employer.

At the time of writing, the Administration Committee Inquiry has not yet concluded and I have been invited to a formal Session of the Committee to be held later this month. I hope to provide a further update in the Spring Edition of Order Order.



BILL BROWDER THE MAN PUTIN HATES MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE WEST OF UKRAINE

Andy McSmith

You might think that the entire country is united in its support for the embattled people of Ukraine – but there are a few who are keeping their heads down and hoping not to be asked too many questions. They are the lawyers, bankers, PR consultants etc. who have been raking in the money by working for Russian interests in the UK. In the opinion of the guest speaker at the Association’s summer meeting, these people should be made to tell what they know.

Bill Browder has been building a reputation here and across Europe and America as a relentless campaigner, for civil rights, but he is not yet as well-known in British political circles as he is in the Kremlin.

His name is anathema to the thousand or so top oligarchs who have stolen vast sums of money from the Russian people under the protective eye of a deeply corrupt government. That includes Vladimir Putin. There is no-one west of Kyiv whose name Putin spits out with more venom than he reserves for Bill Browder.

In 2018, Putin and Donald Trump had a one-to-one meeting in Helsinki, during

which the American President raised the matter of 12 Russian intelligence officers wanted for allegedly hacking the phones of Hillary Clinton’s campaign team, and Putin offered to hand them over, but said he wanted Bill Browder in return. Having no idea who Bill Browder was, Trump went out and told the media that it was an “incredible offer”.

It was incredible, though not in the sense that Trump meant. For a start, Browder is a British citizen, so it would not have been in Trump’s power to hand him over – except that, by chance, he was on holiday in USA at the time, and for several hair-raising days he feared that Trump might sign an executive order that would have had him bundled off to Russia. Once in Russia, there would be no prospect of him leaving the country alive while Putin is in power.

Browder told this story to a packed meeting in a House of Lords committee room, to an audience so transfixed that the chairman, Eric Martlew, pointed out that – usually for any gathering these days – nobody in the audience checked their phone during the talk, which lasted nearly an hour.

He described how he ran an investment fund that made so much money out of Russia’s newly privatised industries in the 1990s, that Browder’s final act, before pulling out of a country increasingly infected by corruption, was to pay the Russian government \$230 million in corporation tax. That money – which could have been used to pay for hospitals, schools or roads or something of benefit to the Russian people – was then stolen by a network of criminals, who were protected at the highest level. Sergei Magnitsky, a courageous and incorruptible Russian lawyer engaged by Browder, exposed the fraud, for which he was

When Putin had a private meeting with Donald Trump... he asked the US President to extradite Browder to Russia

arrested, tortured and murdered. That was 12 years ago. Browder has devoted the intervening years campaigning to do what he can to make life unpleasant for Magnitsky’s killers, and for other victims of civil rights abuses around the world.

But since Magnitsky’s killers are sheltering under corrupt governments, beyond the reach of international law, the only way to get at them is to make sure they cannot spend or invest the money they have stolen in any of the world’s richest economies. And there is nowhere they like to park their money better than London – which is why Browder campaigned to get a reluctant British government to enact a ‘Magnitsky’ law that bars them from entering the UK or using the UK banking system.

“Parliaments have generally been on my side,” he said – “but civil servants don’t want to rock the boat. We always struggle with the bureaucrats, the ones who don’t want trouble.

“In order to export corruption, you need somebody to import corruption, and who does the importing? – the bankers, lawyers, public relations consultants and the rest. The single largest receiver of Russian dirty money is the UK, but there has not been a single prosecution of anyone in the UK receiving dirty money since Putin came to power.

“They are living in their £10 million Chelsea town houses when their money was made on the backs of the killings and torture that is going on in Russia. They should not be living peacefully.”





'ANGELS FOR UKRAINE'

Brooks Newmark

I started 'Angels for Ukraine' almost on an impulse. However, since the war began, I have now helped evacuate 19,366 women and children to safety from various war zones, especially in the east and the south of the country.

My story began in the first week of the war. I have been doing a doctorate in education at Oxford University and had just finished my fieldwork in Rwanda, where I am analysing education policy from the perspective of policymakers. By way of background, I built a primary

school in Kigali 10 years ago and have an education charity there focussed on teacher training. I was about to take a week's break scuba diving in Mauritius when I spotted an Instagram post by a Latvian friend of mine, Raitis, who was on the border Polish border with Ukraine shuttling people from refugee centres in Tomaszow Lubelski and Korczowa. On an impulse I decided to skip the holiday and to join him.

By the time I arrived in Poland, the refugee centres were overflowing – mainly with thousands of women and children but also a few elderly men. Most had only small bags of belongings with them. Some even brought their pets. They had simply grabbed what they could as the bombs started raining down on them from the Russian invaders. Our initial focus was shuttling people from the Polish border to other capitals in Europe, including Berlin, Paris, Luxembourg, and Riga.

What began as a few days' volunteering

What began as a few days' volunteering swiftly became weeks and then months

swiftly became weeks and then months. While my Latvian friend had to go back to work, I remained and suggested we move into Ukraine. We found three second hand buses in Lithuania, and another Latvian, an old friend of Raitis, Maris, joined me. We based ourselves in Lviv and began shuttling people in our buses for free from Lviv and Kyiv to the Polish border. As the Russians were pushed back from Kyiv, we moved our operation to Vinnytsia and Zaporizhia, which many of the women and children fleeing the Russian slaughter in Mariupol managed to reach. We would collect them and take them to Lviv, in West Ukraine, which was relatively safe, and where they

continued on p.7 ↻





Suppose that the only way out of a war zone is over a minefield: Would anybody cross?

By Brooks Newmark

It's 6.30pm on Sunday 24 July. I am sitting in the back garden of my B&B in Kharkiv listening to the distant "boom boom boom" of Russian grad missiles landing in the east side of the city.

I AM GETTING READY TO EVACUATE 1000 women and children 25 kilometers away from the war zone at a border crossing between the Russian and Ukrainian zones called Pechenihiy. We are due to evacuate them at 9am the next morning, Monday 25th July. My mobile phone rings. The evacuation is off.

I am told by a local government official in Kharkiv that the Ukrainian military, fearing that the Russians will use the evacuees as human shields to send in armoured vehicles, have lain mines over the 500 meters of land between the Russian and Ukrainian checkpoints.

I pause. I am not going to give up on this.

I say there are up to 1000 women and children who are desperate to get out, and we have to do something. I suggest we make a path way through the mines (I saw this once in southern Lebanon 15 years before – another story!). It's a long shot but I ask them to pass the message through to the army. He says he will try to put the request through but it's unlikely and anyway no one will walk through a mine field even with a path. My view is let's at least give them the option. Desperate people will do anything. Determined people will do anything.

At 7.45am the next morning I still have heard nothing back. I tell my team let's go anyway. We inform my contact that we are going to the check point. We all meet at the bus station in Kharkiv: 20 buses, 5 ambulances and an assortment of other vehicles with police, local government officials and a handful of soldiers.

We drive in convoy the 25 kilometres to close to the checkpoint. I meet the local commander. He invited me to go with him to the Ukrainian checkpoint 3 kilometres further up the road. He takes me across the check point and shows me the minefield. They are anti-tank mines I see, and he has amazingly moved them across to one side of the road and created a path. Anti-tank mines are larger than anti-personnel mines and can actually be moved without triggering them.

One can never underestimate the determination and resolve of the Ukrainian people no matter what the risks

I can't believe they actually followed up with my request.

Now the question is how many of the women and children will now try to cross the border – mines notwithstanding. I am optimistic the commander is not. We wait and wait and just after 10am when the Russian checkpoint is opened we begin to see a few women and children walk through the path we have created: two elderly women dragging a small wheely bag behind them, a woman pushing a child in a pram, a young woman with two dogs on a lead, a middle aged women pushing her 79 year old mum in a wheelchair.

By mid-morning, 200 women and children have arrived. They are taken by bus and two of the elderly women by ambulance to Kharkiv to be interviewed and processed. I remain at the border and wait and wait. Then another 200 reach our check point and another and another. They are allowed to cross in groups of 200. By mid-day 1,015 women and children and a few elderly men have left the Russian zone, crossed the mine field and were now in the safety of the Ukrainian controlled territory.

