

Order! Order!

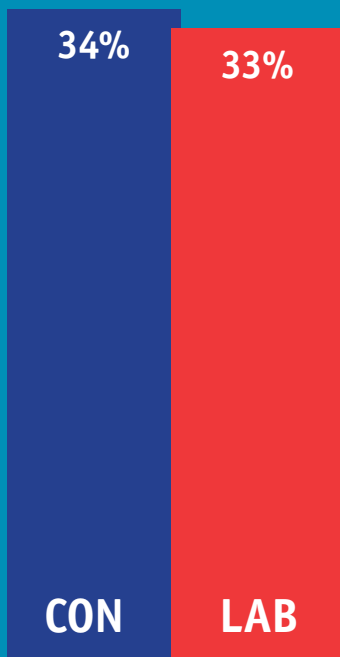
The Official Journal of the Association of Former Members of Parliament



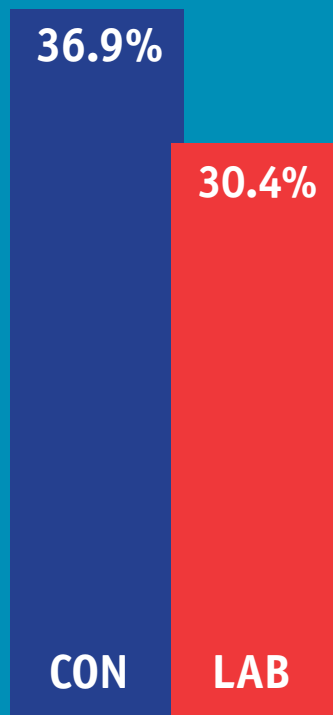
WINTER 2015

ELECTION 2015

Poll of Polls



Result



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FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Our new Executive Committee is now up and running. Our newly elected Chairman, Elizabeth Peacock writes:

IT IS A GREAT HONOUR to be elected Chairman of the Association of Former Members of Parliament which has a growing importance on the Westminster scene. I thank all those who put themselves forward for election and for the interest of those who supported the Association with their votes. This support confirms the vibrant state of the Association which, in addition, to its basic role of representing the interests of our members is developing a useful service to Parliament.

Our all-party membership is currently a very healthy 442. Our Association has a clearly defined role to make the wide ranging experience gained by Members of Parliament during their active years available to the government of the day and the nation.

The Association has developed an Outreach programme to link schools, colleges and universities with Westminster to further the understanding of British parliamentary democracy. This is being achieved by our members making visits to lead non-party political discussion with young people on the work of government, MPs and the day to day running of Parliament itself.

Additionally, through our recently established charitable Parliamentary Outreach Trust, members from across the political spectrum are available to advise governments on aspects of democracy and the workings of an established legislature. Members have taken part in projects in countries such as Uganda, Libya, South Sudan and Oman.

Furthermore, and somewhat unexpectedly, we have become a focal point of contact at Westminster for writers, researchers and the media seeking information on wide-ranging topics with particular reference to the work of Parliament and the views of former members.

My objective, as I take on the Chairmanship is, together with our Executive Committee and our Trust, to extend the work of the Outreach programme which is likely to need the assistance of more of our members. This will use the knowledge of our widely experienced members to meet the needs of governments and media.

The newly elected Executive met on the 15th October when we co-opted four members. We are seeking to co-opt two further members in accordance with our Constitution which requires political, regional and gender balance. I would like to welcome Ann Cryer who was duly elected to



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the Executive in the recent ballot. I also welcome those who have now been co-opted, Gordon Banks, Nicholas Bennett, Syd Rapson and Adrian Sanders.

As the new Executive Committee takes up its task we should say thank you to Bowen Wells who has now retired, but who is happy to be the point of contact for information about the European Association of former MPs. He writes in this edition about their recent meeting in Vienna. We also thank Sir Graham Bright for his extensive work as Chairman and we are very pleased that he has agreed to be our Treasurer which is such an important role. We should particularly thank past member of the Executive, Lord Ted Graham, for all he has done on behalf of the Association particularly during our formative years.

I also wish to acknowledge the input and dedication of the following members who have contributed greatly to our work. Eric Martlew for our written constitution, John Austin for the formation of the Trust, Eric Moonman for our very successful national Outreach programme, George Cunningham for his advice on pension matters, Nicholas Bennett for his excellent work on our membership, and Dick Tracey for his control of our website. And of course we will never forget our founding member and former Chairman, Joe Ashton. Without him it is very unlikely that this Association would ever have got off the ground.

And lastly I must say a big 'thank you' to our Administrator and Editor of *Order Order*, Sally Grocott, for holding the Association together with all her hard work and endeavours ever since our formal launch in 2003.

Finally, please remember that *Order Order* is YOUR magazine and we look to our members to contribute. We know that you have wonderful tales to tell and opinions to put forward, so please don't hesitate to let our editor Sally know if you have something to say. We want to ensure that we continue to produce an interesting and vibrant magazine.

I now look forward to working with the new Executive and our Members to meet the challenges that we will face.

MEET OUR NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE



Elizabeth Peacock
Chairman



Eric Martlew
Vice Chairman



Sir Graham Bright
Treasurer



Nicholas Bennett
Membership Secretary



John Austin



Gordon Banks



Ann Cryer



Eric Moonman



Syd Rapson



Adrian Sanders



Dick Tracey



Nigel Evans MP
Commons Liaison



Sir Alan Meale MP
Commons Liaison



Lady Sally Grocott
*Executive Officer and
Editor of Order Order*

ALL MEMBER MEETING

Our next All Member Meeting is on **Thursday the 10th December at 3.45pm in House of Lords Committee Room 3 followed by a drinks reception in the River Room of the House of Lords to meet our new Executive Committee.** We are delighted that Sir George

Young, now Lord Young of Cookham has agreed to be our guest speaker. As members will know, his many roles over forty years in Parliament have included being Leader of the House of Commons and Government Chief Whip. There could therefore be no-one better qualified to speak on his chosen subject "The Commons in Coalition".

We are holding a pre-Christmas drinks reception afterwards at 5.00pm in the lovely setting of the

River Room in the House of Lords, courtesy of the Lord Speaker. This is an opportunity for members to meet our new Executive and to enjoy a social get together with colleagues. The maximum number allowed in the River Room is 80. There is no charge for the event but if you wish to attend you must apply to Sally Grocott at grocotts@parliament.uk as a full guest list is required by the Lord Speaker's office.

