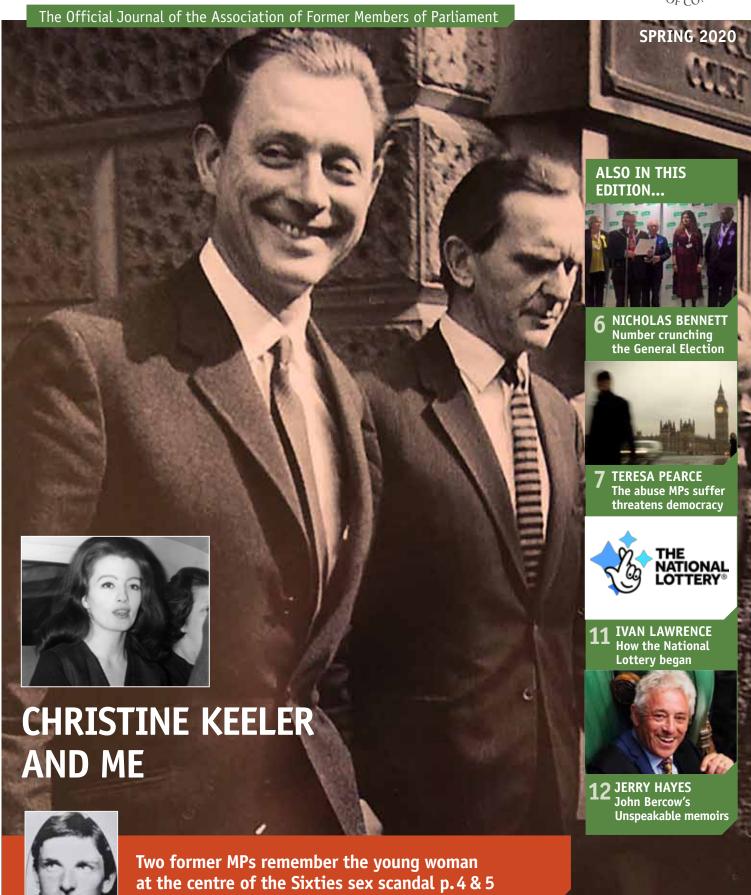
# Order! Order!





### NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

By Andy McSmith

There are 165 more former MPs than there were since the last issue of *Order Order*, many of whom were not expecting their circumstances to change so suddenly. Five who were, because they chose to stand down, have contributed to the current issue. Many thanks to Stephen Pound – whose father, Pelham Pound, is pictured on the front cover, with his friend Stephen Ward – Jeremy Lefroy, Teresa Pearce, Paul Farrelly and Sarah Newton.

The former Tory MP Robert Hayward is better known now as a political analyst than as a politician – one with a pretty good record for accurately forecasting elections. When he addressed the Association's December meeting in the River Room, in the House of Lords, nine days before polling day, the audience were predictably pushing him to tell them what was going to happen.

He was not drawn into talking numbers, but rightly pointed out that the electorate was more volatile than ever before, and that the Conservatives were likely to benefit from "having sucked at the pool of Brexit support".

He added that – ominously for Labour – the single word that cropped up most on the doorstep was 'Corbyn', and the most common phrases were "this time" and "not this time" – but he detected signs that Labour was retaking some of the Remain vote back off the Liberal Democrats. Lord Hayward has worked with Jo Swinson, and thinks highly of her, but noted with regret that "in this election the more they (the voters) see her, the more they dislike her, and that would explain why the Liberal Democrat vote is going down."

Pritain's constituency map is not what it used to be, with seats that have been Labour for decades turned blue, while a few formerly very safe Tory seats in the south are not so safe any more. If the history of the individual seats interests you, Jacques Arnold is offering copies of his evergreen work, A History of Britain's

Parliamentary Constituencies – now in its 27th edition – at a 50 % discount for Association members.

In a magazine written and read by former MPs, the books reviewed in the back are all about politics. But late last year I received one delightful book by that polymath ex-MP, Gyles Brandreth – Dancing by the Light of the Moon, How Poetry can transform your memory and change your life. It features more than 250 poems, some serious - Shakespeare merits a whole chapter - and many light and funny. You may guess from the title that Edward Lear is included. There are rhymes by poets I had never heard of, such as "I'd like to be a teabag and stay at home all day" by Peter Dixon. And here is a poem by Brandreth himself, entitled Ode to a Goldfish. It has three lines. It goes "Oh wet pet!" That is it, quoted in full.