One can never underestimate the determination and resolve of the Ukrainian people no matter what the risks.

I want to thank all my team, the army, the local government officials, the police and of course my bus drivers. This was an amazing team effort.

Slava Ukraini!"



could stay with friends and family in nearby villages. Most of the Ukrainians I came across preferred to stay in their own country. Some who did leave wanted only to go as far as Poland, in the hope that the war would end soon, and they could return home.

As the war shifted from the north to the east so did my operation. Having created four hubs in Lviv, Kyiv, Vinnytsia and Zaporizhia, we set up two more in Dnipro and Kharkiv. The Russians were increasingly targeting civilian areas in the east and driving civilians out of the major cities and towns. Targeting civilians is a war crime yet Russia was doing this daily – and in places like Mariupol, Izyum and Kharkiv, hourly.

By the end of month three I had access to over 16 buses from two national bus companies and several ambulances from the Order of the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem and had moved more than 7,500 mainly women and children to safety. By the end of month five I had moved about 9,200 women and children, including 178 orphans and their support workers from four orphanages. I had also evacuated 311 amputees, again primarily women and children, whom I had airlifted to Germany, where hospitals had the ability to treat trauma patients.

Probably my biggest challenge to date came in mid-July when I received a call from one of our local Government contacts in Kharkiv. Could we help evacuate 1,000 women and children from a Russian controlled area in the east of Kharkiv region? I said yes immediately. But we needed to find more buses and more ambulances. The date was set for Monday 25th July. After several calls we managed to find 20 buses, three

Could we help evacuate 1,000 women and children from a Russian controlled area in the east of Kharkiv region?

ambulances and a handful of vans that we could use as makeshift ambulances.

After several challenges, including avoiding a mortar shell fired at my car on the way to the rendezvous point, and moving 500 meters of anti-tank mines between the Russian and Ukrainian checkpoints (I now know the difference between anti-personnel mine and an anti-tank mine!) we eventually managed to help 1,015 women, children, several pets and a few elderly men get away from Russian occupied eastern Kharkiv Oblast.

As winter approaches and the war shifts between Kharkiv to Kershon we continue to focus our efforts on moving Ukrainian women and children to safety from Russian controlled territory, towns and villages under attack from the Russians and recently liberated Ukrainian territory as many people want to move to the relative safety of western Ukraine.

Like many volunteers in Ukraine, my two partners and I in this mission, which we've called 'Angels for Ukraine', are committed to support Ukraine and the people of Ukraine for as long as it takes.

Slava Ukraini!

Brooks Newmark was MP for Braintree in 2005–15, and Minister for Civil Society. He is currently working doing humanitarian work in Ukraine.



THE CANDID CANDIDATE

Hugo Summerson

Political Incident No. 2

PEOPLE LOVE THEIR PETS, so candidates must love their pets too.

I was a council candidate in the London Borough of Islington in 1994, canvassing round Islington Green one evening. One door I knocked at was opened by a middle-aged lady, who said "Come in, dear. Sit down. Tell me all about it."

Cheered by this friendly reception I sat on her sofa chatting to her, when the door was slowly pushed open and a very fat and furry tortoiseshell cat came in. It walked across the room, tail in air, then sat and looked up at me, purring, its paws treading the carpet.

"Oh, it's Princess Paddypaws!" exclaimed my hostess. "She likes you! She'll sit on your knee! Yes! There she goes! She likes you! A-a-a-h!"

I am allergic to cats, but felt that as long as I could fend off the sneeze that was already growing fast both cat and vote were in the bag. I gingerly stroked Princess Paddypaws, who stretched out on my lap and squirmed.

"She wants you to kiss her!" cried my hostess. "Go on! Kiss her!" There was a note of command in her voice.

Anything for the voters! Eyes watering, I bowed in obeisance over the cat, lips puckered, but before the kiss could be delivered it was overtaken by a huge and horrible sneeze blasting all over Princess Paddypaws, who shot out of my lap and disappeared.

"Oh no!" came the voice. "That was no good, no good at all! The Labour woman did it much more nicely. Off you go!"

"Do I get your vote?" I asked, foolishly, as I departed.

"Do you heck!" she responded.

What does it take to persuade people in Islington to vote Conservative? Not sneezing over their pets would be a good start.

Hugo Summerson was MP for Walthamstow, 1987 1992. Between 1982 and 1994, he stood three times as a Council candidate, and three times as a Parliamentary candidate.

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT AN ORAL PROJECT

John Cockcroft



The History of Parliament Trust and the British Library are certainly doing a national service in making oral recordings of certain ex-MPs lives and, in particular, their experiences of Parliament since 1945.

As one of those interviewed, in late September, I told them about conversations I have had with people I have met, such as Rupert Brooke's girlfriend, Cathleen Nesbitt. I had a chance meeting with Winston Churchill in 1962, when we discussed Dresden. During a cruise to Jamaica in 1961, Evelyn Waugh and I talked about *Brideshead Revisited*.

I have heard Denis Healey talk about the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943; my uncle, John Cockcroft, on Nagasaki; Airey Neave on Margaret Thatcher; William Whitelaw on the Robert Maxwell scandal; and Bill Deedes on the Profumo scandal. I was particularly interested to meet Henry Allingham, aged 110, talking about Ypres, as well as various people of that vintage, and much more recently a friend who was on one of the Kinder Transports in 1939.

My interviewer was interested in my family background: cotton-owning families on both sides, as those mill owners were traditionally liberal, that is non-conformist, and accordingly, not sympathetic to the Conservative Party. I nevertheless became a Conservative MP, after being Economics Editor for the *Daily Telegraph*.

The current project follows the life story model, hoping for at least two sessions or more with each interviewee, with sessions lasting a number of hours. The recordings are lodged in the British Library's sound archive. My experience is that listening to people talking, often long dead, such as my grandfather, is more rewarding than

reading a type-written account of what they said. I hope that the project will choose many relevant people to do further interviews: they have already talked to more than 200 former MPs, but the organisers plan to interview a lot more.

I suggest that any of our readers get in touch with the History of Parliament Trust oral history project and volunteer. A volunteer interviewer will come and talk to the person concerned, about a person's entire life from childhood and, in particular, how and when they went into politics.

This is, of course, a major project in itself, but well worth doing and inherently interesting. I am glad to be involved and to help in a small way. I am waiting for a second visit from the History of Parliament Trust's project representative to talk about my interest in politics, as opposed to other aspects of my life.

Finally, I should mention that the idea goes back to before the Second World War, when Colonel Josiah Wedgwood (MP for Newcastle-Under-Lyme in Staffordshire from 1906) conceived the idea of a History of Parliament. His plan was to compile biographies of all MPs who had sat in Parliament. It is, of course, a research exercise, which can stretch over months, if not years. There is no time limit on the project, which has already gone on for a long time, as academic projects tend to do.

All interviews are deposited in the British Library Archives and some are available online, in particular for research students examining political history. I

I suggest that any of our readers get in touch with the History of Parliament Trust oral history project and volunteer...

commend this exercise to our readers and hope that many more of them will be interviewed in due course. I look forward to hearing of any reaction to the British Library's approach and to this article.

The previous project before the Second World War must have been fascinating. Wedgwood distributed a questionnaire among former MPs who had sat in Parliament from 1885 to 1918. Imagine if they had conducted an oral history interview with Attlee, former Labour Prime Minister and deputy Prime Minister in the Wartime Coalition, talking about the Somme, in his old age, having been a Major in the first world war, and Lord Beverage, talking about poverty amongst other social ills. I am hopeful that they would also have recorded their memoirs.

John Cockcroft was Conservative MP for Nantwich 1974–1979

The History of Parliament Trust oral history project is run in partnership with the British Library. Any readers who are interested in being interviewed are invited to email the project manager Dr Emmeline Ledgerwood who will be happy to provide more information about what is involved. eledgerwood@histparl.ac.uk



Compassion
in Politics

BRINGING COMPASSION TO POLITICS

Matt Hawkins

Nearly every politician enters politics with the goal of making a positive difference. But speak to many former and current MPs and they will say that opportunities can be limited.