A further plea that if you are not receiving regular notices via e-mail then we do not have a current one for you. Members do change their e-mail address and forget to notify us. Our very limited funding makes it impossible to post out notices to all our members, so we rely on e-mail to keep everyone informed and in touch. If in doubt, please check with Sally.

WHERE ARE YOU NOW?

Tess Kingham, Labour

MP for Gloucester 1997–2001

DESPITE IT being a great privilege to be an MP I didn't get on with the outdated practices (despite prevailing rumour it was not to do with childcare problems in the House after I had twins!) and I found it immensely frustrating. I chose to leave after one term and so had time to plan my next steps, thankfully not having to suffer the shock and trauma of sudden departure felt by some former colleagues.

Before going into Parliament I'd worked in NGO communications and campaigning. I was able to use these skills as a Member, for example in successful campaigns to get a new hospital in Gloucester and help get a national screening programme for cystic fibrosis for newborns. When I left Parliament I was still deeply committed to promoting social change so it made sense to turn these skills and my knowledge of how political systems tick in a new direction. I became 'gamekeeper turned poacher', spending the next ten years advising and training not for profits in how to campaign effectively and co-authored the NCVO 'Good Campaigns Guide'.

With my husband, daughter Rosa, twins Karl and Natasha and my mother Pat, our 'tribe' moved to Romney Marsh in Kent where we live on the beach on part of the Dungeness National Nature Reserve. It's bleak, beautiful, atmospheric, has the most amazing wildlife and a strong community. The downside is that it's isolated, suffers pockets of high deprivation and has a decommissioning nuclear power station so will lose hundreds of jobs over the next decade or so.

Local challenges and the huge potential here spurred me on to take a job as the Romney Marsh Partnership Co-ordinator, pulling together a multi-agency team including local authorities, nuclear industry, business, education providers and the voluntary sector to promote economic regeneration and deliver the Marsh Million - a £1 million grants scheme to promote jobs, training and tourism. It was an inspiring job but in April, with the grant scheme almost spent out, I decided to leave it and move into freelance work supporting social enterprises. I really think this is a major growth area for the UK - businesses that create jobs but also provide a positive input to our communities. For some reason Romney Marsh is full of them. I've been working with Romney Tweed, who produce beautiful tweed fabric from Romney Marsh wool and who are setting up a cottage weaving industry on 'the Marsh'; with Growth Rings, who design and produce highest quality oak furniture and flooring with trainees who are long term unemployed or have previous addiction issues, and I'm director of Marsh Monitors Community Interest Company providing client



Tess with the Growth Rings Staff and Trainees

When I left Parliament I was still deeply committed to promoting social change

led monitoring and evaluation services to other social enterprises and community projects. It's busy.

Outside working life I fulfilled a lifelong ambition and got an MA in Egyptian Archaeology at UCL. I started a PhD studying ancient bones and disease but sadly couldn't finish. I became ill with two neurological illnesses, Myasthenia Gravis and Neuromyotonia. They affect my mobility and muscle strength so I need to plan activities quite carefully now. The benefits, strange to say, from experiences such as sometimes having to use a wheelchair, navigating the medical system and occasional emergency hospital admissions, is that I've met amazing supportive people within the 'disability' community. It's opened my eyes in a very personal way to the wealth of untapped resource. If you're facing physical or mental challenges on a daily basis you have to learn to plan, organise, get round the many obstacles society throws at you and be resilient as best you can - these are skills and abilities society and employers would be sensible to harness more.

Our large family is sometimes frenetic. My eldest daughter Rosa is at Wimbledon College of Art and my twins, now 15, are at local schools doing GCSEs. My mother lives with us and we have a menagerie of waif and stray animals. We are all involved in various voluntary activities and campaigns and I'm currently training to be a Cognitive Hypnotherapist with the Quest Institute. Over the next few years I hope to set up another social enterprise focusing on women's mental health and wellbeing and intend to buy a relaxing retreat for people to use in the forests of East Germany. That's the plan anyway. Life after Parliament is certainly full, exciting and I count myself extremely lucky if a bit hassled at times.

PARLIAMENT GOES ON

Joan Walley, former MP for Stoke on Trent North 1987–2015



Joan wrote for us last year about her decision to stand down at the general election and she promised to let us have an update on how she was getting on....

IF SUMMER 2015 seemed light years away from when I wrote an article in *Order Order* last year in anticipation of stepping down as an MP, then Autumn 2015 is like stepping into a new foreign country, very far away from the never ending rhythm of life both in the constituency and in parliament.

After 28 years, always with one foot in the constituency, my home, the place where I belong, and the other in parliament, I believe that I had a relatively easy time of the actual “bowing out” process. So let us spare a thought for former colleagues whose exit was not planned and managed because they unexpectedly lost their seats. I never took re-election for granted, and neither I imagine do most MPs, but there must have been some emotional turmoil on the 8th May when so many MPs were voted out of office. Not for them the luxury of a lead-in time to move on to pastures new. What a trial to have to suddenly face IPSA’s winding up process, dismantling offices, making staff redundant, and the prospect of an instant transition to a whole new life beyond Westminster. At least this Association can expect a boost in membership!

For me, leaving parliament has something of a seasonal feel about it. A sense of loss of another year/session coming to an end and a sadness of time passing. But equally that is combined with a sense of renewal and anticipation of the new purpose taking its place.

The actual winding up process itself was therapeutic. Rather than completing it all in one great mad rush I took my time, allowing space to accept invitations to say farewell to people and groups with which I have worked so closely, and cherishing their messages and thanks. This gave me the perspective and space to choose my priorities for life after parliament. It was also helped by seeing my successor Ruth immediately ensconced in Portcullis House with her maiden speech behind her, and looking as though she had already been there for ever.

Having the time to re-read precious saved archives was a revelation. One that stood out was a letter sent to me in

When and how did it hit home that the 2015 election was a game changer? I’m not sure when the penny dropped for the nation as a whole, but when I listened to the first Prime Minister’s Question time on BBC 5 Live, I instantly got it.

1988 shortly after my election, enclosing a copy of “Congress of the Peoples for Peace” by Eduard Henriod, with his handwritten inscription to Madame Dora Russell. This was sent to me by her daughter, Katherine Tait. The pencil sketches ranging from the first assembly of congress to the many participants was a stark reminder that it is always people who together shape, drive and follow up, whose determination gives life to politics.

During my years in parliament there have been countless events where I have been privileged to represent the place where I belong on the national and world stage. At a time when politics is so discredited in parts of the media, it is important to remind ourselves that the most precious thing we have is our representative democracy, and the constant striving of those who together seek to make the world a better place. Making sure that one generation hands on the baton to the next is important.

