

# Order! Order!

The Official Journal of the Association of Former Members of Parliament



SUMMER 2021

## BURYING BAD NEWS

"THIS WAS NOT JUST A  
SINGLE EVENT BUT THE END  
OF A LONG PROCESS PLANNED  
OVER SEVEN YEARS"

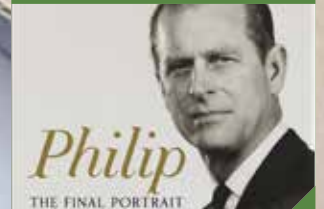


Ian Lucas on how, by abandoning a 'Leveson 2' enquiry, the government broke a promise made to victims of abuses by the tabloid press p.3-5

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## ASSOCIATION NEWS

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### RENEWAL OF PASSES – AN UPDATE

The good news is that following our representations, former MPs can now book an appointment with the Pass Office using their personal e-mail address. Previously this could only be done via a holder of a parliamentary e-mail. Appointments can therefore be made on-line at [securityvetting@parliament.uk](mailto:securityvetting@parliament.uk). **It should be noted that the Pass Office is now situated on the ground floor of 1 Parliament Street.**

Former MPs' passes are issued for a four-year period after which a criminal records check must be carried out before renewal. There is an assurance that this is a short process and the Pass Office can offer guidance.

The proposed de-activation of passes after a twelve months period of non-use re-mains a somewhat confusing issue since access to the estate has been so restricted during the past fifteen months. We have been assured that the process for pass re-activation will be a simple and straightforward one, which will minimise the inconvenience to passholders who may not have been able to come to Westminster before the deadline. However, should there be any further information on the subject, we will ensure that members are kept informed. In the meantime if any member is concerned about their situation, advice can again be sought by e-mailing the Pass Office as above.

### FUTURE MEETINGS

We recognise that realistically it will not be possible to get back to our annual calendar of meetings and receptions at Westminster until the Autumn at the earliest. Be assured that the Executive Committee are keen to get back to "normality" and will be looking to book events as soon as allowed to do so. In the meantime we recognise how important *Order! Order!* has been and continues to be during this unprecedented time. Our thanks are due to our excellent Editor Andy McSmith for keeping us informed and entertained.

### ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

A polite reminder about members' annual payments. The subscription year runs from the 1st April to the 31st March. We recognise that some newer members joined at various points during the year and it will take twelve months for their payments to settle at the 1st April. But unfortunately there is a handful of longer standing members for whom we have been unable to trace a payment for the past two or three years. Our accounts are audited each year and our auditors always ask to see that our subscription income matches our membership list. There can often be a very good reason for non-payment such as a change of bank, but we will have to revoke membership if non-payments persist. So if in doubt, please check.

**I must stress that the vast majority pay up and we are very grateful.**  
[grocotts@parliament.uk](mailto:grocotts@parliament.uk)



## NEWS FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTREACH TRUST

An update from the Chair, John Austin

There has been a lull in University engagements largely due to uncertainty during the Covid pandemic as Universities review their teaching programmes. Colleges were busy putting in place contingency plans in case of a further major lockdown with no campus activity. In some cases this involved redesigning modules so that they were taught and assessed over one term, rather than over two, resulting in the curriculum becoming more condensed.

With the prospect of a return to near normality in the autumn, a number of colleges have indicated their wish to re-engage with us. This might include a return to actual visits but we are sure that the crisis will result in greater use of online activity.

During the pandemic we continue to be engaged with secondary schools through our partnership with Speakers for Schools. We have 12 speakers involved in their programme and a further 9 who are yet to be inducted to the network.

Three of our members have spoken online recently to secondary state schools in the S4S network.

Sir David Hanson engaged in a discussion with students at Denbigh High School in Wales. Sir David Lidington spoke to students at St John Rigby RC Sixth Form College in Wigan and Jeremy Lefroy spoke to students at King David High School in Liverpool.

The feedback from the schools has been very positive with one school saying that students "were made to feel that the talk was addressed to them – they were treated like grown ups and that all their questions were valid." Other feedback included the following comments from students: "I really enjoyed the Q&A with a prominent politician"; "It was great! It was a shame we couldn't have done longer." And one teacher said "The students thought the speaker was wonderful and really appreciated his time and his efforts. He also had a very engaging

manner."

It would appear that students gain a positive view of politicians and the political process as a result of our activities. We have recently been contacted by a new social enterprise, "I have a voice", which is engaged in promoting political education and running programmes in schools. They are currently producing a report on the impact of political education and the relationship between political knowledge and engagement, as well as trust in politicians and the democratic process. A number of our members have agreed to be interviewed as part of this survey.

We are keen to make contact with more universities and colleges and if any Member has contacts with Vice-Chancellors, Heads of Departments or tutors at any Universities please put us in touch.

We can be contacted at [admin@parlyoutreach](mailto:admin@parlyoutreach)





# THE TRIUMPH OF CYNICISM: HOW LEVESON 2 WAS SUPPRESSED

Ian Lucas



Members of Parliament rarely speak with one voice. One such occasion was in 2011 when the House of Commons listened to the Prime Minister, David Cameron, recount the chilling history of the hacking of teenager Milly Dowler's telephone after she had disappeared and been murdered. following her disappearance and murder. This is what his Government intended to do about it:

*"Clearly there are two pieces of work that have to be done. First, we need a full investigation into wrongdoing in the press and the police.... Secondly, we need a review of regulation of the press.... After listening carefully, we have decided that the best way to proceed is with one inquiry, but in two parts."*

This was to become the Leveson Inquiry. No-one in the Chamber that day disagreed.

This was a subject of special interest for me. Before I entered Parliament, I had acted as a lawyer for Trevor Rees-Jones, the bodyguard who was the sole survivor of the car crash that killed Diana, Princess of Wales. I had seen Trevor, seriously injured and unconscious in hospital, catapulted into the eye of a media storm. Those close to him, concerned for his life, were media targets too. The way Trevor's family's lives were invaded by a press hungry for any personal information, despite their intense fears as to his fate, came to my mind when I saw news reports about Milly Dowler.

Then I saw the unanimity in the Commons Chamber that day. It was a unique moment. We could try to make sure that the ordeals of the Dowler family, like Rees-Jones's, would not be repeated.

## The power of the press

I had seen the power of the tabloid press in the UK since my election in 2001. Even with comfortable Parliamentary majorities, the Labour Government had worked constantly to keep newspapers onside, particularly News International. *The Sun's* endorsement of Tony Blair prior to 1997 had been presented as a seismic moment by a Labour Party scarred by 18 years in Opposition. Any pronouncement which alienated *The Sun* was viewed by the Labour Government as reckless. This explained why nothing happened after *The Sun's* Editor, Rebekah Brooks, admitted to a Parliamentary Committee in 2004 that her newspaper had made illegal payments to police officers. There was too much to lose – especially the precarious support of the UK's largest selling tabloid.

I saw the political power of News International in action in 2009, when a weak Prime Minister, Gordon Brown was at the Labour Party Conference, working desperately to inject confidence into a party facing defeat at the General Election. I was with the Brown team and felt the chill in the room as they heard the news that Labour dreaded – *The Sun* was shifting its support to the Conservatives, and at a time chosen to inflict maximum damage to the Prime Minister.

*David Cameron knew that he had no alternative but to open the Pandora's Box that was the Leveson Inquiry*

## A Promise made

But the Dowler affair showed that even the political power of News International had limits. Indefensible acts against a single, bereaved family were something the public would not forgive. With public attention focused on the Dowlers' plight, David Cameron knew that he had no alternative but to open the Pandora's Box that was the Leveson Inquiry.