The need to adhere to party directives and a fear of the explosive reaction their decisions might

receive in the press or on social media, leave many of our elected representatives feeling drained of autonomy and divorced from their values.

The result, we believe, has been a severe breakdown in political engagement and public confidence. Voters have grown tired of political speak, tribal posturing, and broken promises. They sense that the political environment responds to needs quite different from their own. Some are drawn toward extremist alternatives which, no matter how repellent their views, offer an emotionally charged appeal that the mainstream does not.

Such a context fails us all. No good policies can come from antagonism and inflated conflict. No politician can deliver on their promises if they have limited influence, or none, over the actions they take. No political system can survive without the consent of its voters.

To extricate ourselves from this quagmire we established Compassion in Politics. It's based on a very simple principle: that compassion is a transformative virtue that we should harness. Decades of research have shown that cultivating compassion enables us to attend to suffering, build bridges, and diffuse conflict. It even increases our own happiness and improves wellbeing. But that research also shows that compassion ebbs and flows, depending on context. Compassion can be diluted in environments of conflict, competition, and control. Sound familiar?

Our mission is to reform and rebuild our political system into one which champions the innate human capacity for compassion. Doing so will not only serve the public good – it will improve

the experience of those elected as their representatives.

To achieve this, we have targeted interventions at three levels: providing support to politicians, reforming the environment in which they operate, and creating guardrails to help guide policy-decisions towards compassionate outcomes.

Support is provided through the All-Party Group for Compassionate Politics – a cross-party contingent of MPs and Peers who back and reinforce each other's efforts to reform the culture of politics. Together we are calling, for example, for the introduction of compassion training in parliament, and for the provision of carer, parental, and compassionate leave so that politicians can better balance their professional and personal lives.

This year, the group also produced a detailed report on the working culture in parliament, in conjunction with the Chartered Institute for Personnel and Development and the Speaker's office. It showed that MPs and staff experience excessive conflict, routine abuse, and burnout. The group is using this evidence to push for changes aimed at professionalising work in Westminster and improving the support available, including an independent HR function to oversee staff salaries and wellbeing, and the introduction of a mandatory induction programme for MPs complete with equality and diversity and management coaching.

These changes are aimed at improving the overall experience for politicians and their staff. Doing so will, we believe, create an environment more conducive to compassion. In and of itself this should help to mend some of the wounds in our body politic but more must be done if we are to reconnect politicians with those they serve.

One essential step that must be taken is to re-establish the primacy of honesty

It's based on a very simple principle: that compassion is a transformative virtue that we should harness.

and transparency. The Ministerial Code needs to be put on a statutory footing so that those with the honour of serving in government do so according to the highest possible standards. We need to create a duty of honesty for elected representatives. Such standards already exist for business, health workers, and teachers – professions where the public interest is clearly at stake. There are inevitably going to be debates about how best to enforce and oversee such a duty but we can agree on one thing at least: a process must be created in which elected representatives who knowingly and repeatedly lie can be held to account.

Finally, we believe it is necessary to establish some clear guardrails that guide politicians towards compassion. Political decision-making is chaotic – increasingly so with the advance of globalisation. In this environment it is important to establish – across parties – some basic principles to underpin policy-making. We would like to see all parties come together to agree on guiding values that they can all adhere to, much as parties did in the wake of the Second World War. This should include, at minimum, the principle that no policy or action taken by the government should – at least intentionally – cause harm to those living in the most vulnerable circumstances. It is often said that a society is judged by how it treats its least well off. Let's ensure ours is judged to be decent, fair, and compassionate.

Matt Hawkins is Director of Compassion in Politics, a cross-party organisation working to put compassion at the heart of politics.

Contact: info@compassioninpolitics.com

WHERE ARE YOU NOW?

We asked a selection of ex-colleagues to say what they have been doing since they stood down or lost their seats

NIGEL GRIFFITHS Edinburgh South, 1987–2010



AS I KNOW from my time as Construction Minister, the bane of the construction industry is disposing of excavated subsoils. Currently 6.25 million lorry-loads go to landfill – or ‘landscaping projects’ – to avoid the tax. No wonder residents oppose most new housing developments.

Construction is responsible for 40% of the UK’s carbon outputs,

and 63% of the UK’s waste – 139 million tonnes pa. Worse, dumped soils are replaced from up to c159m tonnes of freshly quarried aggregates. 15 million lorry loads in all.

I set up the Forum for Lower Carbon Construction to promote green change in the sector.

Once in a blue moon, a revolutionary technology comes along. Seb Love’s Construction Innovation Hub in Selby showcases his Ecofill solution, using traditional hydraulic binders – a Coca-Cola mix – to transform soils into solid materials for foundations, roadways and trenches, fully meeting the National Specification Standards for Highways. Seb teamed up with a Tamworth company and built a £250,000 plant that goes from site to site converting excavated soils.

Reusing soils saves 36% to 54% on groundwork costs. HS2 needs 25 million tonnes of aggregates – that’s 2.5 million lorry loads. Reusing soils instead saves £ 300m.

Seb gave evidence to the Rapid Review of Net Zero that Ecofill’s 5-year plan will avoid 16.7 million tonnes going to landfill and eliminate importing 21.3 million tonnes of aggregates to sites – avoiding 4 million lorry journeys, stopping 90,000 tonnes of carbon dioxide entering the atmosphere. This is a practical carbon and cost saver now, long before the technology for hydrogen-fuelled or electric lorries and diggers is deployed at scale.

NORMAN BAKER Lewes, 1997–2015



AFTER THE 2015 TSUNAMI, there wasn’t much interest in employing ex-Lib Dem ministers, and I took about six months to recover, not emotionally but physically. I was exhausted.

I spent a year as MD of The Big Lemon, a Brighton bus company, won lots of contracts, pushing us up from 4th to 2nd

in the city’s pecking order, oversaw the installation of solar panels on the depot roof, and refurbished the drivers’ quarters.

But I couldn’t adjust to going to the same place every day to deal with the same issues. One of the best things about being an MP was that every day was totally different.

So I secured a two and a half days a week position as Director of External Affairs at Campaign for Better Transport, the country’s leading transport charity, where I can use my knowledge from three and a half years as a transport minister, as a hedge against any lull in freelance income.

Happily, there has been no lull. I run courses for DODS on working with ministers, undertake consultancy work, write columns for national and trade media, I am frequently appearing on the small screen, notably as a regular paper reviewer on GB News, and host three music shows weekly on Seahaven FM.

I have had two books published since I left the House. Writing my political memoir, *Against The Grain*, was cathartic. *And What Do You Do? – What The Royal Family Doesn’t Want You To Know*, has sold well and led to TV and radio spin-offs here and around the world. Two more are in the works.

So, like an MP’s work, a nice mixture, but without the casework.

ANDREW TURNER Isle of Wight, 2001–2017



I DIDN’T INTEND TO STAND DOWN in 2017 – like everyone else, I didn’t know there was going to be an election until the (then) PM pulled one out of her hat! Just before my re-selection, I was discussing with sixth-formers whether homosexuality was dangerous. Whilst explaining my personal view, one sixth-former walked out and complained about my

comments. Although a later investigation by the headteacher found I was misquoted, in the pre-election feeding frenzy I was persuaded to stand down.

I still live happily on the Isle of Wight and have found much more time to see people and places both on the Island and further afield – for instance, the V&A and the Colindale Aviation Museum, which I never had time to visit whilst an MP.

Although officially retired, I am busy. I proof-read and help produce a successful local newspaper. Covid was a challenge for everyone, but I read a great deal and enjoyed the beautiful Island countryside, walking two or three hours each day – when it was legal! My love of the Island keeps me busy, including membership of local historical societies and other groups.

Islanders still frequently stop me to discuss current political issues, and I enjoy doing that with much greater freedom to say what I think, whilst not treading on the toes of the current incumbent. I miss colleagues, and have felt for them during difficulties in recent months.

It may not have been my plan, but there is life after Parliament.

NICKY MORGAN

Loughborough, 2010–2019



WHEN I STOOD DOWN from the Commons in the 2019 election, I expected to escape Westminster entirely. However, I didn't get as far as planned since I was asked to join the House of Lords and spend a further two months as the Secretary of State at DCMS.