Having time post election to tune in to the parliamentary channel was initially surreal, given the fact that there was now a majority government and an SNP victory in Scotland. When and how did it hit home that the 2015 election was a game changer? I’m not sure when the penny dropped for the nation as a whole, but when I listened to the first Prime Minister’s Question time on BBC 5 Live, I instantly got it. Hearing the Prime Minister in all his guises, in peak form, batting question after question – here the statesman, there the concerned paternal party leader welcoming a newly elected member, and then the strident party leader, I knew that Westminster had moved on. Departing MPs had no place in the new reality. It was also apparent that the regular calls for a Prime Minister’s Question Time which is less of a bear pit and more of a civil exchange of views, would continue to go unheard. It was also self evident that there was a very different agenda from the previous five years.

So all change; it truly is in a very short space of time. Today’s landscape will be unrecognisable by 2020 as the Westminster agenda moves on relentlessly. It will be interesting to see how parliament responds. Will there be a natural divide between the influx of new members and the longer serving ones? Will the chamber and select committee work become more or less effective in holding the government to account? Will the Liaison Committee take



Opening of Speaker's Corner by John Bercow

on an enhanced role? How will the European Referendum debate play out in parliament? How will the UK shape up internationally? What about Scottish devolution. Will the Boundary Commission Review pit member against member? Will trust between parliament and the electorate be strengthened or weakened? How will deregulation and anti-austerity measures affect rising inequality? How will the Labour leadership result impact on parliament? And, most dear to my own heart, how will the “inconvenient” climate change imperatives for action be championed?

These are all issues for the class of 2015. Those of us who have stepped down no longer have a direct role, but as the growing strength of our Association testifies, we cannot help but have at the very least a benign interest.

I planned my departure with one eye on initiatives to highlight the need for work I had done to be ongoing. By arranging for a Speaker's Lecture on the work of the Environmental Audit Select Committee 2015 – 2020 on just about the last day before dissolution, my intention was to hand on a green baton to the new parliament and to leave a solid foundation for the ongoing challenges our planet faces. The Paris Climate Change talks and follow up will be a matter for this parliament. Equally the launch of the Sustainable Development Goals in September. These are challenges which can only be addressed through crosscutting

measures by government at international, national and local level, and which engage with local people.

Back home I thought it was also important to ensure a legacy for parliamentary democracy. So when the wonderful made in Stoke on Trent encaustic floor tiles which graced Central Lobby were replaced, I asked that ten square metres be gifted back to our city. My intention was to provide a lasting link between future citizens of Stoke on Trent and parliament. This creation by esteemed local ceramicist Philip Hardaker of our very own “Speaker's Corner” in the refurbished Old Town Hall in Burslem in its new incarnation as a Sixth Form, will not only bring life back to the town, but will also be a reminder of our parliamentary democracy.

All that we do is work in progress. Whether inside or outside parliament, life goes on. The constant is the world of difference that MPs can make in whatever is their allotted time in parliament. Long may former MPs use their apprenticeship in parliament to find other ways of still making a difference.

Joan is now Chairman of the Aldersgate Group, Patron of Ladsandads North Staffordshire, and of Port Vale FC Supporters Club.

LEAVING THE HOUSE:

The Experience of Former Members of Parliament Who Left the House of Commons in 2010

FORMER NEW ZEALAND MP LIZ GORDON wrote a recent article for their Association's magazine – "Don't You Know Who I Once Was?!!!!". Since Parliament she has been a researcher, a businesswoman, and the president of a charity, but for many people, once a politician, always a politician – "Don't I know you from somewhere?" As she says, "The 10% of my life served as an MP trumps all the rest put together" and "one implication is that if I ever do something wrong, the headline will undoubtedly be "Ex-MP in Bar Brawl/Road Rage incident".

Winston Churchill is credited with the oft quoted line, "politics is the one career that always ends in failure". He also said that success is not final and failure is not final. Being voted out of office is a very personal thing and many former MPs talk of a process of grieving for their former life.

We are delighted that **Professor Kevin Theakston** and **Dr Chris Byrne**, of the University of Leeds, undertook a follow up research project to the 2007 publication *Life After Losing or Leaving: the Experience of Former Members of Parliament*. They write below about their key findings.

THE 2015 general election created 168 former MPs, 90 who stood down and 78 who were defeated. In 2010 there had been an even higher turnover when 225 MPs left the Commons - 149 (66%) stood down and 76 (34%) were defeated. Our research in 2010, through a postal survey and a series of interviews, sheds light on the challenges former parliamentarians can expect to face and also on how to transition into a successful 'afterlife'.

An in-depth account of our new research will be published in an academic journal later this year, but our key findings are summarised as follows.

Firstly, we found that the widely held perception that former MPs easily walk into lucrative private sector employment is largely mistaken. Among those departing MPs under the age of 65, 70% took up paid work. But many struggled in the labour market, with almost half taking at least three months to find a job and one in ten taking a year. While half said they ended up earning more than they had done as MPs, 40% earned less and 10% the same. Some former MPs fared very well in the labour market, landing high profile and well-paid directorships of large companies. However, these were a minority with certain notable shared characteristics: they were relatively young, had held a senior ministerial position in the recent past, and had often done a lot of advanced planning for their post-parliamentary careers.

The **second** key finding of our research, which might explain some of the difficulties former MPs face, relates to the MPs' expenses scandal. It is clear that this has not only made the job of an MP

considerably more difficult, but it has also made it more difficult for MPs to re-enter the labour market. Many we interviewed, including several who were entirely uninvolved in the expenses scandal, felt as though there had developed an unproductive 'no holds barred' approach to political reporting. We heard stories of harassment at the hands of disgruntled constituents, many of whom seemed to believe that all MPs are self-serving careerists despite the fact that many of the former MPs who took part in our study had given up more lucrative and less demanding careers to go into politics. Worse still, some of those who tried to return to paid employment after leaving politics felt that some employers saw former MPs as 'soiled goods'.

Thirdly, our research shows that the job of an MP continues to be particularly fraught with difficulties for women. The female MPs who left in 2010 tended to have had much shorter parliamentary tenures than their male counterparts. One reason for this seemed to be that female MPs were less willing to accept the detrimental effect the job can have on family life and the constant travelling. Another factor relates to the role of party 'selectorates' in picking candidates. We found a marked tendency for safe seats (defined as seats which a party already holds by a margin greater than 10%) to have been contested by men rather than women. If a bigger proportion of women than men hold marginal seats, that helps explain why they were more likely to either suffer electoral defeat or decide to stand down because of the added strain of having to constantly worry about shoring up a small majority.