What no-one knew at the time was that, before all of its contents were revealed, the lid on Pandora's Box would be slammed shut again.

Promises were made. Most importantly, they were made, eye to eye, by the Prime Minister, to the Dowler family and to other victims of phone hacking. They were made in Parliament as well as in person, but the history of the Leveson Inquiry is of the gradual resiling from those promises until finally, they were broken. An unanswered question is was the intention to break these promises from the start?

On 13 July 2011, Prime Minister Cameron said, clearly: "We have decided that the best way to proceed is with one inquiry, but in two parts." Victims of unethical practices in the press were being promised a Leveson Part Two. Part One of the Leveson Inquiry proceeded on the premise that after criminal trials had been concluded, there would be, in Cameron's words: "A full investigation into wrongdoing in the press and the police."

## A Promise Withdrawn

The first indication that this was changing came in January 2015, when junior Police Minister Mike Penning said: "The Government has been clear that a decision on whether to undertake Part 2 of the Leveson Inquiry will not take place until after all criminal investigations and trials related to Part 1 are concluded." In December 2015, the *Daily Mail* reported a 'No 10 spokesman' saying 'We have always been clear that a decision on whether or not to take forward part two of the Leveson Inquiry will not be taken until all criminal trials [are over]'.

*Extract from the transcript of the Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee session of March 14, 2018, questioning the Secretary of State, Matt Hancock.*

**Ian Lucas:** When the Government corresponded with Sir Brian Leveson in December of last year, they indicated in a letter dated 21 December that, and I quote, “We are not convinced the second part of the Inquiry is necessary”. In response to that letter of 21 December Sir Brian Leveson wrote back and, to quote Sir Brian Leveson, he said, “I fundamentally disagree with that conclusion”. Why did you not tell the House of Commons that?

**Matt Hancock:** We published the letter on the same day that I announced the conclusion of the consultation.

**Ian Lucas:** What you did, Secretary of State, was make a statement in the House of Commons. What you said, and I quote from Hansard, is, “Sir Brian, whom I thank for his service, agrees that the inquiry should not proceed under the current terms of reference but believes that it should continue in amended form”.

**Matt Hancock:** That is right.

**Ian Lucas:** You did not say that Sir Brian Leveson disagreed with the conclusion that the Government had reached.

**Matt Hancock:** Implicitly I did because I said, as you read out, that he believes that it should continue in an amended form. That is his position as he sets it out in the letter.

**Ian Lucas:** What Sir Brian Leveson said was that he fundamentally disagreed with the Government’s conclusion and when you made the statement to the Commons on 1 March you did not tell the Commons that, did you?

**Matt Hancock:** I said that he believed that it should continue and that was his position. Obviously he disagreed with my conclusion, which is that initiating Leveson 2 is not what is needed and not in the national interest.

**Ian Lucas:** He disagreed with you?

**Matt Hancock:** Yes, he did, and he wrote that to me.

**Ian Lucas:** What you told the Commons when you made your statement was that he agreed with you.

**Matt Hancock:** No, I said that he agrees that the inquiry should not proceed under the current terms of reference, which is true, and he said that he believes that it should continue in an amended form, which is also true. I think by saying it in the way that I did I explained his position. I did not use his words but I explained his position.

**Ian Lucas:** Secretary of State, I was in the Chamber for that statement and I was very concerned about what Sir Brian Leveson’s position was on this matter. When I listened to you my understanding was that his position was exactly the opposite of what you are now saying it was……. Can I tell you why this is important? We have tried to proceed on a basis of consensus thus far on an important area of policy. You are a new Secretary of State and you stood up



in the House of Commons and you represented Sir Brian Leveson’s position. I think you misrepresented his position and I have told you why. Sir Brian Leveson fundamentally disagreed with the Government’s conclusion. Those are not my words, those are Sir Brian Leveson’s words. Why should I believe you today?

**Matt Hancock:** Because everything I said then was accurate and I represented the position of his letter as a whole, that he believed that the inquiry should continue. I was standing up to explain that I thought that taking everything into account, all the changes since the Leveson Inquiry—all the changes in law, the fact that IPSO now exists—I decided that the best thing is not to have a backward-looking inquiry but a forward-looking inquiry.

**Ian Lucas:** I know what your position is. What I am saying to you is that you misrepresented Sir Brian Leveson’s position to the Commons on that day.

**Matt Hancock:** That is your view. We are not going to come to an agreement on it. I think I have faithfully represented it, as you read out. I can see that you would rather I had done differently.

**Ian Lucas:** No, what I would rather is that you had been straightforward. I am a lawyer; I know when particular words are drafted for particular purposes, and I think your words were drafted to mislead. That is what I think.

**Matt Hancock:** All I can say—

**Ian Lucas:** What I would have preferred would be if you quoted Sir Brian Leveson when he said that he fundamentally disagreed with the conclusion that the Government had reached.

**Matt Hancock:** I can see that that is your preference. I wrote my speech in order to describe his position and that is that.

**Ian Lucas:** My preference, Secretary of State, is for honesty and straightforward evidence. I would welcome that from you.

**Matt Hancock:** Noted.

# THE TRIUMPH OF CYNICISM

*Continued from page 3*

☞ *The Times*, a News International title, was more specific, quoting “senior government and judicial sources” as saying that Leveson 2 “would never see the light of day” because of “limited political appetite for another lengthy and expensive judicial inquiry into Fleet Street and the Met.”

Meanwhile, the Government was saying that “Leveson Part 2 will not be able to take place until after those investigations and trials have concluded. However, as soon as they have been completed, we will formally consult Sir Brian Leveson, as he now is, as chair of the inquiry, before announcing what is appropriate.”

Finally, in November 2016, under a new Prime Minister, Theresa May, the Government set up a formal consultation allowing the possibility of not commencing Leveson 2. The heat of the original debate around the Milly Dowler Affair had long subsided. The party leaders who had expressed such unanimity in 2011 had been replaced. Public attention had shifted to Brexit and its aftermath.

## The hurdle

However, Sir Brian Leveson had successfully concluded the first part of his inquiry and produced a widely praised report, so any abandonment of Leveson 2 would have to overcome the substantial hurdle of what Sir Brian Leveson thought. That role fell to the new Culture Secretary, Matt Hancock.

I had followed the Inquiry with interest. In 2015, I had become a member of the Commons’ DCMS Select Committee, tasked with scrutinising this issue. I was, therefore, watching out for the Government statement on its response to the Consultation on Leveson 2 which, after a long delay, arrived on 1 March 2018, and from my usual place on the Opposition back bench, was listening, especially carefully to what Matt Hancock reported that Lord Leveson had said. I heard him say: “Sir Brian, whom I thank for his service, agrees that the inquiry should not proceed under the current terms of reference but believes that it should continue in an amended form.”

Even at the time, in the Chamber, I thought this wording was odd. It suggested that Sir Brian agreed with the Government yet, unlike the Government, he thought the Inquiry should continue. What did this mean exactly? It was impossible for me or anyone questioning Hancock that day to know, because – as Hancock knew very well – we had not seen the relevant documents.

I rushed to the House of Commons Library immediately afterwards, asked to see the correspondence between Hancock

*In my opinion he had misled the House of Commons, not inadvertently but deliberately, by using specific language designed to mislead*

and Leveson, and was astonished to read Sir Brian’s reply to the Government’s conclusion that Part 2 of the Inquiry should not proceed: “*I fundamentally disagree with that conclusion.*”

## A Promise Broken

The moment in the Chamber had passed. The announcement that Leveson Part 2 would not take place had been made. Despite subsequent Points of Order in the Chamber pointing out that many MPs believed they had been misled, it seemed the Secretary of State had got away with breaking a Prime Minister’s unequivocal commitment to hold Leveson 2. I knew, however, that there would be another opportunity for me.