When I did escape Government, Covid swiftly followed which threw all plans

into disarray. After many conversations with contacts and recruitment consultants I ended up building a portfolio career, to sit alongside my role in the House of Lords. I remain immensely grateful that through the House of Lords I can continue to focus on issues such as the Online Safety Bill and online fraud.

I now chair the Responsible Banking Committee at Santander UK, the Board of the Association of British Insurers and I'm a Non-Executive Director at the Financial Services Compensation Scheme.

I'm also a Director of the Careers & Enterprise Company and on the Boards of the Great Central Railway plc and the Science Museum Group, which the National Railway Museum is part of. Having set up the APPG on Heritage Rail I'm delighted to have continued access to steam trains! Earlier this year I was also asked to chair the UK Commission on Covid Commemoration.

Away from work I've been able to spend less time in London and more time in Leicestershire with my family, which was the principal reason for leaving the Commons and more time running and travelling.

NEIL CARMICHAEL

Stroud, 2010–2017



I LEFT PARLIAMENT, INVOLUNTARILY, in 2017. I was chair of the Education Select Committee, so education has characterised my portfolio career.

I was appointed honorary professor of politics and education at the University of Nottingham and, later, honorary professor of education at the Institute of Education. These

roles provide lecturing opportunities, and have also helped my book on reforming education to respond to the prevailing social and economic challenges.

Today, I have two salaried positions. Firstly, I am chief executive officer of United Kingdom China Education Cooperation (UCEC) and am charged with the three tasks

of developing early years and nurseries in China, promoting modern vocational education in China, developing links between universities and colleges in the UK and China. One major project – delayed as a consequence of Covid – is to create up to three hundred 'family centres' across China.

Second, I am executive chair of the Association of Dental Groups (ADG). The ADG represents 'groups' of dental practices across the whole of the UK; issues at hand include recruitment and retention of dentists, the need to reform the NHS dentistry contract, ensure groups are fully engaged with the necessary agencies and to support dentistry as a whole.

I continue with a range of charity work – including as chair of TalentEd, a Trustee of the Sir Edward Heath Charitable Foundation and a board member of Whole Education. I also operate as a "hobby farmer" in Northumberland.

I remain involved in politics. I fought for a second EU membership referendum, and remain committed to a 'one nation' vision for the UK.

SARAH MCCARTHY-FRY

Portsmouth North, 2005–2010



AS ANY ELECTED MEMBER will know, the election count is always faced with some degree of trepidation. You can never be 100% sure of the outcome, however 'safe' your seat. That is the nature of our democracy, and in 2010 I lost my seat.

For a few months there was an awful limbo period when I realised that for the first time

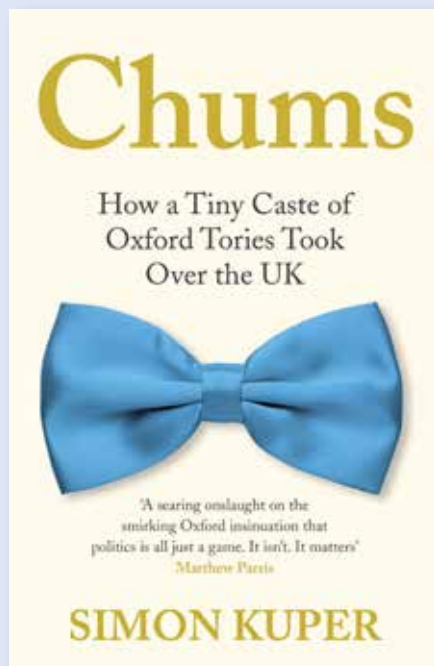
in my working life I was "unemployed" – but you pick yourself up, dust yourself off and see what the future holds. Prior to entering Parliament, I was a Finance professional in the aerospace industry and fortunately I was able to return to that career and spent the next nine years climbing the corporate ladder.

After that I applied to be a Member Nominated Director with the Co-op Group. Co-operatives are democratically owned and controlled by their members, one member one vote. Member Nominated Directors are elected by the members in a contested election.

I was first elected to the Board in May 2019 and in May 2022 I stood again and was re-elected. The election process brought back all the memories of elections during my political career. It's not for the faint hearted. However, it brings a legitimacy which enables me to speak on behalf of the millions of Co-op members.

Being a member of the Co-op Group Board is challenging but extremely rewarding. We are a multi-billion pound organisation with a social purpose. It's my role to ensure we add value to our members and our communities through successful trading – which then gives us the means to pursue our vision of Co-operating for a Fairer World.

A GOOD READ



“YOU WERE SUPPOSED TO BE BRILLIANT WITHOUT EFFORT”

Jerry Hayes

Chums: How a Tiny Caste of Oxford Tories Took Over the UK

By Simon Kuper

Published by Profile

THIS IS A BOOK OF ITS TIME. A fascinating insight how a caste system combining Eton, (for leadership confidence and ruthless charm) and Oxford (for brains) has seamlessly and effortlessly run the country with a dilettante disregard for principles or anything not on the PPE reading list. And why Britain has become a land where young men of wealth and entitlement have slipped almost unnoticed by the wider public into positions of power, in politics, the media and finance. The Oxocracy.

Simon Kuper was there in the eighties, ‘it was still a very British and quite amateurish university, shot through with sexual harassment, dilettantism and sherry....if Johnson, Gove, Hannan, Dominic Cummings and Rees-Mogg had received rejection letters from Oxford aged seventeen, we would probably never have had Brexit’. Anthony Sampson wrote in his updated *Anatomy of Britain* in 1982 that, whereas Etonians had previously been considered ‘confident, stupid and out of touch’, by the eighties they were ‘confident, clever, but still out of touch’. Graham Greene commented that he had only to be sober once a week ‘when I read an essay to my tutor’. And Stephen Hawking, who came up in 1959, found ‘the prevailing attitude....very anti-work. You were supposed either to be brilliant without effort.....to work hard to get a better class of degree was regarded as the mark of a grey man, the worst epithet in the Oxford vocabulary’.

Cheating was built into the system....a Union career was good practice for Westminster.

The whole ethos of the Oxford Union and tutorials was to prepare the masters of the universe for entry to the House of Commons and eventually for high office. ‘It perfected the articulacy that enabled aspiring politicians, barristers, and columnists to argue any case whether they believed it or not. In the Union, a speaker might prepare one side of the debate, and then on the day suddenly have to switch to the other side to replace an opponent who had dropped out’. The Union was where the real dark arts of the political craft were learned. ‘Cheating was built into the system....a Union career was good practice for Westminster. You learned when an ostensible ally was lying to your face, or when you should be lying to his; when it was safe to break a rule, and when it wasn’t’.

Toby Young wrote that it was lucky that the Union existed ‘that in an environment as full of ruthless, sociopathic people.....let us hope with all our hearts that today’s Union Presidents will become tomorrow’s MPs, Cabinet members and Prime Ministers, for then, like today, we will at least know where they are’. Unremarkably, Boris Johnson advised students how to get on in politics. ‘Even if you speak like Cicero, you will never get electoral success without first grasping and mastering the principles of hacking. Assemble a disciplined deluded collection of stooges to get out the vote’. He recommended that lonely girls from the women’s colleges, very often scientists, were particularly useful. Johnson concluded, ‘the tragedy of the stooge is that...he wants so much to believe that his relationship with the candidate is special that he shuts out the truth. The terrible art of the candidate is to coddle the self-deception of the stooge’. If only Tory MPs had read this essay before the leadership elections government would have been more bearable.

Kuper then quotes Rosa Ehrenreicht. ‘Oxford produces scientists who have not read a piece of literature since they were fifteen, language students who know nothing of history, law students who know nothing of politics’. Anne Applebaum wrote about the days when Johnson and the Oxford crew ran *The Spectator*. Any theory that couldn’t be set out in an elegant 800-word column deserved to be dismissed as boring and laughed out of the room. Applebaum wrote, ‘they believed that it was still possible for England to make the rules, whether rules of trade, of economics, of foreign policy, if only their leaders would take the bull by the horns, take the bit between their teeth, if only they would just do it’. Well, it appears that at least Liz Truss learned something at Oxford, even if not very well.