Fourthly, as in our 2007 report, we



Kevin Theakston

Chris Byrne

found that former MPs continue to be highly active in political and public life. Over 80% of those who left in 2010 are involved in a range of local and/or national charitable and voluntary organisations. Nearly the same number was still active in their party. And half reported that they had developed new political interests since leaving Parliament. Being an MP is a way of life and not just a job, so it's not surprising that many who leave the Commons report going through a grieving process or struggling for a while with a loss of identity. But looking back after 5 years, our research helps put things in perspective. 'A democracy needs to be refreshed and have different ideas brought in', as one former MP in our study mused. 'There are other things to do.'

Overall our research sheds light on some serious problems with the current and potential future make-up of Parliament. If the MPs' expenses scandal has had such a profound impact on the image and job of an MP as our research would suggest, and if female parliamentarians continue to face distinctive challenges, then how can Parliament hope to attract the best, brightest and those with the most valuable real world experience — of both sexes?

ELECTION 2015 POLLS & PARTY PREDICTIONS: WHAT WENT WRONG?



Following his article in our last edition, Robert Hayward, a respected psephologist and political analyst, former MP for Kingswood, 1983 -1992, now Lord Hayward, reflects on the result.

AS AN OPENING COMMENT in the Spring edition of *Order Order* I wrote, ‘This is unlike any election I have known. The make-up of the Government post May 7th is as uncertain as the numbers [of seats] each party may win on election day’. I could claim that those words were extremely perceptive, alternatively I could acknowledge that for the vast majority of the commentariat I was merely stating the Delphic obvious.

The 2015 General Election is now several months gone. What was so surprising was not the result itself, which shook political Britain, but the impact it continues to have. In my life time, I can think of no result which has had such a dramatic effect not only in the hours that followed election day but in the days, weeks and months thereafter.

In this piece I don’t intend to look at how we arrived at the results on May 7th but why the results were a genuine shock to virtually everybody and whether they should have been.

There were several results on May 7th/8th, not just one, and the parties are still trying to respond to each, sometimes by producing a single catch all solution.

- Tory majority- very big shock
- Labour losing seats to the Tories-shock
- Lib Dems slaughtered-very big shock
- UKIP- many votes, only one seat-surprise to some
- SNP-sweep in Scotland-predicted

The election produced only one result which was, by May 7th, fully expected i.e. the surge of the SNP to obliterate Labour and the Lib Dems in Scotland. Both parties are now at the level of the Tories, holding one seat. However, it is worth remembering that only eight months earlier even that earthquake was not a given.

The British Polling Council has started a review to find out what went wrong (the initial findings may have been published by the time you read this) however the indicators were there in advance. Before the election, in Spring *Order*

Over the last few months I have been given any number of examples of Labour’s organisation getting the trends wrong.

Order, I wrote that in all forms of election the polls in 2014 had persistently overstated Labour’s position (by 2-4%) and understated the Greens and Tories (by 1-2% each). That was almost precisely the ‘error’ in the final polls. These were the same warning signs that were available in 1990 - 92, but this article is not a critique of the polls. We should ask whether the parties should have been taken by surprise. The polls are not, and should not have been, the only source of information. (As an aside, I would note that while the BPC has undertaken a review, both Labour and the Lib Dems went into leadership election mode so quickly they have not adequately found time to learn the lessons of what went wrong)

We live in a Britain where more people are polled in more depth than ever before. At the last Labour Conference Ed Miliband said that the Labour Party would have 4 million conversations before May 7th. Ryan Coetzee had told Nick Clegg he needed polls otherwise he (Nick) would be just another person in Westminster with an opinion. The Tories were polling furiously. More significantly all the parties were also canvassing thousands of people a week. Polling was not the sole (nor the most important) source of detail available. The parties’ errors did not come from lack of information. It would appear that both the Labour Party and Liberal Democrats (and many Tory workers) chose to disregard the signs that were there for all to see.

Since the election I have spoken to many Labour and Lib Dem colleagues and what has staggered me is how unaware they were of how badly it was going for them. You might reasonably ask, ‘if the pollsters didn’t know, why should the parties?’ As one senior Tory internal pollster put it to me ‘did they really not know what was happening?’ Canvassing returns should have given a clear indication, as should internal focus groups and postal vote viewing. Did the internal polls say nothing and didn’t all the ‘conversations’ provide any message that ran counter to the polls?

Over the last few months I have been given any number of examples of Labour’s organisation getting the trends wrong. There is no doubt that the Labour Party were completely taken by surprise by the result. It was not just spin that had leading Labour people on polling day telling serious national journalists that they would be ahead of the Tories and in the 270 - 280 range. Nor was it hubris. The Labour Party believed it. It was ignorance that had Labour activists going to Sheffield Hallam instead of Morley & Outwood.

Labour believed they were close to forming a coalition government which is why the exit poll came as such a shock to their hierarchy. We all now know that no Labour spokesperson had any brief of what to say if the Tories were at or close to forming a majority government. All those conversations must have raised a red flag or two.

If Labour were ill informed, were the Lib Dems in any better position? If anything the evidence seems to point to them being in a similar, if not worse, state of unpreparedness.

In the middle of the last Parliament I did a piece for the *Daily Telegraph* looking at the electoral impact on the Lib Dems of being in a Tory led coalition. I discussed the article with a Lib Dem Minister who didn't like the content but agreed that the article was about right. The Minister explained that 'LD voters in most constituencies were disappearing like ice in the sun, but, in the seats they held, their organisation was Olympic.' I agreed with that Minister, so how could such Olympic organisations be so wrong? In most cases, the Lib Dems had a huge and long established local government base. In Eastleigh, Sutton, Hazel Grove etc. there was virtually no opposition. This ought to have provided that crucial information. It didn't or, if it did, it was disregarded.

The Liberal Democrats for several decades have specialised in delivering the postal vote and then getting out their vote on General (or any other) Election day. And yet, in one seat where the LDs lost I have seen an exchange of texts between some of their activists. The predictions for that seat were between a defeat of 2,500-10,000. For the sake of privacy all I will say is that even 10,000 was way, way out!! Paddy Ashdown commenting on the exit poll said he would 'eat his hat' if it was correct. Why did he say that? Because the Lib Dems had provided an internal polling day briefing which identified 19-21 safe holds with another 20 seats 'in play'. Watford, a seat they missed by 14,000 and in which they came third was identified as a potential gain.