If, say, you have a grandchild who thinks poetry is boring, this book could change a mind, and a life.

andy@andymcsmith.co.uk

## WANTED-OLD HANSARDS

By Linda McDougall

Wroxton Abbey in Oxfordshire was the home of Lord North (British Prime Minister 1770–82), and the North Family for over 200 years.

In 1965 the estate was sold to Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey, USA, and opened as Wroxton College, the first American higher-education institution to own an overseas campus. It has been used ever since by those studying history, politics, or literature in the UK.

Students live in Wroxton Abbey and courses are taught by the lecture, seminar and tutorial method employed in British universities. Students benefit from valuable links established with major British institutions and particularly close links with the UK parliament. Lord Norton of Louth, Hull University's distinguished Professor of Politics, works with the college in Westminster and at Wroxton. Over the years many MPs and Lords have given lectures and seminars at the college. Their photographs adorn the walls of the college libraries. Wroxton also offers shorter programs, including an abbreviated summer session for undergraduates, programs for lifelong learners and alumni, hosted programs for partner universities, and more.

Bruce George who was the Labour MP for Walsall South 1974–2010 donated his library to Wroxton College when he retired. Bruce George was Chairman of the Defence Select Committee from 1979 to 2005 and his extensive collection of books reflects his Defence interests.



Austin Mitchell Labour MP for Grimsby 1977–2015 has donated to Wroxton his collection of Hansard.

College Director Dr Nicholas Baldwin has had the volumes catalogued and is looking to complete the collection, which is much used by students. He is interested in any volume pre 1980, volume 32 from 1982–83, plus other gaps that need filling from 1994. If any retired Members would like to donate any of the missing volumes, their generosity would be greatly appreciated.

Dr Baldwin said hopefully that he would love to start a collection of Lords Hansards too if there are any retired members or their families who are looking for a safe haven for their volumes.

Linda McDougall is the author of *Westminster Women* and married to Austin Mitchell, MP for Grimsby 1977–2015

## DATE FOR YOUR DIARY

Please note that our Spring All Member meeting which was due to take place in the House of Lords on Thursday the 23rd April has been cancelled. We all hope for better news in the coming weeks and that we are able to enjoy our summer meeting and reception in July, details in the next column.



Our good news is that the Speaker of the House of Commons, **Rt Hon Sir Lindsay Hoyle** MP, has agreed to be our Patron and also Deputy Speaker



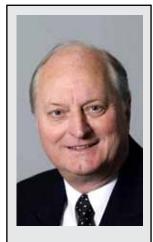
**Nigel Evans** MP has agreed to continue to serve on the Executive Committee. We are enormously grateful to both for their support.

Not such good news is that because of extensive maintenance works taking place in Speaker's House, no events can take place there for the remainder of 2020. So your committee have had to think about alternatives for our summer get together.

I am pleased to say that the Churchill Room has been offered as a replacement venue and it has been booked between 4.00 and 6.00pm for afternoon tea on the 7th July. Evening receptions there start at 7.00pm so the advantage of an earlier event is that it will be easier for members outside London to travel down and back in a day to avoid the expense of an overnight stop. Full details and how to apply will be sent out by e-mail and also included in the Summer edition of *Order Order*.



Our summer all member meeting will be earlier that afternoon in The River Room, House of Lords from 2.30pm. We are absolutely delighted that Michael (Lord) Dobbs, has agreed to be our guest speaker and will come along at 3.00pm after a short business agenda. Sally Grocott



### **DICK TRACEY**

It is with great sadness that we report the sudden death on Wednesday the 18th March of Executive Committee member Dick Tracey.

He was the most wonderful supporter of the Association and his wise advice will be greatly missed.

We will be paying a full tribute to him in our next edition.

### **CHAIRMAN AND EXECUTIVE ELECTIONS 2020**

Our constitution states that elections for membership of the Executive Committee and for Chairman should take place every five years. The last elections took place in 2015 and new ones must therefore take place this year.