In the Chamber, a backbench MP has one chance to hit home, with only one question, but a Select Committee hearing allows detailed questioning to take a matter to its conclusion. Answering to a Select Committee was, I found, one of the most difficult jobs I faced during my ministerial career, especially when defending a Government policy over which I had personal doubts.

Matt Hancock was due to give evidence to the DCMS Committee later in March 2018 and I was determined to expose what I believed he had done. In my opinion he had misled the House of Commons, not inadvertently but deliberately, by using specific language designed to mislead.

I believed that this was not just a single event but the end of a long process planned over seven years, of resiling from the promises a Prime Minister made to vulnerable people who victims of an abuse of power.

## Truth Doesn’t Matter

I began questioning Matt Hancock on 14 March 2018. I had prepared intensively, choosing each word of my cross-examination carefully, quoting the correspondence between Hancock and Sir Brian Leveson.

Looking back now, three years on, this exchange was a big part of my decision to stand down from Parliament the following year. I was always told that telling the truth was fundamental to the Parliamentary process. I remembered, even as a child, reading about how John Profumo’s career ended because he lied in the House of Commons Chamber. It was my view that Hancock had misled me in the Chamber, and I thought I had exposed it in my cross-examination. What astonished me was his lack of contrition – and how little interest the press took in the exchange. I do not remember ever being asked by a journalist about the cross-examination. It seemed to me that telling the truth in Parliament no longer mattered.

*This is a slightly amended version of an article was published in April 2021 by Hacked Off, which campaigns for a free and accountable press.*

**Ian Lucas MP for Wrexham, 2001–2019**



Ben Queenborough/Alamy Stock Photo

Sir Brian Leveson



# BRITISH RAIL REVISITED

John Cockcroft



The 1994 privatisation of British Rail has returned to haunt Conservative Ministers. Mrs Thatcher was persuaded by Lord Whitelaw, Deputy Prime Minister, not to denationalise the railways. He had family experience of railways in the past and said to the Prime Minister that he could not see how it could be done efficiently.

The next Prime Minister, John Major, regarded it as a commendable Thatcherite project and the last of the privatisations. The current proposals are a halfway house, part private companies and part state entity. It is difficult to see how the companies, which will still pay dividends, will be an improvement on the existing situation.

British Rail was, of course, broken up into 28 operating companies and a hundred-plus units. The Treasury thought that this would be a way to maximise profits and provide competition, but in the event, it was just too complicated, in particular the separation of the rolling stock from the railway lines. British Rail is, in some ways, relevant to the present situation. The public is in favour of a degree of re-nationalisation, partly returning control of the railways to the state.

The old pre-1922 railway companies, such as Great Western and Great Eastern were losing money and the state intervened to preserve the railway system. The Beeching cuts of the mid-1960s were, in retrospect, too drastic. Not enough attention was given to social costs of closing the local railway lines and isolating small towns and villages from local lines.

The main advantage of having a unified railway system is that the normal resources of that considerable entity are available whenever anything goes wrong. A classic example is the 1988 Clapham railway crash, which unusually involved three different companies' trains – and considerable casualties. Within a short time the relevant trains and backup engines, safety equipment and so on, were in Clapham without any argument about who did what, as might have happened if the various privatised companies were involved.

The British Rail which I knew, as a regional director, was very constrained by treasury limitations. Every year the chairman had to give a lecture showing how the subsidy had been reduced, which is why there was less innovation than there might otherwise have been. That was a successful project, however: the subsidy was only a quarter, in real terms, of the present situation.

British Rail had a high calibre management, notably engineers and very efficient accountants. It had, most of the time I knew it, a charismatic chairman in Sir Peter Parker and a very able number two, Michael Bosworth. Towards the end of the 1980s there was increasing talk by BR managers, of following the Japanese precedent, whereby companies were privatised and efficient and with high-speed trains all over the place.

*I used to get a sleeper from London to Crewe, which was only two hours, but I was allowed to sleep in a siding afterwards.*

In her last year as leader of the Opposition, Mrs Thatcher lunched at British Rail Headquarters, with the Board. The occasion was not a success. She had already been briefed that Peter Parker was a 'dangerous lefty'. On return to her office, she told aides that his head would be one of the first to roll when she became Prime Minister. In any event, nothing happened, and he worked out his contract, which ended in 1982. I have written separately about the choice of his successor, in which I played a small part.

The other aspect of British Rail which is often mentioned was the quality of the food in its buffet cars, in particular bacon sandwiches. However the buffet cars were places where people could sit and relax, have a meal and enjoy the journey. Now, sometimes food only comes on a trolley, if at all.

British Rail sleepers were quite common at that time, and very popular, usually the meal served before passengers retired. As MP for Nantwich, I used to get a sleeper from London to Crewe, which was only two hours, but I was allowed to sleep in a siding afterwards.

The talk of competition on the railways between different companies is largely a mirage in that there are very few parallel lines which are relevant. The doubling of passenger numbers since privatisation is partly because the roads are so congested and trains, to be fair, go more quickly than ever.

HS2 is, on balance, the right decision and will, I hope, contribute to the so-called levelling up of London with the North of England. But critics obviously have a strong case in arguing that the huge sums involved in HS2 would be better spent on updating the existing railway structure. There is also, of course, the severe destruction of ancient woodlands and the ecology of plants and wildlife they support, which is a terrible loss, contributing to the rapidly diminishing natural habitats of our British countryside.

**John Cockcroft was Conservative MP for Nantwich, 1974–1979**

## IF SCOTLAND WANTS TO (RE)JOIN THE EU...

*There's a process to go through, and it's not simple.*

Ross Cranston QC



The prospect of Scottish independence and what it might mean in practice does not seem to go away. One implication is that Scotland would subsequently apply to (re)join the EU. So what is involved in (re)joining?

After standing down from Parliament in 2005, while squatting at the LSE, I was asked by the European Commission to join a team as a legal 'expert' to visit Turkey as part of the assessment process for it to join the EU. I then worked in the same capacity for Croatia. In Bulgaria and Romania, I was an 'expert' for the so-called Co-operation and Verification Mechanism, imposed as a condition of these countries' membership. Turkey's accession is still on hold, not assisted by developments after the 2016 coup, but the others I reported on were part of the great wave of EU enlargement in the early 2000s.

But let's start at the beginning. Article 49 of the Treaty on European Union (Maastricht) provides that any European State committed to the values in Article 2 may apply to become a member of the EU. Article 2 states that the EU is founded on respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human and minority rights. Article 49 requires the Council to act unanimously and contemplates that it will set conditions of eligibility. All Member States must agree.

Admission of the central and east European countries after the fall of communism was especially challenging because they needed to adjust their economic and political systems. In 1993 the European Council at Copenhagen set general criteria which countries were required to fulfil such

as stable institutions guaranteeing Article 2 values, a market economy, the ability to handle the pressures of competitive forces inside the EU and the obligations of accession such as economic and monetary union.

Later Councils elaborated these conditions. Countries had to integrate into the internal market by the adoption of EU law, the EU *acquis*. They needed to develop a detailed strategy for each Community policy area including energy, the environment, transport, science, and technology, as well as the CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) and matters relating to justice and home affairs.

While the Council oversaw accession, the work was undertaken in practice by the European Commission. It was concerned not only with the law in the books but its effective implementation. By the late 1990s it began publishing regular reports on the progress each applicant was making towards accession, produced with the assistance of background reports by representatives from Member States.