In citing the examples above I am not being selective. I am providing a few of many examples of the inaccurate basis on which most were working on May 7th. The information must/ should have been there if you looked.

Was I in any better position than Labour and Lib Dems? No I wasn't. During the campaign I had conversations with pollsters telling them that they were well out on the Tory vote but I had become convinced that my January analysis was wrong. Stockholm Syndrome I'm afraid. Despite all the signs that the Tories were doing better than predicted, given there were so many polls, I became convinced they must be correct. The drumbeat of polling data outweighed my on street experience. The factor that I, and many other Tories, could not work out was the extent to which 2010 LD voters were boosting the Labour 2015 vote. Tory organisations would have had these voters down as 'against' in 2010. I felt they would still have them as against in 2015, but that the voting intention would be different, putting many Con-Lab Tory marginals at risk.

The key question is therefore, 'Did the Tory hierarchy know?' and the answer is yes. Not only have I been advised what the PM was told in the last few days but just look at where the leaders and buses of campaigners were being sent. It was no coincidence that Grant Shapps' first campaigning

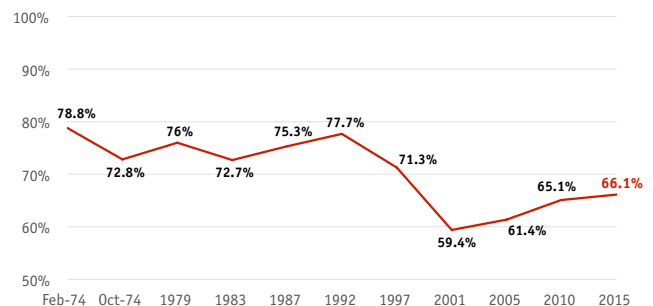
The brilliance of the [Tory] campaign throughout 2014 and 2015 was that, even within the Tory organisation, so few people knew how well they were doing.

day of 2015 was in Twickenham, that the PM and George Osborne paid 3 visits to Yeovil, nor that the Campaign 2015 bus went to Eastleigh on May 6th. The brilliance of the campaign throughout 2014 and 2015 was that, even within the Tory organisation, so few people knew how well they were doing. Even on election day some mid ranking Tory campaigners refused to believe what they were seeing. They kept checking, re-checking and disbelieving the data they were receiving, as incidentally did the experts in the media exit poll centre!

Were there other indications?

Surprisingly little attention has been paid to turnout. In my earlier article I included a chart re turnout which is updated below. I had predicted only a marginal increase on 2010. There was a marked rise in Scotland (71.1%) which was a continuation of the Indyref experience. Outside Scotland the February chart accurately predicted what happened in England, Northern Ireland and Wales.

Turnout



Much of the prediction of a close call/coalition was predicated on a big increase in turnout. In 2014 all the pointers, despite the surge of UKIP at the Euros, had suggested a broadly no change level of voter participation. The apparent strength of Labour support was coming from people who were unlikely to vote. A message they still seem to be forgetting.

Will we believe polls in the future? Of course we will. For the average person whether in the media or not, that is all the information they have. A few accurate polls - Farron and Corbyn wins- and all (well almost all) will be forgotten. I remember being told post 1992 by the then Political Editor of the Daily Mail 'we will never believe polls again'. Pull the other one.

Don't blame the polls. I will view the 2015 as the election when there was more than enough information for analysts and political parties to have been closer to the final result. Rather like a dying man in a desert obsessed by the mirage, we all looked in one direction when we should have been looking in many.

TEN YEARS LATER: A HIGH SPEED FUTURE?

Lawrie Quinn, MP for Scarborough & Whitby 1997 -2005



Lawrie offers some personal perspectives on the need for the High Speed Rail agenda, major projects delivery and the national need to encourage the next generation of technologists, scientists and engineers. He was able to return to his career as a Chartered Civil Engineer specialising in major railway projects around the world when he was appointed by the Bechtel Corporation as a Projects Delivery Manager in August 2005. His unique perspective of the links between Parliament and major project investment led to him helping to found the High Speed Rail Leaders Group and to work closely with his successor Robert Goodwill MP, the Minister responsible for delivering High Speed Two.

EVERY JOURNEY STARTS WITH A PLAN

AFTER 8 YEARS in the corridors of Westminster and Whitehall, I left my third floor office in Portcullis House to present myself to the voters of the Yorkshire Coast. As a professional engineer amongst legislators I had become fascinated at the ad hoc nature of policy making and convinced that life in SW1A at least offered a chance to improve the understanding of how we could deliver successful major capital investment programmes as a nation.

Little did I know within a couple of months I would get the chance to put this view to the test as the leader of project management teams involved with upgrading the Jubilee Line, the extension of the Piccadilly Line to Heathrow and a significant upgrade programme for Wembley Park and Tottenham Court Road.

So within weeks of the 2005 Election I had inherited a new set of detailed technical plans, a hundred fold increase in staff working for me and a multi-million pound responsibility to deliver over 90 railway capital projects at various stages of completion.

In hindsight the immortal line from the "Yes Minister" comedy series springs to mind: "a very brave decision" with little clear definition of how things might turn out. To most readers of *Order Order* this is how they probably feel about High Speed Rail, so I feel compelled to offer some thoughts based on almost 10 years of working closely to the HS2 agenda.

A SOLUTION LOOKING FOR A PROBLEM?

The wider public only ever seem to take a real interest in the outcomes of the nation's engineers when there's a disaster, a pending disaster or ground breaking innovation that transforms their daily lives. My profession's reputation, its opportunity to excel and change peoples' lives, is therefore bound up with the policy makers' ability to define the problems needing to be solved.

I would suggest that since 1997 we have seen the UK engineer community improving how we engage with our law makers and administrators. On my arrival as an MP I was staggered to find that the Institution of Civil Engineers, ICE, across the narrow road from Parliament Square, had little effective engagement with the engine room of Government.

Things did get much better and now four parliaments later colleagues and leaders of the engineering profession stand ready to engage in the definition and delivery of the priority projects needed to keep the country as a leading global economic player.

I'm proud to have had a small part in the completion of High Speed One, the opening of St Pancras International and the transformation around Stratford and Kings Cross which underpinned the successful London 2012 bid for the Olympics.

So it seemed natural to seek to join in the enthusiastic but almost shy debate amongst railway engineers and operators in 2008 which sought to consider how the UK could build

They say that confidence in the future is a strong basis for delivering a successful future.

on the hard won success of the Channel Tunnel rail link from London to Paris. Working alongside Greengauge21, we founded the High Speed Rail Leaders Group in 2009, helping to point Conservative Party policy makers in the right direction, and supporting Labour's Secretary of Transport, Andrew Adonis in arguing that the delivery of a high speed rail agenda was of undoubted merit to the national economy.