Nevertheless, this revelatory book is optimistic about the future. ‘Oxford today recruits star academics rather than alcoholics without PhDs.....most tutors don’t tolerate articulate bluffers.....someone like Boris just would not get into Oxford’. Perhaps there is some hope for our future politicians after all. In the meantime assume the brace position.

Jerry Hayes was MP for Harlow, 1983–1997

APPEASEMENT, PROMISCUOUS GAY SEX AND RELENTLESS SNOBBERY – THE WORLD OF 'CHIPS' CHANNON

Denis MacShane

Henry 'Chips' Channon. The Diaries 1943–37

Edited by Simon Heffer

Published by Hutchinson

SIMON HEFFER HAS NOW FINISHED HIS EDITING of more than 3000 pages of one of the most remarkable diaries of 20th century politics.

Henry Channon, always known as “Chips”, was a Conservative MP from 1935 until 1958. From a wealthy American family, he migrated first to Paris then London during the Great War. He was charming, erudite, a conversationalist, and like many a would-be politician, he married into the immense wealth of the Guinness family. He thus could afford a mansion in Belgravia, servants, fine wine and food, and a country house near Southend where he became an MP in 1935 until his death in 1958. His 23 year old son Paul Channon succeeded him while still at Oxford, as Southend was a rotten borough in the pocket of the Guinness family.

Channon’s immense wealth allowed him to run a fashionable London salon. He picked up numerous minor European royals, some descended from Queen Victoria. This in turn gave him an introduction to the UK royals, whom he regarded as ineffectually boring dimwits – dismissing the “Edinburghs” as he called Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip as not very interesting at all.

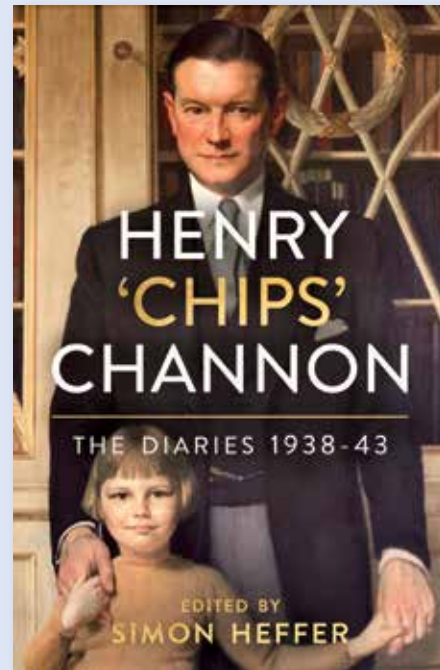
Simon Heffer, a lifelong Tory, was taught English at Cambridge by the then Marxisant professor, Colin MacCabe, who was fired in 1979 from Cambridge for importing French structuralist theory. He taught Heffer how to deconstruct surface meaning to find deeper patterns. This has helped Heffer write some brutal attacks on his Tory Party and demolish leaders like John Major, William Hague or David Cameron.

Now with this final volume of the Channon diaries Heffer has done a great service to political diary writing. However, he exposes his Tory Party in the interwar years and after 1945 as decadent, almost degenerate in the extreme.

Channon wrote of Churchill in 1945 that while much admired “no-one likes him”. Who can like Channon? The relentless snobbery, name dropping, and support for Hitler, Franco and Mussolini expressed by Channon, who was an arch-appeaser, becomes almost too much to take. Even after 1945, Channon is condemning Churchill for attacking Chamberlain’s appeasement over Munich. Channon believed that was a lost moment when Britain should have reached an accommodation with Hitler to protect Europe from Soviet communism.

There is nothing but contempt in Channon’s diaries for what he calls “the Socialists” led by the “little boring man Attlee.” Aneurin Bevan is “savage, vindictive, dramatic and long-winded (who) assailed Gaitskell, insulted the Tories, railed against Attlee.” He wakes up in 1951 “thinking how much I hate all French people”.

In one of his later entries in 1956 Channon includes a filthy anti-semitic poem by Lord Lampton attacking the Astor



Now with this final volume of the Channon diaries Heffer has done a great service to political diary writing.

family, owners of the *Observer*. The paper attacked Anthony Eden’s folly at Suez.

Chips Channon was a sensationally promiscuous gay man. Heffer spares no details of his relentless sexual drive. Sexual appetite and political power go hand in hand as we can see in today’s as well as yesterday’s MPs including occupants of Downing Street, but with Channon the rate and variety of sex with male partners is astonishing. He either was lucky or the police turned a blind eye to ruling elite homosexuality as he never faced the kind of prosecution that destroyed Alan Turing.

He describes examining the penis of the mid-century Old Harrovian playwright Terence, later Sir Terence Rattigan, for gonorrhoeal discharges. There are times when perhaps a little bowdlerisation can be permitted, even if the diary editor is committed to telling all the truth.

There are also descriptions of House of Commons moments. But in the end Channon was only interested in himself.

Channon’s diaries were originally produced in a much shorter expurgated version in 1967, when Channon had been dead less than a decade and his son was a young Tory MP, in due course to be a cabinet minister under Margaret Thatcher. They were edited by the former House of Commons clerk Robert Rhodes James, who became Tory MP for Cambridge.

By bringing out the full version, which Rhodes James cut to 495 pages, Simon Heffer has done Herculean work on a political world now long vanished as Britain has lost its empire, and gay sex is legal. What Channon, an out-and-out racist, would have made of a Tory Indian Prime Minister- even if he too married an heiress and is richer even than Channon – can only be imagined.

Denis MacShane was MP for Rotherham 1994–2012



TWO MEMOIRS FOR THE PRICE OF ONE

Adrian Sanders

Partnership and Politics in a Divided Decade

By Vince Cable and Rachel Smith

Published by Real Press

USUALLY, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OFFERS A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT of one person's life. *Partnership and Politics in a Divided Decade* offers two for the price of one, as Vince Cable and Rachel Smith waltz through the events they were part of between 2010 to 2020.

While the book is clearly set in two parts; the coalition, and life after, Vince and Rachel's contributions follow chronologically. As one might expect from one of the key actors in the 2010–15 Government, Vince Cable dives into his diaries and press cuttings to remind the reader of the Liberal Democrat contribution to the coalition, from the pupil premium to shared parental leave, raising the tax threshold to the triple lock pension, the green investment bank to same sex marriage, but he also defends the unpopular decisions, such as reigning in public spending and raising tuition fees. Rachel's contributions are drawn from a journal she started in 1996. She reveals her past as a political animal, a campaigner against apartheid and for more affordable rural housing, before becoming, in her words "a political wife", following her marriage to Cable.

Between them they offer recollections of the time and events from different perspectives while giving the reader an insight to two different lives, one the high-profile political spokesperson and commentator, later Government Minister and Party Leader, the other a farmer juggling support for her husband while worrying about Blue Tongue vaccinations and family commitments. The immediate period after the

Between them they offer recollections of the time and events from different perspectives while giving the reader an insight to two different lives

2010 General Election attracts some detail from both Vince and Rachel as they express their shared concerns about a coalition with the Conservatives. Vince confirms what others have written about when chronicling the days that led to the coalition being formed, that Nick Clegg wasn't keen to negotiate with Labour until Gordon Brown resigned as PM. Preliminary talks did take place, but did not progress with Vince noting how three of Labour's five-strong team were not interested. This appears crucial in turning Cable's concerns about an agreement with the Tories, into a recommendation to colleagues to accept the arithmetic and help form a stable Government at a time of economic emergency.

Vince suggests an unhappiness that while he had important work as the Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills (BIS), he was not at the centre of coalition decision making. He describes how he felt Clegg and Cameron wanted him on board, but not on the bridge. Nevertheless, he makes clear his admiration and respect for Nick Clegg and understanding of the difficult position he has got himself and his Party in. Vince records the successes of the Government, many of them in his department creating and saving jobs, particularly in the car industry, while explaining, often in detail, where things went wrong or not to plan. Despite the daily challenges, press sensationalism, and constant criticism from inside and outside the Coalition, this was a very stable Government compared to what was to follow.