With Turkey the Commission reported on the challenges it faced in meeting the political criteria for accession, and the improvements needed to strengthen democracy and protect human rights.

A background report on the Turkish legal system which a Swedish judge and I wrote in 2005 was part of the Commission's third advisory mission. It covered judicial independence, the role of public prosecutors, the legal profession, access to justice, and court effectiveness.

Unlike Turkey, other countries achieved EU membership. Croatia

*It goes without saying that Scotland is not in the same league as any of the countries I reported on.*

entered an accession partnership agreement in 2004, and negotiations began the following year. Croatia had to develop a plan with specific measures (and timetable) to meet EU standards. The Commission prepared annual reports on progress. This is where I came in, as an 'expert' reporting on the state of judicial reform, court practices, judicial appointments and promotion, and access to justice, including legal aid.

What does this personal story mean for Scotland? It goes without saying that Scotland is not in the same league as any of the countries I reported on. It satisfies the Article 2 criteria. As part of the UK, its law contains the EU *acquis* retained through the EU (Withdrawal) Act (although there would be some divergences by the time it applies). It has a sound public administration and a fine judiciary.

But Scotland will need to go through the accession process. Recall that this is more refined and detailed than what existed when the UK joined what is now the EU in the 1970s. As part of the process Scotland will need to prepare detailed reports on a range of matters to satisfy the Commission, and ultimately the Council, that it meets EU standards. Borders to protect the integrity of the internal market will be one challenge. The public finances will be another. 'Experts' from other Member States will make annoying, and perhaps unnecessary, recommendations. Civil society groups will agitate for changes as part of the process. And there will be the challenge of adopting the Euro. But that is a separate story.

**Sir Ross Cranston was MP for Dudley North 1997–2005. He is professor of law at the LSE, and was a High Court judge for England and Wales, 2007–2017.**





# COPING WITH THE PANDEMIC ACROSS THE COMMONWEALTH

Stephen Twigg

**I joined the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) as Secretary-General on August 1st 2020. My first ten months have been dominated by the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on citizens and their parliaments throughout the Commonwealth.**

**F**irst and foremost, my thoughts are with all of those who have lost loved ones and the many others living with Covid-19 today. The pandemic has had an impact throughout the Commonwealth including several countries with some of the highest numbers of total confirmed cases in the world – for example, the United Kingdom, India and South Africa.

Commonwealth Health Ministers met virtually in May 2021 and issued a powerful call for equal access to vaccines and fair and transparent pricing. COVAX, the vaccines pillar of the access to Covid-19 Tools Accelerator, seeks fair and equitable access to vaccines throughout the world.

The scale of the challenge across Africa is huge. On average, Africa has a much younger population and, it has been suggested that, this has contributed to a lower overall death rate from Covid-19 in many African countries.

Nevertheless, a recent study in *The Lancet* suggests that adults who become critically ill with Covid have a higher average mortality rate in Africa than in other parts of the world. The study was based on a sample of ten countries and it attributed its findings to a range of factors including shortages of critical care beds and limited intensive care resources in many countries.

This study serves to remind us of two imperatives which apply globally but have particular resonance in Africa – the importance of vaccine equity and the need to reaffirm our shared commitment to strong and effective health systems.

Sustainable Development Goal Three (SDG3) focuses on health and well-being. It sets out a range of targets as part of the wider United Nations Agenda 2030. The pandemic demonstrates clearly how far we have to go if we are to achieve SDG3 – for example in its commitments regarding malaria, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis.

In May 2021, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which marks our 110th anniversary this year, published our new Strategic Plan for 2022–25. It includes a focus on supporting Parliaments and parliamentarians to adapt, innovate and recover from crises. As well as the impact on health (including mental health), the pandemic has had wider consequences, including its economic/fiscal effects and the impact on education and life chances for children and young people.

This year, we celebrate the 40th anniversary of our CPA Small Branches Network. Many of these branches are in Small Island Developing States – for example in the Pacific region. Travel restrictions arising from the pandemic have hit many

*As well as the impact on health (including mental health), the pandemic has had wider consequences, including its economic/fiscal effects and the impact on education and life chances for children and young people*

of their economies hard with the resulting impact on jobs and livelihoods. As the international system grapples with the challenges of recovery after the pandemic, it is incredibly important that the voices of smaller jurisdictions are heard.

Throughout the world, parliaments have adapted remarkably to the circumstances arising from the pandemic with new ways of working adopted to enable the essential work of legislation, oversight and scrutiny to continue. It will be interesting to see whether elements of these changes might be retained even once they are no longer dictated by necessity – for example, opportunities for witnesses to appear remotely before parliamentary committees or for MPs to participate in committee proceedings sometimes from their constituencies. I know there will be different views about this within and between parliaments but the experience of 2020 and 2021 does enable legislatures to consider the advantages and disadvantages of any proposed changes.

Technology has enabled us to adapt during this crisis. For the CPA, this has meant holding events virtually that have traditionally met in person. Our 36-strong Executive Committee drawn from all regions of the Commonwealth met virtually in August 2020 and in March 2021. One of our programmes is to hold Post Election Seminars with newly-elected parliaments – over the past year we have held several of these important seminars online and this has proved successful.

Mutual learning lies at the heart of the CPA's work. In May 2021, we launched our new Parliamentary Academy which will seek to support parliamentarians and parliamentary staff with opportunities for learning and development. As part of our new Strategic Plan, we will be launching an Alumni Network. I know that many former Members of Parliament in the UK have played an active role in the CPA (both in CPA UK and CPA internationally) and we will be looking to engage with you as the Network is set up.

**Stephen Twigg was Labour MP for Enfield Southgate, 1997–2005, and Liverpool West Derby, 2010–2019.**



# 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



UK Parliament

## JUSTINE GREENING Putney, 2005–2019

LEAVING PARLIAMENT in December 2019 after nearly 15 years as an MP representing my community in Putney, South West London, I knew it would be a big life change for me. Little did I know the rest of the country would also

join me, over the course of 15 months of 'on and off' Covid-19 lockdowns.

I've spent my time getting on with exactly what I left Parliament to do – grassroots work on levelling up. Since I set up the Social Mobility Pledge after leaving Government in 2018, I've been working with businesses, universities and increasingly, civil society organisations on projects to extend more opportunity to more people, especially in places that need opportunities the most. Together we've developed 14 Levelling Up Goals ([www.levellingupgoals.org](http://www.levellingupgoals.org)) – the distinct challenges we must meet if we're going to succeed in making Britain fairer and truly 'building back better'.

For me, politics was all about making a difference on the ground. I left the House of Commons because the reality is that Governments don't have all the answers on driving equality of opportunity – many of the levers that need to be pulled are outside Westminster. We need businesses and employers thinking differently about the opportunities they have and how they can be engines of social mobility that really pull through more diverse talent from a diverse country. In today's Britain every employer should have a clear levelling up plan in place – and the more that do, the better this country will succeed.



## ANDREW BINGHAM High Peak, 2010–2017

LOSING YOUR JOB in front of television cameras to the sound of people cheering is incredibly traumatic – and only the start of a very difficult period for a defeated MP. Contrary to public belief, there isn't a raft of highly paid

directorships etc. waiting to be snapped up. Trying to find work for loyal staff is the first priority. Then, when you have cleared your offices, you need to find employment for yourself.

After the 2017 election I relocated from my old High Peak constituency to London. I found part time work, after 150 job applications, before securing my present role as Head of the Government Car Service, part of the DfT, supplying cars and drivers to Government Ministers across government.