By the time of the 2010 General Election all the manifestos for the main political parties were keen to explore the feasibility of an HS2 project through wider public consultation and engagement with key stakeholders across the UK.

BEYOND THE WESTMINSTER VILLAGE AND A NEW PARLIAMENTARY SESSION

They say that confidence in the future is a strong basis for delivering a successful future.

One major remaining misconception about HS2 is that the project is in some sense a "risk".

Nothing could be further from the truth. High Speed Rail is not a "new-fangled" technology. It is tried, tested and proven all around the world over several decades. For the supply chain we can draw upon, most of which have substantial UK operations already, building a new railway line like HS2 is their "day job". I believe the nation can start this project with great confidence that it can be delivered as professionally as the Olympics were, and Crossrail is.

So as I consider the work undertaken across Government, the engineering community and the HS2 Ltd team, I am convinced that Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds with their respective economic hinterlands are already seeing the benefits accruing from this phenomenal national investment programme. Indeed HS2 and a national high speed network for passengers and freight is no longer just about investment in railway it is a national economic catalyst with global consequences for future generations of Britons.

After this year's General Election the confidence that the high-speed line from London to the Midlands and the North will be built, is the greatest it has been since 2008. However the challenge for UK business is to take advantage of the huge opportunities it provides for regeneration and development in West London, as well as around Birmingham, Manchester and across Yorkshire

My renewed optimism that HS2 will be a huge success comes from the firm commitment of the re-elected government to seeing the project through as well as the high confidence in my colleagues across the railway engineering community. Now the legislation for HS2 is already a large part of the way through Parliament and due to be enacted by the end of next year, I am confident that construction of the £50bn project will be well under way by 2020.

So I hope the parliamentary argument over HS2 is over and the recent House of Lords Report will provide an opportunity for engineers to rise to their challenge to secure the greatest possible benefits for communities across Great

Britain. I would recommend reference to a newly published report by the High Speed Rail Leaders Group which seeks to analyse and update the list of considerable opportunities offered by HS2 in both the short and long term

Long before the first trains run from London to Birmingham, in less than 45 minutes, there are huge development opportunities. West London will host the biggest at Old Oak Common, just west of Paddington, where a vast expanse of rail and waste land, four times the size of Hyde Park, will have at its centre a new junction station between HS2 and the Crossrail line coming from Reading in the west and proceeding east to the West End, the City and Canary Wharf. This station will be the size of Waterloo, handling 250,000 passengers a day and acting as a super hub between London and the rest of the UK.

The land around it is therefore a vitally important development zone for London. There is talk of 24,000 homes, 55,000 jobs, and the possibility of a 40,000-seat stadium for Queens Park Rangers Football Club.

Global interest in the great cities of Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds as an investment destination has increased with the prospect of high speed rail links to the economic hot house of London and the rest of the EU's northern successful conurbations.

The Debate on HS2 and progress in Parliament since 2010 has been seen as a catalyst for financial analysts to place their significant statements of confidence in the UK. Alongside the successful developments around Kings Cross – St Pancras and the renaissance of Stratford and East London, British engineers and our developers are showing the world they can deliver great value for investors through a Second Industrial Revolution here in the cradle of the first almost 2 centuries later!

SUSTAINING THE UK'S ECONOMY AFTER 2030

As well as the need to plan for new infrastructure and better connectivity both domestically and abroad, as a nation we need to ensure that the next generation see engineering and technology not only as an important careers choice, but as being fundamental to our national success across global markets.

As I reflect on my own career to date, I conclude by mentioning my own experience as a young student, keen on problem solving within teams and wanting to make a difference. I still recall the excitement which I still feel as I think about the 1969 Apollo mission to the Moon, or being able to appreciate the potential of the Advanced Passenger Train, the Concorde programme and the emerging advances in telecommunications, computer science and bio-tech. All this has enthused me to write this piece for Order Order and



I hope your next step will be to look again at the great opportunities offered for our nation and the next generation of Britons which follow.



Association members Bowen Wells and Robert Banks represented our Association for the first time as full members of the European Association of Former Members of Parliament.

There were two main subjects for discussion: “Seventy years of the United Nations”, and an emergency debate on the subject of migration with particular reference to the current Syrian refugees and others flooding across European borders. Robert took the lead on the migration issue which is to be the subject of a colloquy organised by former members of the European Parliament, to be held in Lyon in June 2016 under the title “Immigration as a challenge for European solidarity and enlightened self-interest”.

Robert spoke strongly against two ideas in the draft paper that a data bank be established of those former MPs willing to help with contributions for the refugees, and to create an “observatory” for refugee issues, on the grounds that we had neither the money nor the support staff to carry out such a commitment. He was strongly supported by the German delegation and the suggestions were withdrawn. Robert worked overnight to improve the draft resolution which was adopted the following day and will be forwarded to heads of government of the member states.

The following day’s discussion was led by Ambassador Helmut Tuerk, the President of the International Seabed Authority. There was also an address by Dr Judith Gebetsroithner who held the position of European and

The meetings were valuable in demonstrating that it was possible to agree policy initiatives and develop outreach programmes

Foreign Policy Adviser to the Austrian Chancellor, and by Andreas Schieder, Chairman of the Social Democrats in the Austrian Parliament.

Bowen Wells argued that the UN was powerless to intervene to stop the killing in Syria because of the veto from Russia and China. Stopping the killing in Syria and the migration out of that country could only be achieved by the USA and European powers negotiating with the Presidents of Russia and China.

The meetings were valuable in demonstrating that it was possible to agree policy initiatives and develop outreach programmes to support our democracies and parliaments. There will be an Annual Meeting of the Association in Paris in March and a meeting in Stockholm in the Autumn. Volunteers to represent the UK Association at these meetings are invited. Please contact Bowen Wells at bowenwells@gmail.com, or via Sally Grocott on 020 7219 8207, grocotts@parliament.uk.

It is stressed that members taking part must pay their own fares and hotel bills.



David Stewart MSP on a recent very successful Outreach visit to Gordonstoun School

THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTREACH TRUST

Chairman of the charitable Trust, John Austin writes:

After negotiations with the Charity Commission, and agreeing minor changes to our constitution, the Trust has been granted charitable status and will shortly be seeking funding for its activities.

The Trust intends to expand and develop the excellent educational work initiated by Eric Moonman in universities and colleges in the UK.