While Rachel's thoughts often mirror those of her husband, her experiences never quite match the glamour enjoyed by Vince. Watching from the side as he enjoys participating in Strictly Come Dancing, she reveals the essential support a spouse can give, such as sorting out a spare tyre following a blow out on the way to a Party event where Vince has to deliver a speech. There's little respite after leaving office at the invitation of the electorate or when returning in 2017 to take on the Leadership of the Party.

Throughout the book Vince and Rachel reveal their political outlook on events with the background and detail provided by one, and personal observations about people and places recorded by the other. Indeed, it is Rachel's remarks on Royals and politicians from home and overseas that are a treat. Describing the Duke of Kent as an old waxwork, and Tony Blair as a perma-tanned ghost of his former self at a Banquet for President Obama. But she also covers the stresses and strains she can see her husband coping with as he jets around the world on behalf of the country and around the UK delivering speeches and often having to deliver a government line he only half-agrees with. This combination works well, makes for a more interesting and colourful background to the dry and serious machinations of political events, and certainly confirms what a great team they are and how important good partnerships are in life as well as politics.

Adrian Sanders was MP for Torbay, 1997–2015

CATALOGUING THE DESTRUCTION OF HONG KONG

Peter Heaton-Jones

The Hong Kong Diaries
by Chris Patten

Published by Penguin

ON THE NIGHT OF THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTION, fuelled by Mars bars and full fat Coke, I was presenting an all-night results programme on the wireless. Hardly anyone had expected anything other than a Labour victory. But as the numbers started trickling in, it was clear something was up. The Tories were holding on to seats which Neil Kinnock needed to win. 'They're outliers', said my studio guest, 'Labour will start picking up gains later'. He was wrong. All the 'experts' were wrong. By the early hours, it was becoming clear that John Major had pulled off the most unlikely of election triumphs.

Except, it wasn't John Wot Won It. It was Chris.

As party chairman, Chris Patten had masterminded the campaign which saw the Conservatives receive the most votes ever at a UK general election. And yet...well, you know what comes next.

That night is the starting point of *The Hong Kong Diaries*, published this summer to mark the 25th anniversary of the handover of the colony to China. Patten begins by recalling a conversation he had with Major just before polling day, predicting that the Tories would win but he would lose his own seat. As so often in his career, Patten's instincts were correct. The constituency of Bath was snatched from his grasp by the Liberal Democrats – 'because of tactical voting by Labour', he says. Major was back at Number Ten, but Patten – apparently lined up by the PM to be his Chancellor – was suddenly out of a job.

The two men met twice the next day to discuss Patten's future. Major 'ran through all the options that faced me', Patten recalls, 'adding the possibility of the governorship of Hong Kong. Almost the moment that he mentioned it, this seemed to me the best and most exciting of all the possible choices.'

And so begins the five years chronicled so wittily, insightfully and mischievously in these pages by Our Last Man in Hong Kong.

This is a book of two halves. Or rather, one long section (the diaries themselves) followed by a much shorter essay written recently as an afterword, in which Patten gives his views on events since his departure in 1997. Spoiler alert: its title is 'The Destruction of Hong Kong'.

Patten is angry. 'However badly China behaves, we do not want to return to the Cold War years', he writes, 'but Chinese communist leaders sometimes behave as though that is exactly what they want'. And there's more. 'No one can now pretend that they don't understand the reality of Chinese communism, and no one can surely base their approach to China on the Cradock proposition that, while the Chinese leadership may be thugs, they are men of their word'.



Patten is angry. 'However badly China behaves, we do not want to return to the Cold War years', he writes.

The Cradock referred to here is Percy Cradock, the former UK ambassador to China. He is one of the many dramatis personae who are on the receiving end of some pretty stinging acid drops which Patten scatters throughout the journals. Cradock, he says, was 'clever, conceited, acerbic'. Business leaders are described variously as 'creeps and toadies'; one company in particular he says is 'kowtowing' its way 'incompetently to disaster'. As for the Chinese officials, he sums them up with the delicious phrase, 'what a bunch we have to deal with'.

The intricacies of politics, diplomacy and international relations are nicely balanced in the journals by revealing vignettes of family life for the Pattens. Even the two dogs, Whisky and Soda, have prominent walk-on parts. We're treated to glimpses of life inside Government House, as well as at Fanling, the weekend retreat, and on board the *Lady Maurine* – a cruiser which, Patten observes, 'went with the job – thanks be'. The more Patten reveals about the trappings of office – not only the physical assets, but the housekeeper, valet and extended entourage – the more a picture emerges of colonial rule which feels, well, very much of its time, let's say.

Otherwise, Patten is self-deprecating and very aware of his own limitations – or rather, those of the role he has been asked to fulfil. This builds and amplifies as handover day moves ever closer. 'We – I – really will start to look more and more irrelevant', he writes. 'The days will be loud with the slap of coats turning. People will question the point of making a fuss about anything anymore'.

As with Patten's prediction on the outcome of the '92 election, it was he who foresaw what was to come for Hong Kong more presciently than almost anybody else.

Peter Heaton-Jones was MP for North Devon, 2015–19

ONE OF THE REAL PIONEERS

Fiona Mactaggart

Edith Summerskill: The life and times of a pioneering feminist MP

By Mary Honeyball

Published by Bloomsbury



IN 1997, 101 women labour MPs celebrated what we felt was a breakthrough for women who aspired to be MPs. But Edith Summerskill was one of the real pioneers. Elected before the second world war she faced down the misogyny of other MPs and consistently championed the cause of women during over 40 years in parliament.

Mary Honeyball's scholarly book brings this strong woman to life. The late Ian Mikado MP summed her up: "she would never agree to differ".

Mary describes Edith as bossy,

though I feel that it's a gendered word designed to diminish strong women. Edith was one of the first women to train as a doctor she married fellow student Jeffrey Samuel, although never took his name, had two children and got elected to local government all by her early 30s. In 1934 at the age of 33 she was selected to stand for Labour in a by election in the then safe Conservative seat of Putney. She lost but doubled the Labour vote and was swiftly selected for Bury, also a Conservative seat. Here she faced organised religion opposing her, priests advised congregants from the pulpit to vote against her because of her support for birth control.

She wouldn't change her stance. It was an issue she felt strongly about, especially because as a doctor she knew how many poor women suffered serious health consequences of too many pregnancies. At that time an infant in Jarrow was more than twice as likely to die in infancy as one in a more prosperous place. This gap has shrunk, but it's still shockingly there nearly a century later.

When she was later selected for Fulham West she persuaded the local catholic priest to refrain from such an intervention before accepting the nomination. She won Fulham West in a by election in 1938 joining 11 other women in the House, only two of whom were Labour.

As an MP she served on the woman power committee. Reading that I wondered why it didn't still exist when I was in parliament. To my disappointment I discovered it wasn't to help women into power but to consider how women could be employed in the war effort, and – unsurprisingly for anything focused on women – it did not have full status as a parliamentary committee.

In the 21 years she served as an MP, and following that in the upper house, she focused on the needs of women, from the cost of living to rights within marriage. Mary claims it was not until Harriet Harman came into the house that there was a successor to her championship. I would insert Jo Richardson in that list, who unlike Edith and Harriet never served in Government but who was a doughty fighter for women.

This book has increased my admiration of Dr Edith, and provokes admiration of its author Mary Honeyball who has amassed a great deal of evidence about the achievements and life of this feminist pioneer.

Fiona Mactaggart was MP for Slough, 1997–2017

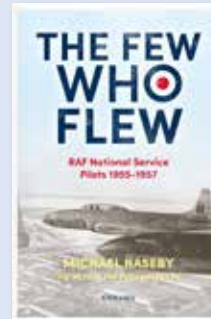
FLYING HIGH

Lord Lexden

The Few Who Flew: RAF National Service Pilots 1955–1957

By Michael Naseby

Published by Unicorn



IN THE SUMMER OF 1955 the 18-year-old Michael Morris, future Conservative MP and peer (as Lord Naseby), visited his parents who were working in Pakistan. In just a few weeks he learnt to fly with sufficient proficiency to go solo. He returned home in September with a glowing testimonial from the Chief Instructor of the Lahore Flying Club. "I consider

his aptitude for flying markedly above the average and should he choose, I am sure he would have a very promising career in aviation."