Former colleagues, who are now Ministers and 'clients', know me, and will often call or message me directly when there is a problem. I jokingly say that Ministers are a lot more interested in speaking to me now than they were when I was in the House!

The defeat will always hurt, but I am getting to enjoy having weekends back. My civil service grade prevents me from engaging in political activity so I watch events with a slightly more detached view.

More thought needs to be given to assisting defeated MPs. I was delighted to be co-opted on to the Executive of the Association and pleased that we have already identified this as an issue.

I feel incredibly privileged to have been an MP and enjoyed every minute of it, (well apart from June 8th 2017)!

## MPS' PENSIONS: NO PASSING THE BUCK, PLEASE

One would hope that any organisation calling itself Buck would agree that it stops with them.

As a member of the Executive of the Former Members Association I raised a personal problem and it became apparent I was not the only one who had experienced difficulties or knew whom to complain to. Out of 13 people

present online, 3 reported problems including one former member who had to turn to the legal system before he was able to access the pension that was his right.

This is a tiny sample of the membership but concerning that over 20 percent of them would have experienced issues. This may not be typical and the executive is keen to hear from others.

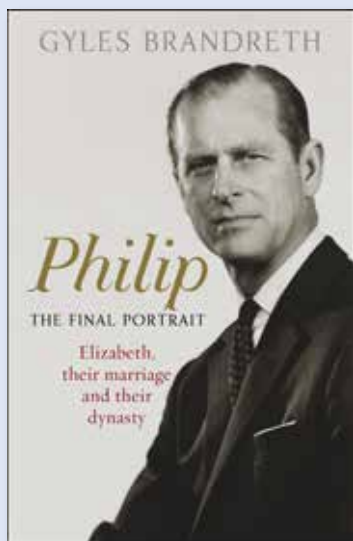
Can people let us know of any negative experiences with valuations, arranging transfers, the process of obtaining the pension when they

decided to retire, or other problems? We would like to put all of these questions and others to Buck to test whether it really does end there.



Adrian Sanders Torbay 1997–2015  
Membership Secretary, Association  
of Former MPs.

## A GOOD READ



### A LIFE SPENT BEING TALKED ABOUT AND MISUNDERSTOOD

Peter Heaton-Jones

*Philip – The Final Portrait*  
By Gyles Brandreth

Published by Hodder & Stoughton

WHEN GYLES BRANDRETH was Member of Parliament for Chester, he was in a line-up to greet Prince Philip during a royal visit. The Duke approached and asked, 'What are you doing here?'. 'I'm the local MP', replied Brandreth. Philip's reaction was characteristic. 'Are you? Good God!'

The two have had many spiky encounters over the years, some of which are documented in this new version of Brandreth's 2004 book *Portrait of a Marriage*, re-jigged and updated following the Prince's passing. Brandreth was once making a speech when the Duke began heckling him: 'Get on with it!', 'What on earth's he going on about now?', 'Don't believe a word he says!'. It's also clear that Philip often rebuffed Brandreth's attempts to elicit information, employing varying degrees of impatience and tetchiness.

Despite these setbacks, and the acres of words already written about the Duke since his death in April, Brandreth's book provides some entertaining new nuggets. Contrary to popular myth, Philip and Elizabeth's first meeting was not that famous occasion in Dartmouth when she was a 13-year-old princess and he a dashing 18-year-old naval cadet. They had actually met numerous times before; they were, after all, cousins. Brandreth also tells us that at the moment George VI died and she became Queen, Princess Elizabeth was photographing baboons playing with a roll of toilet paper. And when news reached Philip that his wife had given birth to their son and heir, the Duke was playing squash. Brandreth revels in such details, trivial yet hugely repeatable – the very essence of the after-dinner speaker.

Brandreth knew the Duke for more than 40 years through his political, charity and media work. Their relationship was not straightforward. 'To me, sometimes he seemed

*Brandreth was once making a speech when the Duke began heckling him: 'Get on with it!'*

like a proper friend, sometimes almost like a father...', Brandreth says. 'When others were present he treated me as though, somehow, I had joined his staff by mistake, that I shouldn't really be there, but since I was, I might as well stay'.

There are many stories highlighting the Duke's infamous irascibility and delicious gift for understatement. Brandreth recalls once telling Philip that he'd had breakfast with the actor who played Blake Carrington in *Dynasty*. 'I haven't the first idea what you're talking about', the Duke retorted, 'I had breakfast with the Queen'.

But this is far more than a light-hearted digest of royal anecdotes. Brandreth is not afraid to tackle the more sensitive issues. Many pages are devoted to the persistent rumour, innuendo and tittle-tattle about Philip's private life. In particular, did he have extra-marital affairs? The book investigates the alleged transgressions and weighs up the evidence. No spoilers; but, as Brandreth says, 'The Duke of Edinburgh spent a lifetime being talked about and being misunderstood'.

Given the book's genesis, it's not surprising that the royal marriage features heavily. And this is something of a problem. Philip rarely spoke about affairs of the heart; the Queen even less so. Brandreth clearly tried many times to persuade the Duke to talk about such matters, but Philip was having none of it. The result is a heavy reliance on Brandreth's own impressions. His conclusion is distinctly Cartland-esque, but probably accurate: 'When they were old, when the tide was in, I sensed that Philip and Elizabeth – as man and wife, as consort and queen, as the best of friends – were closer than they had ever been'.

Brandreth's research is thorough, his access impressive, his sources impeccable. But the book seems slightly unsure of its own identity. It's a classic example of The Librarian's Dilemma. History? Biography? Memoir? It could be all three, and more. It's an affectionate, entertaining and energetic account of a man who, as Brandreth points out, undertook 22,219 royal engagements in his own right, and yet was destined always to be two steps behind his wife of 74 years.

Since the Duke's death, much has been said about the extent to which he supported the Queen. Her speech about him being her 'strength and stay' is well known; less familiar are the smaller, more personal gestures. Brandreth recounts a crowded drinks reception where Philip is standing on one side of the room, his wife the other. Their eyes meet, he discreetly and quickly raises his glass to her, she smiles. A brief moment in time, but one which speaks volumes.

Brandreth clearly had a great fondness for Philip, tinged with regret that he probably never came to know the real man. It's doubtful anyone ever did, save perhaps one person. And she's not telling.

Peter Heaton-Jones was MP for North Devon, 2015–2019

## PRACTICALLY PERFECT IN EVERY WAY

Jerry Hayes

### *Going for Broke: the Rise of Rishi Sunak*

By Michael Ashcroft

Published by Biteback

MICHAEL ASHCROFT HAS DONE HIS BEST to paint a portrait of a mystery wrapped within an enigma. Why did a man who could have had the city at his feet bother with politics? Who is he? Ashcroft tries to shed some light.

'There is a good reason why Sunak's media profile looks as though it is curated by a team of experts: it is'.

Step forward Cass Horowitz, a talented young master of the arts of 'brand strategy, identity packaging, content and digital advertising ..... imagine David and Goliath. We're the slingshot.' He was recommended by Allegra Stratton, Sunak's head of comms – before she was poached by Boris so that some of the Rishi stardust could be rubbed off on him. Bad luck Allegra – not your fault it didn't work out.