In addition, the Trust will develop its role in harnessing the experience and skills of former MPs in good governance programmes overseas. The current trustees are John Austin, Chairman, Michael Meadowcroft, Vice-Chairman, Keith Best, Secretary, Sir Graham Bright, Treasurer, and Sylvia Heal, Geoff Lawler, Tom Levitt, Tony Lloyd, Eric Moonman, Elizabeth Peacock and Bowen Wells. **The Board of Trustees is due for re-election at the AGM on the 10th December at 1.00pm in House of Lords Committee Room 3 when any member of the Association may attend, stand for election and participate in the proceedings.**

The Trust is currently seeking to employ an administrative assistant to help with fundraising and we will then be updating our data base of members willing to offer their services, either for outreach work in the UK, or good governance projects overseas. We are currently launching a website which can be visited at www.formermps.org.uk.



Peter Hain, Now Lord Hain, is the former MP for Neath 1991 – 2015 and a former Cabinet Minister, holding a number of high offices of state. A noted anti-apartheid campaigner in the 70s and Chairman of the Stop the Seventy Campaign, he writes for us about:

SPORT & POLITICS

CAN SPORT be divorced from politics? And if not where might the boundary lie?

Corruption in international football has provoked Prime Ministers to demand heads roll. The Israeli football team recently faced a demonstration over oppression of the Palestinians when it played Wales in Cardiff. Russia hosts the 2018 football World Cup and some say it should be boycotted because of Putin's stance on Ukraine. Some argue the Formula One race in Bahrain should not take place, because its minority Sunni regime discriminates against the Shia majority.



Basil D'Oliveira

I found myself at the sharp end of these arguments when leading protests to disrupt all-white South African sports tours from 1969. Many rugby and cricket fans bitterly attacked me for 'bringing politics into sport'. But what made South Africa unique then was that its divisive and vicious apartheid politics lay at the heart of its sport. National teams weren't 'national' at all: only whites could represent their country. A world class South African cricketer, Basil D'Oliveira, was forced to play for England because he was coloured (mixed race) and therefore was barred from his own national team.

Spectators were divided into white and black sections of sports stadiums. By law only whites could buy and drink alcohol at matches. From school to club to provincial and national level, sport was rigidly segregated. When playing away matches blacks had to apply for permission because their 'passes' restricted them to their own municipal areas. Therefore apartheid South Africa singled itself out for political protests and international sporting isolation.

The problem for those advocating sports boycotts against



other countries is that none are in the same category. Israel unquestionably discriminates against Palestinians and even its own Arab citizens – but not as far as I can see within sport. Russia's intervention in Ukraine may be in breach of international law, and Putin's human rights record is dreadful, but as far as I know anybody of ability can play sport and represent their country.

By contrast I supported those calling on England not to compete in the 2003 cricket World Cup in Zimbabwe because the Mugabe regime had targeted some of its own leading cricketers (notably Henry Olonga) who had publicly objected to his tyrannical practices.

It is legitimate to protest at a high profile sports event against injustice or human rights abuse. But then to extend that into demanding the exclusion of a particular national team because of its human rights record invites the question: where does the boundary lie and what are the criteria? China has a bad human rights record. So does Saudi Arabia and Iran. Continuing Israeli settlements in Palestinian territory are in defiance of international law and United Nations policy. Guantanamo Bay is hardly an advertisement for justice and liberty. And so on: the list of injustices and dodgy regimes is a very long one.

But if we demanded sport took a stand by excluding each and every accused country, there would be no World Cups and no Olympics.

Peter's book *Back to the Future of Socialism* is published by Policy Press



DINING AT WESTMINSTER

A reminder that all former MPs can use the following dining rooms and entertain up to three family members as guests:

- The Adjournment restaurant in Portcullis House on **Wednesday** for dinner and **Thursday** and **Friday** for lunch.
- The Strangers' Dining Room on **Wednesday** for dinner and **Thursday** and **Friday** for lunch.

Information on dining facilities for former MPs can be obtained by contacting Catering and Retail Services Office on 020 7219 3686

A GOOD READ

Bruce Grocott reviews

Voices from Labour's Past

By Lord (David) Clark of Windermere



This book is a labour of love by a man who loves Labour. David Clark tells the stories of eight men and women who in the early and middle years of the twentieth century devoted their lives to establishing, building and sustaining the Labour Party. Nearly all were from humble, often impoverished backgrounds, but were driven by a passion fuelled by outrage at the injustices of the country they lived in and an

evangelical belief in the possibility of building a new and better world.

William Watson was a quarryman like his father. He emigrated to Canada in his twenties, worked as a miner then returned to Cumbria after taking part in a long and bitter strike. He went on to found the local Labour Party after the First World War. He became a councillor and spoke of his hopes "to revolutionise the whole world... that's the way I felt then, that I had got hold of some eternal truth".

Politics was a passion, a crusade with packed party meetings and visiting national speakers. Seats were won at parish, district and national level. William's wife was as committed as him and they died within months of each other, close to their hundredth birthdays after seventy years of marriage.

Margret Gibb built up Labour's strength, particularly among women in the north from the 1930s to her death in 1984. She worked as a teacher in Durham before having to resign in 1923 when she married. The council in common with many others at the time did not employ married women teachers. Education's loss was Labour's gain as she went on to work full time for the party. She recalls in vivid language both the anguish of Labour's thrashing in the 1931 National Government Election and the joy of the landslide of 1945. She said "you couldn't believe it, we seemed to win everything". The level of Labour activism and enthusiasm which she fostered was astonishing with one constituency party, Chester Le Street, at one time boasting no fewer than twenty seven women's sections.

David Clark's book records voices from the past but it speaks to the future. The Labour Party, born in 1900, with few resources and against all the odds became one of the great parties of state leading to government in 1924 and the landslide of 1945. It was above all the life experience, the commitment, confidence, and vision of people like those recorded in this book which achieved so much from such unlikely beginnings. For them, Labour arguments were about good and bad, right and wrong, rich and poor, not arguments about margins and percentages. This a book worth reading about people well worth remembering.

David has generously offered to donate £5 of every sale to our Association. The book can be obtained from him at the House of Lords for £12.50 to include p&p.

TRIBUTES



DAVID BELLOTTI

13 August 1943 -10 June 2015
Liberal Democrat MP for Eastbourne 1990 -1992

As a valued member of the Association's Executive, David was a regular attender and contributor at our meetings. He first stood as a Liberal candidate for parliament in 1979, contesting

the Eastbourne seat where he lost heavily. He subsequently became a member of the East Sussex County Council, and stood and lost in Lewes in the elections of 1983 and 1987. Knowing the area as well as he did, he was chosen to fight Eastbourne again in 1990, winning a famous by-election caused by the assassination by the IRA of the popular sitting MP Ian Gow.