Members are invited to self-nominate via the forms on pages 8 and 9. The closing date for nominations is the 31st May after which a list of candidates together with ballot forms will be mailed out to members.

An Explanatory Extract from our Constitution:

- 6. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
- a) The Association shall be managed by an Executive Committee of 15 members and will normally meet every two months.
- b) The Association shall elect a fully representative and balanced Committee which will serve for five years. Candidates must give formal notice of their intention to stand and the ballot should be completed no later than two months after the end of the term. Every member of the Association can allocate one vote to up to seven candidates. The seven candidates with the greatest number of votes shall be elected. Those seven members

will then meet to co-opt a further six members with the aim of ensuring that the Executive Committee includes as far as possible:

- Both retired and defeated former MPs
- · Members of the House of Lords
- · Former MPs from all regions of the UK
- · Both male and female former MPs
- A balance of all three main political parties plus other represented political parties as far as possible
- Candidates with exceptional or specialised experience
   Two additional places on the Executive shall be filled
   by two sitting MPs from the two main political parties,
   nominated by the Whips Office. The MPs will act as liaison
   officers between the Association and serving MPs.
- c) The chairman will be elected by a postal ballot of all members and will serve one full term only unless a part-term has been served.
- d) Two deputy chairs should be appointed by the Executive and be chosen from the two largest political parties, excluding the party of the chairman. A Treasurer and a Membership Secretary should also be appointed by the Executive.

# CHRISTINE KEELER SNAPSHOTS OF A GOOD FRIEND

By John Cockcroft

The Cambridge Union debating society has long been a crucible for political careers.

first met Christine in October, 1969. I had been at a Conservative Party Conference and went straight to a party in Chelsea, given by a friend of mine, Oliver Baxter. I had not been there long when I asked Oliver, "Who is that very beautiful woman on the other side of the room?". He said, "Well, why don't you go and talk to her? She'll have no hesitation in telling you who she is," which she duly did.

She said she worked for a charity called Release, for drug and alcohol addicts in Notting Hill. I asked if I could come and write an article for *The Daily Telegraph*, where I was Economics Editor. I duly met her colleague, Rufus Harris, and wrote a signed article and took it, a few days later, to show to the Editor, Morris Green, whom I revered as a sort of elder statesman.

Morris was very taken by the article, sensibly, but said it needed tweaking here and there. He was riveted by the mention of Christine and asked if she could come to meet him to discuss the article – rather a thin pretext, I thought. I said I thought that was a bad idea, because people would be bound to recognise her coming up in a lift in that large building. I didn't want a snippet in *Private Eye* that the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph* was seeing Christine Keeler.

As a compromise, I suggested that the Deputy Editor, Colin Welsh, should meet Christine at the pub next door, The King and Keys. The Editor thought that was a good idea as he never went to The King and Keys himself. Colin Welsh was keen, and so were others. I lined up all seven leader writers.

This was in the summer of 1970. Christine arrived late, but I was very impressed with her eloquence. Somehow the conversation got around to whether Shakespeare wrote Marlow or vice versa, which I thought she had probably picked up from one of her boyfriends, but it was an interesting conversation.

Subsequently Brian Harvey, the Features editor said, "John, what do you think has been your greatest achievement in your seven years at *The Telegraph*?" and I said, "Well, I thought my article on Britain and the Common Market last week was rather magisterial and definitive", he said, "That's typically pompous of you – your greatest achievement was getting Christine to come so close to *The Telegraph*!".

She came to the Press Club subsequently, with Rufus Harris, and I lined up a large lunch party at one of the big tables there. She talked to everyone, and made a good impression. There was never any mention of Profumo or Lord Astor or Mandy Rice Davies, or any of the events of 1963, either then or in the conversation she had with me separately.

Christine came to my cottage near Cambridge, in the village of Great Gransden, twice; once with her husband, Anthony Platt, and once, before that, on her own, when she got very drunk over dinner, but mingled happily with the other guests. Otherwise there were no negative experiences and she charmed everyone.

I think that she has been maligned, really, posthumously, because of the events of 1963, which arguably brought down the Macmillan government. But, for what it's worth, as I never met



I think that she has been maligned, really, posthumously, because of the events of 1963

either of them, my impression is that Stephen Ward was a 'fall guy' for the people of the Establishment, such as Lord Astor, and that he was an honourable man in a rather seedy situation.