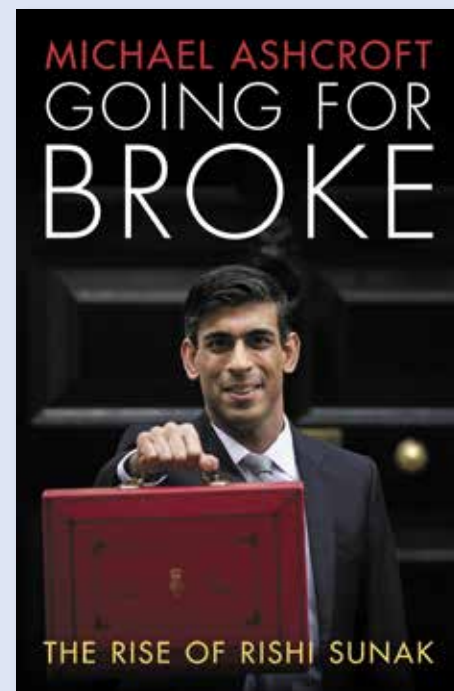
Stratton is married to the columnist and political insider James Forsyth, who was Sunak's best man. Forsyth is a key player in the rise of 'the Disney prince version of a Tory MP'. And that touch of Hollywood appears to be the popular vision of many backbenchers, ministers and commentators. Phil Collins praises him for having the almost unique ability of a cabinet minister, 'of getting through an interview without saying something silly'. Piers Morgan, not exactly a soft touch on the Johnson government, gushes 'I wish this guy was Prime Minister. Smart, confident, authoritative, empathetic, realistic and with a great grasp of detail'. Although my favourite semi-orgasmic rapture is the tribute from some smitten child at GQ magazine to Rishi's "alchemic ability to transubstantiate a tailored garment". On your knees Rees-Mogg.

The theme running through this book is that Sunak is the real deal. Bright, hardworking, considerate to others, empathic, modest, someone who really cares, who neither swears nor drinks alcohol. I usually have a primal distrust of teetotalers, unless there is a medical reason. According to Ashcroft he is a generous host. No glass is left unfilled.

And he actually likes people. Even Tory backbenchers. I know. It's unbelievable. In the middle of the pandemic he spent one and a half hours explaining his route map. They loved it.

Does this man have no redeeming defects? Could he not at least have spent his gap year smuggling drugs or have been a part-time hitman for some Mexican drugs cartel?

As soon as I read that he was once a rising star of that high temple of avarice, Goldman Sachs, 'we're greedy, but we're long term greedy', I hoped that there might be a whiff of darkness. Depressingly not. He was a hardworking team player who was liked. Even his former boss advised him not to go into politics, 'as it was a dirty business'. Give me strength.



Two people have played an important part in his dizzying ascent. Dominic Cummings, who admired his intellect, hard work and problem solving. Sunak loyally defended him after his ocular adventure.

His other mentor is Sajid Javid. Sunak became his much-trusted Chief Secretary. There is an unusual dynamic between Chancellor and Chief Secretary. Hammond froze out Liz Truss because she wasn't a team player and Brown requested officials give his Chiefs false information to be fed back to Blair. Javid and Sunak are still close. Some day they will be a formidable combination.

One of the reasons why Sunak's economic rescue package has been such a success is that he would test each policy to destruction in front of a Murder Board. Wisely, he kept Frances O'Grady of the TUC and Carolyn Fairbairn of the CBI in the loop. Even Len McCluskey described the measures as, 'historic, bold and very much necessary'. The Sun photoshopped him as a cowboy, dubbing him the Loan Arranger. Unwittingly, the Treasury has loaned £170,000 to 'Killing Kittens' who arrange 'exclusive, decadent and hedonistic parties...fully focused on the pursuit of female pleasure'. A yabba-dabba-do day for Number 10.

Ashcroft wonders how well Sunak will cope with the inevitable unpopularity when economic reality sinks in. And whether he appreciates the difference between rising fast and being in a hurry.

So, will Sunak join the ranks of the best Prime Minister we never had, or will he charm his way into Number 10? It's much too early to make a prediction.

Yet there is a clue as to why Sunak gave up a successful career for Westminster. As a child Johnson wanted to be King of the world. And little Rishi? A Jedi knight. I hope that the Force is with him. He seems to be one of the good guys.

Jerry Hayes was MP for Harlow, 1983–1997



## TEN DEAD – AN EVERYDAY DISASTER

Neil Gerrard

### *Descent into Silence: Cawthorne's Forgotten Tragedy* By David Hinchliffe

Published by Scratching Shed Publishing Ltd

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, in May 1821, ten men and boys were killed when a rope or chain snapped in a coal mine in Cawthorne, Yorkshire, and the corve (large basket) they were in plunged down the mineshaft. There was one badly injured survivor. One of those killed was John Hinchliffe, aged just 8 years.

David Hinchliffe's and his wife's long-term interest in their family history, plus the work he and others had done on the industrial heritage of the area, inspired him to investigate further and to write this book, which is much more than a family history. It puts the tragedy into context, contrasting the lives of mining families with the better recorded life styles of the dominant local gentry.

It also examines contemporary attitudes towards child labour. It was common practice for children to be working in coal mines at the time, often assisting their fathers. This was partly simple economic necessity. Social reformers concentrated on the employment of children in factories, coal mines received little attention

Nothing remains of the industries which dominated the area. It is not possible even to be absolutely certain of the location of the mine where the accident happened,

Neil Gerrard was MP for Walthamstowe, 1992–2010

## THE SHORT LIFE OF CHANGE

Nicholas Bennett

### *Change The Independent Group* Edited by Peter McNab

Published by Grosvenor House Publishing

WHO REMEMBERS THE HEADY DAYS when a group of Labour MPs broke away to form a new centre party? No, I'm not referring to the SDP, created in 1981, but to that vaguely remembered time two years ago when seven MPs left the Labour Party to form the 'Independent Group'.

*Change The Independent Group* is a series of interviews with five members of the now defunct party, in which Ann Coffey, Joan Ryan, Mike Gapes, Chris Leslie, and former Tory-SDP-Tory, Anna Soubry tell their stories in their own inimitable styles.

The election of Jeremy Corbyn as Leader and the increasing anti-Semitic tone was what eventually drove the Labour members to quit. The puzzle is that it took nearly four years – they all stood as Labour candidates in the 2017 under Corbyn's leadership. Similarly, Soubry complains about the company she was apparently forced to keep in the Conservative Party, but stood for re-election as the Party's representative in Broxtowe in 2017.

Strangely, nowhere in the book is the short life of the Party documented. The reader is left to discover the names

Nicholas Bennett was MP for Pembroke, 1987–1992



although there is evidence pointing to a probable site in the rural landscape.

Contemporary records of the accident are scant. Brief newspaper accounts did not mention that half the fatalities were children aged 13 or younger. Fortunately, there is a vivid

description of the aftermath in a long letter written to his mother by an evangelical preacher. No record survives of an inquest, although one was later mentioned by the sole survivor.

Anyone who has studied family history knows the care needed in using old, often incomplete records. It is easy to make assumptions based on a name which lead on a false trail. Varied spellings of names are common, when a person was illiterate someone else recorded the name based on what they heard. David navigates these problems with meticulous care. He explains that he cannot be 100 per cent sure that John Hinchliffe was a relative but sets out evidence which strongly suggests that he was.

The accident is not mentioned in the archives from the estate of the entrepreneur operating the mine. There was no outcry about the ages of some of those killed. It was only in 2019 that funds were raised to erect a memorial to the victims in a local churchyard. A memorial service was held this year.



of other members from the interviews, and some idea of what happened during the ten months of its existence.

The most interesting interviews are those which reveal why things started to go wrong soon after the launch in February 2019. The Electoral Commission prohibited the use of the word 'Independent'. After rebranding as Change-UK they were threatened with legal action by a US company with the same name. Tensions arose

between the Labour members. Neophyte Tory Heidi Allen, one of the three Tory defectors, was drafted in as Leader after Luciana Berger and Angela Smith vetoed Chuka Umunna.