David was the first MP to be elected as a Liberal Democrat, achieving a swing of more than 20%. It gave the new party great heart, particularly as not long after the by-election, Margaret Thatcher resigned as Prime Minister. However, the seat returned to the Conservatives in 1992 with David having served just two years. But he never lost his interest in politics and contested, albeit unsuccessfully, the East Sussex and Kent South constituency in the 1994 elections to the European Parliament.

After losing his parliamentary seat David had returned to the Youth Service as co-ordinator of the Regional Youth Work Unit for London and the South East. He also returned to local government, regaining a seat on East Sussex County Council and being elected Chairman of the Police Authority. In his own words he had a "challenging" time for four years when he was appointed as Vice-Chairman and Chief Executive of Brighton and Hove Albion Football Club.

Following the loss of his council seat David moved to Bath, where his wife Jo, who he married in 1996, was born. He was the election agent for Don Foster and he was elected to Bath and North East Somerset Council from 2003 onwards, serving as Chairman in 2008/09. Prior to the May general election David had been ill for some six months and was very much missed during the campaign in Bath where the Liberal Democrats lost the parliamentary seat and also lost control of the council.

Outside of politics, football was his "passion". He had an FA coaching badge and he was proud that he had played at Wembley for South MPs versus North/Scotland MPs in support of Children in Need. He was also very proud that he and his wife had been to every World Cup and every European Championship since 1990 and just last year they took their two young children to Brazil.

He was a kind and generous man, who is survived by his wife Jo and their son and daughter.



SIR PHILIP GOODHART

3 November 1925 – 5 July 2015
Conservative Member for
Beckenham 1957 – 1992

PHILIP REPRESENTED BECKENHAM for 35 years, a seat he won in a by-election in 1957. One of the unsuccessful candidates for the nomination

had been a young Margaret Thatcher. He had to prove that he was born in Britain as he was the eldest son of the American-born Arthur Lehman Goodhart who had come here to study law at Cambridge.

Philip was sent to America shortly before war broke out in 1939 and followed his father in attending the Hotchkiss School in Connecticut where he was Time magazine's national champion in their 1943 current affairs competition for American schools. On his return to Britain he served four years in the King's Royal Rifle Corps and the Parachute Regiment, leaving in 1947 and following his father to Trinity College Cambridge, where he edited Varsity. Shortly before graduating in 1950 he fought the Labour seat of Consett. That same year he joined the *Daily Telegraph*, and covered the 1952 US presidential election after which he became the paper's Africa correspondent. After four years he joined the Sunday Times where he stayed until his election to the Commons.



TERESA GORMAN

Conservative MP for Billericay
1987 – 2001
30 September 1931 – 28
August 2015

SKY NEWS' Chief Political Correspondent, Jon Craig, summed up Teresa as "bold and brassy, colourful and contro-

versial". And love her or not, surely parliament needs a few characters like her. She was the self-proclaimed St Teresa of the Menopause, campaigning extensively for hormone replacement therapy. She was an advertisement for its benefits, having told members in Billericay that she had been born in 1941, not ten years earlier.

She was born in Putney where her mother worked as a waitress and her father worked on building sites, but later set up as a demolition contractor. She left school at 16 but later in 1951 she qualified as a teacher and married her first husband Jim Gorman, and in 1961 she left London University with a first class degree in biology, going on to work as a science teacher for ten years. In the late sixties she and her husband set up a business, exporting biological and nursing teaching aids.

In 1974 she was the founder of the Alliance of Small Firms

He played a leading part in a campaign to hold a referendum over Europe, voting against the Heath government's decision to join and in 1971 he had held a referendum in his own constituency when just over 10% voted narrowly in favour of joining. He believed that referenda should always be held when major constitutional changes were being proposed. He was also ahead of his time when in 1975 he proposed using the technology behind identity cards as a means of countering terrorism. And as early as 1957 he had called for a Sex Offenders' Register. His independent mindedness made it difficult to categorise him – some regarded him as a rightwinger with his views on capital punishment, immigration and race relations, but he was a member of the party's One Nation group and was regarded as a "wet" because of his views on unemployment and the environment. He was loyal to Margaret Thatcher until her proposal for the hated poll tax which he believed to be unfair and which led to his withdrawal of support for her.

Philip was a Northern Ireland Minister from 1979-1981 and a Defence Minister in 1981. For thirty years he was a delegate to the North Atlantic Assembly. He wrote a number of books including "Referendum" (1971), "The 1922" (1973) and a definitive account of the referendum campaign in 1975 "Full-hearted Consent".

In 1950 Philip had married Valerie Winant, the niece of America's popular wartime ambassador. She died in 2014 and Philip is survived by their seven children – three sons and four daughters.

and Self-Employed People and first stood for parliament in Streatham that October as an independent candidate. She went on to join the Conservatives, serving as a councillor in Westminster. She had sought the selection in nine parliamentary seats before at last being chosen to fight Billericay not long before the 1987 election, replacing Harvey Proctor.

She is perhaps best remembered for her repeated rebellion against John Major's government, mainly over Maastricht. She was one of the nine Conservative MPs who were expelled from the party for a time in 1994. They went on to support the challenge to John Major's leadership the following year. In 1993 she had written about the pressure she was put under to support the government in her book "The Bastards: Dirty Tricks and the Challenge to Europe".

Teresa was famous for her brightly coloured jackets, leading to comments such as "that ghastly vulgar woman" but she always maintained that she wore them to make it easier to catch the Speaker's eye. And certainly she was an articulate and regular speaker in the Commons, campaigning on issues from ticket touts to women's rights to have an abortion.

Teresa's first husband was diagnosed with cancer in 2001 and she left the House at the election that year. Not surprisingly she became a supporter of UKIP in her later years, saying she voted for them at the general election. Her second husband Peter Clarke, who she married in 2010, survives her.

THE HOUSE

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ALL MEMBER MEETING at 3.45pm in Lords Committee Room 3

followed by a drinks
reception in the River
Room, House of Lords



Guest Speaker
Lord Young of Cookham
The Commons in Coalition

Sitting days

NOVEMBER 2015						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

DECEMBER 2015						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
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28	29	30	31			

JANUARY 2016						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
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FEBRUARY 2016						
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT	SUN
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8	9	10	11	12	13	14
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