In contrast, John Profumo was not the most honourable man, but he paid a very heavy price for his affair with Christine. He lied to the House of Commons, but he's not the only one who has done that, to say the least, particularly in recent years.

I thought that the member of the Labour Shadow Cabinet, at the end of the Profumo debate, made a very succinct remark, when he said to The Minister for War, "There has been a lot of Anglo Saxon hypocrisy in this debate. The Secretary of State for War is to be congratulated on knowing a very beautiful woman" and sat down.

The last years of Christine Keeler were, apparently, very sad; she was deserted by her former friends and lived in comparative poverty in a council flat at the unfashionable end of The Kings Road in Flat 10 in a block of flats. The one time I went there, there was no food and she was drinking a lot of vodka. I think it was sad that she didn't make more of her life; she could certainly have made a lot of money as a model, as long as her looks lasted, which was for a long time.

I met Mandy (Marilyn) Rice Davies at the flat. They were close friends. She married an Israeli airline pilot and had an antique business in Jerusalem, as far as I can remember. Although she also died fairly recently, she had a much more satisfying career than Christine, but I think she had more of an eye on the main chance, as the saying is.

It was an interesting episode and I'm glad, in a way, that it was revived by the BBC.

John was MP for Nantwich 1974-1979



Christine Keeler and [inset] Stephen Pound at 15

To the guilty and the innocent alike a call from the *Daily Mail* stirs strange emotions and I have to say that my first reaction was to cudgel my brains in search of some shocking misdemeanour that I had forgotten but which the reptiles had remembered.

It turned out that they wanted to speak to me about my involvement in the Profumo scandal, which not only brought the curtain down on the thirteen years of Tory government but marked the end of the old order and led Philip Larkin to aver that "sexual intercourse began in 1963, between the Lady Chatterley trial and the Beatles' first LP".

I was a fifteen year old schoolboy in the summer of '63 and my late father, Pelham Pound, was features editor of the *News of the World*. He gave up his job to stand by his friend Dr Stephen Ward who was being sacrificed on the altar of a false morality and a determination to hold the line by those who were – if not yet acknowledged as such – the Establishment.

The facts of the case are well known. Britain in that last summer of the post-war consensus was alternately titillated and terrified by the hedonistic lifestyle laid bare in Marylebone Magistrates Court and at the Old Bailey. As long as it was the aristocracy who were getting it off then all was well, but the minute working class girls admitted that they rather liked sex, and had no prejudice when it came to the colour of a lover's skin, alarm bells rang in the halls of the powerful.

I doubt if today it can possibly be appreciated what a change was about to affect our rather smug little island. Just as the "Against the Law" trial of Peter Wildeblood had shown a scandalised society that some people actually preferred to lie with those of the same sex, so the Profumo affair revealed a world far removed from "Mrs. Dale's Diary" and "Family Favourites".

On the principle that it is easier to find a scapegoat than a

## **CHRISTINE AND ME**

By Stephen Pound

I doubt if today it can possibly be appreciated what a change was about to affect our rather smug little island

solution the word went out that Ward would be struck down to encourage others. It may be impossible for us to imagine nowadays that people actually thought that the permissive society or "swinging sixties" could be halted, like Sydney Smith's brave lady who sought to sweep back the incoming tide with her broom, but it was real then. If only the Tories then had been able to know the future and see our current Prime Minister they would probably have accepted that the game was up.

I had several conversations with Christine Keeler – still the most heart-stoppingly beautiful woman I have ever known – as well as many of the other girls who were listed in the suicide note Dr Ward addressed to my father, asking that any money left be given to them.

Maybe it was because they were talking to a fifteen year old boy of fairly limited sexual experience my abiding memories are of their innocence and cheeky banter. They all wanted to know about the chalks and pencil portraits that I was to collect from the Museum Street Gallery and take down to the cells beneath the Bailey for Stephen Ward to sign – with a view to funding his defence by their sale. They shrieked when I told them that Prince Philip was one of the subjects but they all looked rather knowing when I added the names of Douglas Fairbanks Junior and Princess Margaret. I never did find out who Princess Marina was.