They missed the deadline for local elections but fielded a full slate of candidates for the UK's unexpected participation in the European Parliament elections. Their reward was 3.5 per cent of the national vote.

Within days of that election six of the eleven Change MPs drifted off. Our five Remainers struggled on under Anna Soubry's leadership until the December General Election put the fledgling party out of its misery. Thus 'Change - The Independent Group' (its third and final name) joined Mosley's New Party and Acland's Common Wealth Party in what Mike Gapes ruefully observed was "a small footnote in history".

## GOSSIP, WIT, REVENGE

Denis MacShane

### *In The Thick of It, The Private Diaries of a Minister*

By Alan Duncan

Published by William Collins

IN POLITICS timing is everything. There is nothing sadder than a smart, talented, hard-working MP who does a term or so in the House, hits his or her 40s, and then the party he/she serves is defeated and stays out of power for a decade or more.

Alan Duncan followed the traditional *cursus honorum* of a rising, able Tory – minor public school, beating Theresa Brasier's boyfriend, Philip May, to be President of the Oxford Union, a Harvard Scholarship, serious money making in the Gulf in his 20s, a safe seat at 35 in 1992. And then marking time for years in the long wait to be a minister in his 50s.

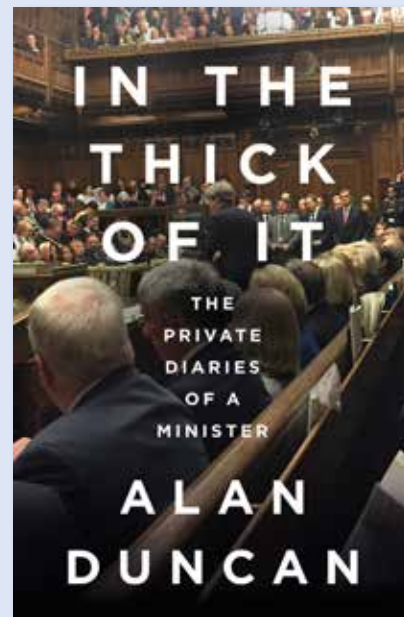
His waspish wit was not to the taste of all, though I enjoyed his company in the annual UK-Swiss Parliamentary week of ski races in Davos, where he was the favourite of all the MPs' children as he organised parties for them and kept them endlessly amused.

He was the first Tory MP to come out as gay, in 2002 – long after Labour MPs such as Chris Smith or Chris Bryant. It is a reminder of how reactionary our political life was that he had to spend his first decade in the Commons concealing his sexuality.

His new book is a compelling and exhausting read. Compelling for his frank character assessment-assassinations of his colleagues including Boris Johnson, Theresa May and any number of top Tories including various current cabinet ministers. Exhausting as every meeting of his very odd Rutland Constituency Association is recorded, along with every trip he makes as a Foreign Office junior minister, nearly every side trip to the Gulf, his fight with the FCO Permanent Under Secretary about electronic signatures or the design of the entrance bollards into the FCO. It all takes up a fair bit of wordage.

It is not entirely clear if the entries are written contemporaneously or part-assembled from diary appointments, correspondence, and the author's memory. They contain plenty of verbatim quotes and read authentically but they are not the classical diary of a politician who wants to note everything down, the colour of politics or word images of politicians, warts and all, in the manner of an Alan Clark, a Chips Channon, or more recently a Chris Mullin.

They fall into the category of a revenge diary, written by a politician who knows his time may soon be up and who wants to get down in print just what he thinks of the chancers, second-raters, and inferior brains he resented having to work with. There is always a handsome cheque from the *Daily Mail* or *Sunday Times* for the ex-minister who watches his star fade and despised colleagues overtake in slithering up the greasy pole.



*They fall into the category of a revenge diary, written by a politician who knows his time may soon be up..*

What is striking about this highly readable diary is how much of it seems ancient history. An enthusiastic anti-European from the moment he voted No in the 1975 referendum, Sir Alan joined in the Thatcher generation of 1992 Tory MPs in mocking and deriding the European Union. Though never shrill or an obsessive, he never missed a moment to find fault with the EU between 1997 and 2016.

Then in March that year he wrote a *Daily Telegraph* article explaining why he was now in favour of a Remain vote. It was too late. The anti-European hostility of a Dominic Cummings, Nigel Farage or Boris Johnson from the 1990s onwards had done its work. Sir Alan's change of heart, while solidly argued, was irrelevant.

He records in great detail the comings and goings of the unhappy Theresa May government as it grappled with Brexit especially after the 2017 election, but it is not clear how much interest there is today in the endless votes in the Commons in 2019.

We get a bit too much of Sir Alan's contact book in the Gulf or his barely disguised dislike of Israel or MPs in the Commons sympathetic to Jewish causes and to Israel. But he is a passionate man and we need that in politics.

Had he kept a diary all his life, or from entry into the Commons in 1992, there might have been better control of his material. This diary was begun at a weird moment in British political life, the quarrelsome divisive May-Corbyn years in the first period of Brexit. For aficionados of the early Brexit years they are a great read. But as we learn to live with Brexit into the years ahead let us hope there is a minister privately and quietly writing down what his or her colleagues say and do. Contemporaneously recorded diaries are still some of the best accounts of political life.

Denis MacShane was Labour MP for Rotherham 1994–2012 and a PPS and Minister at the FCO 1997–2005. He kept a daily diary after entering the Commons now running to 2 million words which one day he says he will edit down for publication.



## RECORDING THE TURN OF THE SEASONS

Ieuan Wyn Jones

### *Cliff Cottage – The Gift of a Quite Year*

*Edited by David Nicholson*

Published by Michael Terence

THIS LITTLE BOOK (David Nicholson's words) is a written and pictorial record of the turn of the seasons by Sister Theresa Margaret, a member of an Anglican Community, during her twelve month stay in a cottage in Moelfre on the north-east coast of the island of Anglesey (Ynys Môn in Welsh) in the mid-1990s. She was lent the cottage by David's mother Lucy, a little haven used for family holidays by the Nicholson family since the late 1950s.

The book has beautiful illustrations of the animals, birds and flowers Theresa Margaret saw during each of the four seasons, as well as a written record in her original neat hand-writing. She clearly has a very creative and artistic side to her character, something I can relate to since it is very similar to that of my late wife Eirian who made prints of the Anglesey landscape. This creative bent is best demonstrated through some of the descriptive words used, such as the cottage 'smiled' in the winter sunshine when she first arrived and the sad look on the face of an exhausted young seal she found stranded on a beach in one of her illustrations.

Some of her descriptive written observations are quite captivating. She describes a flock of sheep as a four-part choir. 'The sheep are basses and baritones and occasionally tenor. The lambs are alto and treble. Kings College Choir?' To those of us who are amateur gardeners the description of cats visiting the garden carries a certain resonance.

*The book has beautiful illustrations of the animals, birds and flowers Theresa Margaret saw during each of the four seasons*

As she says 'they have a benefit side – their presence deters rabbits – but also has a debit side – they use it as a loo...'

To those of us familiar with the Ynys Môn coastline the pictorial record of birds is fascinating. They run from the familiar herring gulls to the curlew, the oyster catcher and the occasional sight of the Goosander. The traditional garden birds are not forgotten such as the swallow, the blackbird, wren and my all-time favourite the robin.

I have to admit however that my favourite part of the book is the illustrations of the flowers and their place in the seasons' calendar. In early spring flowers such as the Primrose, Bluebells and Grape Hyacinth appear to be followed in late spring by the wild rose and Narcissus and the Creeping buttercup and Sycamore flower in early summer and so on. In any garden, maintaining colour and interest throughout the year is hard work, but the rewards are life affirming as this book reminds us.