Two years' National Service were about to start. He had applied to join the Royal Artillery, but on reporting for duty he immediately said that the RAF was now his choice, swiftly overcoming objections through his persistence and charm. Seven months later he was in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, as part of a select group from NATO countries, for intense training as a pilot by the Royal Canadian Air Force. He relished the opportunities, the adventure and the friendships that his good fortune and ability brought him in this remote place in the Prairies, where Al Capone had once found refuge from the FBI.

The high point of his National Service career came at the beginning of 1957 at another Canadian air base in freezing Manitoba. After intense training on one of the best front-line jet fighters in the world, he was told: "You are ready for solo. You know what to do for the next one hour 15 minutes—Good luck." A few days later he flew in formation for the first time. He writes: "It was a brilliant day for flying with gorgeous sunlight which, as we banked our aircraft, flashed off our silver wings."

His great Canadian adventure ended in March 1957. "My logbook records that I flew a total of 287 hours in the skies over snow-covered northern Canada, of which 120 hours were solo. What a thrill and privilege for any young man." This captivating book makes clear that he enjoyed every single moment. It sets his own career in the wider context of the work of National Service pilots in Britain and Canada. Written with the panache appropriate to its subject, it brings to light an almost unknown episode in aviation history in detail, thanks to his own prodigious memory, the recollections of lifelong friends and researches in air force archives.

Michael Naseby was offered a permanent RAF commission. He would undoubtedly have risen to a very high rank. He concludes: "My life would now take a very different route but flying would always remain a very special part of it." Aviation is one of the many subjects on which he speaks in the Lords, confident that low carbon air travel will be achieved.

Alistair Cooke (Lord Lexden) is a former official historian of the Conservative Party



NEWS FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTREACH TRUST

An update from the Chair, John Austin

AGM

The Trust was pleased to have been able to hold an in-person Annual Meeting earlier this year when Trustees and Committee Members were elected for 2022–23. We were sorry to lose Committee member, John Corrie, who had decided to stand down and who had been very useful to the Trust with his international contacts but we were pleased to welcome Dr Tania Mathias to our committee.

Future Activity

We have a series of events planned for November/December with the Parliamentary Studies students at Exeter University with the following speakers: Adrian Sanders (in person) on Whips and Rebels, Sir David Hanson (online) on Codes of Conduct for MPs and Ministers, and Debra Shipley (online) on How Backbenchers can make a difference. A further, larger in-person event with Sir Vince Cable for all the Politics and International Relations students is planned. We will also be renewing our link with Westminster University in December, with Helen Jones as a guest speaker on the Blair/Brown years, and with Brunel University in November, when Tom Levitt will be talking about Accountability to Parliament.



A new contact has been established with Nottingham University and, in November, Ian Lucas will be speaking about the work of Select Committees. We have also been approached by the Collyer's 6th form College in Horsham where Sir Vince Cable will be talking, in November, about careers in Parliament and politics. Further sessions with other speakers are being planned.

We continue to work with the Edinburgh Political Union at Edinburgh University and sessions have been

arranged for November/December with former MEP Julie Ward (in person) on the rise of the far right, Sir Hugh Bayley (in person) on UK Aid to developing countries. There is also another session planned with Sir Vince Cable on Politics and the Environment.

A session on electoral reform with Dr Edmund Marshall, which was postponed last year, was held on line on 24 October.

Speakers4Schools

We continue to work with Speakers for Schools and during the past academic year Tom Levitt spoke in person to students at Garth Hill College in Bracknell Forest; Sir Vince Cable, in person to Rivers Academy in Hounslow and Bridget Prentice spoke online to 470 Key Stage 3 students from multiple schools.

In September Dr Tania Mathias attended the launch of Speakers for Schools' "Work Experience for All Campaign". Their report was presented to each of the Party Conferences and was due to be published this autumn.

Tania Mathias reports:



"The campaign calls for mandatory work experience for all students in schools and colleges. At the launch, chaired by Damian Reece of Instinctif Partners, were panellists Andrew Law, Chair of Speakers for Schools; Bridget Phillipson – Shadow Secretary of State for Education and MP for Houston and Sunderland; The Rt Hon Esther McVey – MP for Tatton and social mobility champion; and Sasha Morgan – Director, Social Mobility Commission.

"The background to this campaign is that Speakers for Schools were concerned that work experience had been present in the school curriculum until 2012 – when the Coalition government removed the

statutory duty for schools – and since then the provision has not been universal. Speakers for Schools is campaigning for "high-quality work experience, regardless of networks and location." The campaign is based on research that Speakers for Schools commissioned: research done by YouGov based on interviews with 2,000, 18 to 30 year olds, about their work experience and their current economic situation. The results show links to future work data: for example, for each additional work experience (3 or more is suggested) young people benefit from a 3.5% wage increase, equating to £1,088 per year (based on average salary of the sample); attending work experience reduces the probability of a young person becoming NEET (Not in Education Employment or Training).

"At the launch Q & A all agreed that high quality work experience is a positive but there were differing views about whether it should be mandatory, who should be responsible for it, and who should cover the costs of the organising. Bridget Phillipson MP highlighted Labour's position that funding for this work experience could come from Labour's policy to abolish the charitable status for private schools. Esther McVey MP cited existing good practice already happening and mentioned her own charity that she has set up with schools and businesses. Others feared that making something mandatory would make it a tick box exercise. The question of whether legislation is needed was challenged – it was pointed out that Ofsted criteria can be a powerful incentive. The Chair of Speakers for Schools highlighted that the post-COVID hybrid working culture has made it easier to have work experiences: an example was given by Sasha Morgan – a photo shoot done by a magazine was happening outside the UK and was followed virtually by work experience students who were able to do a project on the photo shoot also virtually.

"The campaign will undoubtedly encourage policy ideas about work experience and career development for current students who are likely to have several careers and need skills for some jobs that do not yet exist."

Information about the campaign can be found online at speakersforschools.org

The Trustees and Committee for 2022–2023 are as follows:

Trustees

John Austin (Chair)
 Keith Best (Secretary)
 Sarah McCarthy-Fry (Treasurer)
 Dr Edmund Marshall (Vice-chair)
 Michael Meadowcroft (Vice-chair)

Additional Committee Members

Hilton Dawson
 Huw Edwards
 Nigel Griffiths
 Sylvia Heal
 Helen Jones
 Tom Levitt
 Tania Mathias
 Adrian Sanders

The Trust has 50 members who have volunteered to speak to universities, colleges and schools but is keen to expand its pool of speakers. During Covid most of our activities have been online when location of speakers has not been an issue but as we return to more in-person talks we could benefit from a wider geographic spread of speakers.

If any Association Members would like to volunteer, please contact me at admin@parlyout-reach.org.uk.



TRIBUTES

JIM SHERIDAN

24 November 1952–23 September 2022
 Labour MP for West Renfrewshire, 2001–05; Paisley and Renfrewshire North, 2005–15

Remembered by Ian Davison



JIM SHERIDAN was a working-class lad, blacklisted in his youth, who went on to be a shop-steward and Convenor, a Councillor and an MP, but who never lost his commitment to working class politics and activism.

Born and brought up in Drumchapel, a housing scheme in Glasgow once described as “a desert

wi’ windaes”, he worked in the shipyards and as a printer before being blacklisted for his trade union activities. Only after three long, impoverished and soul-destroying years was his union able to get him a start with Barr and Stroud (later Thales). Here he became a shop steward and TGWU Convenor.

After a spell as a Councillor in Renfrewshire he was elected as MP for Renfrewshire West in 2001 and then for Paisley and Renfrewshire North in 2005 and 2010.

In Parliament he served as a PPS, a member of the Chairman’s Panel and played for the football team, with a style best described as “robust”. However, as well as constituency work, which he relished, his main focus was employment and trade union issues and he was proud of having been the Chair of Unite.

He thrived in this environment, feeling able to make a real and positive contribution to the lives of those who needed support. Occupational Health, particularly asbestosis, were big campaigns, and he helped achieve much success and considerable compensation. His lasting legislative achievement was the Gangmasters Licensing Act 2004, tackling the exploitation of

vulnerable workers by unscrupulous employers.

But for Jim it was never enough – there was always another injustice to be tackled. He was the personification of trade unionism in politics, working endlessly to support workers in struggle and gained a respect way beyond the usual suspects for his passion and devotion to the needs of ordinary working people.

But then our leadership gave us the Great Disaster of 2015, when all but one of Scotland’s Labour MPs were retired by public demand. Jim took a break from politics before returning to being a Councillor, for a time serving as Deputy leader. But the conflict-rich environment proved too much and he left in 2022.

Jim never had the serenity to accept the things he couldn’t change. His frustration sometimes got the better of him and would bring on a rant. Thus in Westminster a number of his political friends called him ‘Mr Grumpy’. But he could then laugh with us at himself and, temporarily, be reconciled.

These frustrations were to his credit; throughout his life he never chose the easy road, or limited his ambition, not for himself, but on behalf of the folk from whence he came.

He quit the Labour Party earlier this year and his parting statement encapsulated his perspective:

“My politics have never left me. I believe as much in a fairer world today as when I entered the Party as a young socialist. Unfortunately, today’s politics is about personal ambition, using gimmicks and sound bites without any passion or commitment to seriously challenging poverty, young or old, national or international”.

He leaves a wife, Jean, a son, Alan, a daughter, Joanne and grandchildren Kacey and Kyran.

The Labour Movement is poorer for his passing

Ian Davidson was MP for Glasgow Govan, Glasgow Pollok and Glasgow South West 1992–2015

DAVID TRIMBLE

15 October 1944–25 July 2022

Ulster Unionist MP for Upper Bann, 1990–2005

Remembered by Paul Murphy

UK Parliament



DAVID TRIMBLE was elected to the House of Commons in 1990, and, although I had been an MP for three years, I didn't really know him until I became a member of Mo Mowlam's Opposition Northern Ireland team in 1995. I had a number of discussions with him but my relationship with him dates from 1997, when I became Minister for

Political Development in Northern Ireland.

We were friends for a quarter of a century and I was very saddened when he died earlier this year. For nearly two years, we met at least twice weekly, since this was the time of the making of the Good Friday Agreement. They were very difficult days, often deeply frustrating, and involving a huge amount of detail. Balancing the wishes of two very divided communities was no easy task, but as David was the leader of unionism at the time his involvement was critical to success.

He was extremely committed to his role as the voice of Northern Ireland unionists, and tireless in negotiating for them, and could be very determined, and even prickly, at the talks but he was also conscious of the other side of the argument. He was no bigot and he had a keen sense of history. I think he would sometimes have preferred to have read history rather than law at university.

Mo would send me (the Catholic!) to deal with the Protestant,

but I never detected a hint of anti-Catholicism in him. Our personal chemistry was first class. I never once quarrelled with him, although we often disagreed. When we did, we would pause for half an hour and talk about our mutual interest in classical music, especially opera and British choral music.

When he became First Minister, we visited the EU in Brussels and travelled to Germany together, with Seamus Mallon, the SDLP Deputy First Minister. He introduced me to German red wine during our travels down the Rhine!

Later, in 2002, when I became Northern Ireland Secretary, the political landscape had changed dramatically. The Assembly and Executive were suspended, he was no longer First Minister, and the DUP was gaining ground. He lost his seat in 2002, eventually going to the Lords.

It was a sad outcome, but he had done his job brilliantly. He was an architect of the Agreement, he did bring the communities together, he did ensure a majority of unionists voted for the Agreement in the subsequent referendum. He and John Hume both richly deserved the Nobel Peace Prize. Without him, I very much doubt we would have made progress in 1998.

David was very active in the House of Lords and, having joined the Conservatives, would have been a minister if the Tories had won an outright majority under David Cameron. He made very useful contributions on Northern Ireland and visited many countries, especially Israel, promoting peace.

His rather harsh exterior hid a very intelligent, amusing and cultivated man. In some ways, he was quite shy. I believe he was a very fine man and history will judge him well.

Lord Murphy was Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 2002–05

GILES RADICE

4 October 1936–25 August 2022

Labour MP for Chester-le-Street, 1973–83 & North Durham, 1983–2001

Remembered by George Robertson of Port Ellen

UK Parliament



LORD RADICE was one of the nicest men in politics, but also, quietly, one of the most effective. His seminal Fabian pamphlet *Southern Discomfort* in 1992 broke through the fog of conventional wisdom on why Labour kept losing. He pointed out that the south could be won only by addressing the reservations on Labour's economic competence

among white collar and skilled workers.

If New Labour started anywhere, it was with Giles' brutal analysis. Small wonder that Tony Blair saluted the passing of "one of the unsung heroes of Labour's long march back to power".

His distinguished public life is well known: Winchester College and the Coldstream Guards (somewhat rare on Labour benches); a Labour MP from 1973 to 2001; shadow education secretary; chairing the Fabian Society; the influential Treasury Select Committee from 1997 to 2001, and the Lords Economic Sub-Committee.

He was the author of 16 books, including a revealing diary of his political years, the husband of the remarkable and crucially supportive Lisanne, and father to four attentive daughters. His latest book *Labour's Civil War: How infighting has kept the*

left from power provides a unique insight into how his party can regain power. Those searching after a radical but practical offering should grab a copy.

In the 60s, Giles was head of the GMB union's research department. This was not just a stepping stone to a safe Labour seat: he profoundly believed in trade unions and their role in society. And he was a great talent spotter. Three members of the House of Lords got their start at the GMB: Dianne Hayter and David Lipsey at Esher, and myself in Glasgow – all brought in to swell the back-up force for one of Britain's biggest and most far-sighted unions.

Giles was tenacious, loyal, and very brave. That showed during the bruising Labour civil war after Thatcher's victory in 1979. To be on the centre right in Labour then was not comfortable. To chair the Manifesto Group of Centre Right Labour MPs, as Giles did, was to draw flak from both sides.

On one infamous evening, Giles, Ken Weech, the MP for Ipswich, and I went to persuade an old friend, Bill Rogers, not to leave for the SDP. The vitriol heaped on Giles and Ken was gut wrenching. But Giles faced down the SDP, just as he faced down attempts by the far-left Militant Tendency to deselect him in Chester-le-Street. He stayed, he fought on. He organised Denis Healey's deputy leadership campaign in 1981. By a tiny, but party-saving margin, Denis defeated Tony Benn.

Behind Giles's calm intellectual exterior there was a powerful, practical politician who leaves a formidable legacy. And not a few blunt lessons for the rest of us.

Lord Robertson of Port Ellen was MP for Hamilton, 1978–1997 & Hamilton South 1997–99



WORKING WITH THE US FORMER MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Laura Blake

The Association has been given a rare opportunity to work with a parallel organisation, the Former Members of Congress Association, in the US. The British American Parliamentary Group introduced us to an initiative called “Parliament to the People” run by the American Trust for the British Library and co-sponsored by the Kluge Center at the Library of Congress.

This initiative brings together two former MPs from opposing parties and two former members of Congress, one Republican and one Democrat to join in moderated dialogue. The conversation emphasis will be on lived experience of being an elected official in two different legislative systems, with topics including differences and similarities between the two models. The conversation should avoid political talking points or questions about specific party-line policies, but will instead think about the bigger picture of decision making on behalf of constituents when faced with questions of re-election, major world upheavals or economic distress. All very topical issues.

The audience for these discussions would be undergraduates, graduates, and high school students, as well as individuals with transatlantic interests. In addition to a live event at the Library of Congress, the discussion would be live-streamed, recorded and timed to coincide with the conclusion of relevant US and UK curricula.

Speakers should have a self-selected desire to engage with questions of both a specialised and general nature from a mixed-age audience and to engage in conversations that avoid political talking points. This is open to all our members who at one time were officially elected MPs.

Travel, accommodation and food and drink costs will be covered. There also will be a small honorarium payment to each speaker.

The expectation is that the programme will be repeated either annually or bi-annually.

If you are interested in participating in this programme, can I ask you to notify me on blakelb@parliament.uk please with your contact details, a short bio identifying:

- ➔ Any committee or background information that would indicate interest or knowledge in US-UK politics, or the US political system.
- ➔ Any background or interest in working with school children, students or experience with outreach to younger adults.
- ➔ Any demonstrable interest or notable experience in cross-party collaborative work.

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