The long maritime history of Moelfre is not forgotten, with an illustration of the Coastguard lookout. As David reminds us in his introduction the biggest sea disaster in the area, the destruction of the Royal Charter in 1859 with the loss of around 450 lives happened just north of Moelfre and is still part of the local folk memory.

I thoroughly enjoyed reading the book, an enjoyment enhanced by the fact that my grandparents spent the latter part of their lives in a small cottage overlooking the sea in Moelfre. Thanks to Sister Theresa Margaret for bring it all back to life in such a captivating way.

Ieuan Wyn Jones was MP for Ynys Môn, 1987–2001



## TRIBUTES

### FRANK JUDD

28 March 1935 – 17 April 2021

Labour MP for Portsmouth West, 1966–1974 & Portsmouth North, 1974–1979

*Remembered by Alf Dubs*



UK Parliament

MY FIRST CONTACT with Frank was through the Labour Party when he was an MP and a Minister, but we got to know each other better when he became head of Oxfam and I was at the Refugee Council. Years later, when I was invited to join the Lords, Frank had already been there a few years.

He was passionate about issues which really mattered, and spoke and campaigned for them throughout his years in Parliament. There was no firmer advocate for internationalism, tackling poverty, development aid, human rights, and refugees. It was always a pleasure to speak in the same debates when his voice rang out loud and clear.

By a happy coincidence, Frank and his wife Chris moved to the Lakes at the same time as my wife and I also made our home in Cumbria. Our houses were within 2 ½ miles of each other. Friends in the Lords were sure Frank and I had planned this, but it was just luck. We saw a lot of Frank and Chris, whether it was walking on the fells, over meals in pubs or in their lovely cottage near Loweswater. Frank developed many friendships locally and it was always a pleasure to meet some of them over a delicious

dinner at his house. He was a keen churchgoer, which provided him with a whole network of Cumbrian friends.

In spite of worsening health nothing would stop him engaging with friends with undiminished enthusiasm for the Lakes. Sometimes, when I was in London, he would phone me from Cumbria to tell me how heavenly it all was. Over the years his hearing deteriorated. Hearing loss can be isolating but he did not let that deter him from contributing to debates at Westminster, and playing a full part in Labour Party activities. Every election, Frank and Chris would put time into canvassing.

Frank was generous to a fault. He was always keen to compliment colleagues on their speeches. He would frequently phone me to ask whether it would be helpful if he were to sign up to support an amendment of mine and to apologise if he was unable to do so. My answer was that his help would always be useful if he could manage it.

During the pandemic I saw less of him than usual. One of my last 'real' memories is of tea in his garden, eating Chris's scones, surrounded by the beautiful Cumbrian scenery that Frank.

There has been such an outpouring of love, affection and respect from colleagues since his death. Frank was a man with real values and beliefs which he put into practice personally and politically. I feel lucky and privileged to have known him.

### STAN NEWENS

4 February 1930 – 2 March 2021

Labour MP for Epping, 1964–1970 & Harlow 1974–1983

*Remembered by Mike Gapes*



ARTHUR STANLEY NEWENS, was born in Bethnal Green, in East London, and though the family moved to North Weald, Essex in 1939, he always considered himself an East Ender, proud of his Cockney roots. He excelled at school, took A Levels in History, English, French and Latin, and studied History at University College, London. After graduation, he trained as a teacher.

By then, to the consternation of his Conservative voting working class family, he had become a passionate international socialist. As a conscientious objector he spent three years as a "Bevin Boy" coal miner in Stoke on Trent, instead of two years' National Service in the army, during the Korean War. There, he became a NUM rep, led a strike, and met his first wife Ann. They returned to North Weald in 1956. Stan taught History at Edith Cavell School, Hackney. Two daughters, Sarah and Caroline, arrived before tragedy struck and Ann died in 1962. Stan met his second wife, Sandra, through Chingford Labour Party. They married in 1966. Two more daughters, Helen and Margaret, arrived followed by a son, Thomas.

As MP for Epping, Stan quickly established his reputation as a leading left-winger and vociferous opponent of the Vietnam War and the defence policy of the Wilson government. He also

rebelled on immigration controls. Defeated by Norman Tebbit in 1970, he returned to teaching, but was re-elected as MP for Harlow, and then as MEP for Central London from 1984–1999.

Stan was a dedicated constituency MP, an active supporter of CND and, as Chair of Liberation (formerly the Movement for Colonial Freedom), a strong opponent of US foreign policy, and supporter of the Communist regimes in Vietnam, Cuba and China. He defended his sympathetic interviews with Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu on the grounds that Romania was independent of the Soviet Union.

But Stan was not a pacifist. He supported Michael Foot's robust approach after Argentina invaded the Falklands in 1982. He also opposed Tony Benn standing for Deputy Leader in 1981.

I first met him in the 1970s. He was delighted to discover that, like him, I had attended Buckhurst Hill County High School. Stan was always helpful and keen to talk. When I was the Party National Student Organiser, he readily agreed to speak at Labour Club meetings. While I was in the International Department of the Party we kept in touch when I visited Brussels or Strasbourg to talk to our MEPs. Despite some political differences I found him one of the most informed and thoughtful of our Parliamentarians.

In his retirement Stan devoted his time to his extended family, his huge collection of books, his writing, and a range of political, historical and local civic organisations.

## MIKE WEATHERLEY

2 July 1957 – 20 May 2021

Conservative MP for Hove, 2010–2015

*Remembered by David Morris*



I FIRST MET MIKE WEATHERLEY when I worked in the music industry 30 years ago. It was a shock to us to meet up again when we were both elected in 2010. We were both the same but older in a different world. We loved it. Mike had a short

but brilliant Parliamentary career, as David Cameron's intellectual property Tsar, a role he excelled at. He also worked tirelessly trying to get changes in legislation in secondary ticketing and to streamline the way artists get paid royalties in the digital age. I maintain if he had not stepped down from Parliament in 2015, he would have been Secretary of State for DCMS. In fact, Ministers still dip into what he was doing nearly 10 years ago. He was so ahead of his time.

Mike's baby in the house was his annual Rock the House Competition where he gave MPs the chance to champion musical talent in their constituencies. Every year the house welcomed the big players and names in the music industry. We had visits from Alice Cooper, Deep Purple, Slash, Thin Lizzy Yngwie Malmsteen and many, many more. One year he fixed it that most of Whitesnake played the terrace and naturally Mike made sure I came out of retirement to play with them again. He had the natural talent to make people feel special and bring them together. He was always chipper and never angry. Even when he was diagnosed with cancer, around 2013, he just said I'm off to hospital and walked across the bridge to Tommy's without any fuss. He made a full recovery.

He had a high-flying career after he left the House and lived in LA and UK, naturally still hanging out with rock stars. Mike knew how to party and he did it well. We had dinner in the Commons the night before the first lockdown last year. He told me that the big C had come back in his lung. He quipped that he didn't smoke, which made us both laugh.

Nothing ever got him down. He would have laughed at all of his friends being upset about his passing. Mike would never have wanted that. We were texting one another a few days ago about our various ailments and making light of me not being able to go and see him as I'd "done my back in". He signed off with "what a pair" we were.

Sadly in the early hours of May 20th he died and I never got to see him. Heartbroken, I texted: "Mate I know your never going to read this but love ya and see you on the other side. Your my big brother and always will be. Safe journey. Dxxx"



Mike and Alice Cooper in New Palace Yard, October 2011

PA images/Alamy Stock Photo

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