My trips to the gallery usually coincided with the appearance of a man in a long fawn raincoat and – so help me – a bowler hat. Mr. Katz, the proprietor, told me that he was from the Royal Household and was keen to buy up many of the portraits.

I suppose I should have seen it coming, but I was just a kid. On that last afternoon taking Stephen Ward back to a borrowed flat in Chelsea he told my father that it was all over. The judge's summing up had doomed him and there was no way back.

The prescription that he wrote and asked me to collect was for Nembutal, the instrument of his death. He said to Tom Mangold on the final night of his life that the vultures would be disappointed.

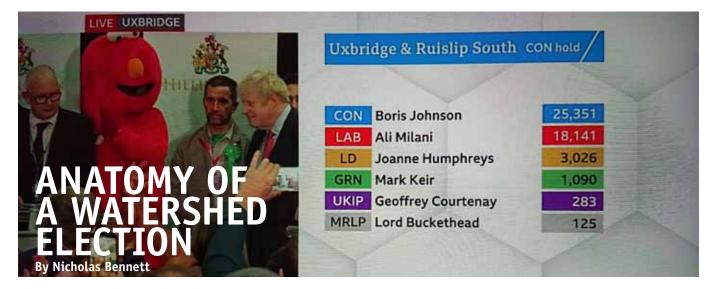
Lord Denning was given the task of conducting a judicial enquiry. The new fortnightly magazine *Private Eye* had on its cover an ermine swathed arm lifting the lid of a tureen from which poured an avalanche of rats, lice, slugs and slithering serpents. The caption? "Denning is served".

There were many victims in this story. A good man died and many lives were wrecked. Ultimately the greatest victim was the stifling society that sinned in private and pontificated in public. I was Labour from that day on.

Reverting to the *Daily Mail*. I was offered a decent wedge for my words and – of course – I initially was tempted to tell them what to do with the filthy lucre. Then I remembered the wise words of General Booth of the Salvation Army who said "give me your dirty money and I will wash it clean".

Nothing can wash away the stain if the persecution of Stephen Ward but St. Mary's Church in Northolt is now better off by a goodly sum and my conscience is just a little clearer.

Stephen was MP for Ealing North, 1997-2019



On the 7th May 2020, the five year fixed parliament term might have come to an end with the new Prime Minister, George Osborne, aiming to win a more substantial majority than in 2015, when his friend David Cameron won with a working majority of 15.

hen the first majority Conservative government for 23 years was elected, on 8th May 2015, who could have forecast that the next four and a half years would see two changes of prime minister and two General Elections?

The 2019 General election joins the ranks of 1945, 1966, 1979 and 1997 as a watershed. The percentage shares of the vote were not out of the normal. The Conservatives saw a modest increase of 1.4%, and Labour, despite its worst result since 1935 in seats held, achieved 32.2% – more than in 2015 under Ed Miliband (30.4%) and far more than their worst performance in 1983 under Michael Foot when they achieved just 27.6%. The Liberal Democrats, despite the loss of their leader, saw their poll share increase by 4.2% over 2017.

But what makes 2019 stand out was the collapse of the Labour vote in the so-called 'red wall' seats, combined with a re-enactment of Labour's 2015 rout in Scotland.

Although the SNP had a good result, with a bigger share of the vote at 45%, and more seats (48) than in 2017, they did not reach the same peak as 2015, when they took half the vote and 56 seats, leaving the three other parties one seat apiece. Labour's share of the vote is down to 18.6%, well below the Conservatives who have a quarter of the vote and 6 seats.

In Wales the Conservatives share of the vote was, at 36.9%, less than 5% behind Labour's share. It was the best result for the Welsh Conservatives in more than a hundred years and equalled their 1983 tally of 14 seats. Ironically many of the Welsh seats they gained were not those won in 1983.

There was great excitement when Northern Ireland declared and half the constituencies went to nationalist parties, but Sinn Fein's vote was actually down more than the DUP's, and, leaving aside the Alliance Party, the Unionist parties were still 6% ahead overall.

The Conservatives' modest increase in the vote was tempered by the Brexit Party. One analysis suggested that Boris Johnson would have won a further 20 seats had Brexit not stood in them. The polling company Datapraxis reported that they found in seats like Hartlepool, Rotherham and Barnsley Central and East 60-90% of their votes would have gone to the Conservative if it had been a two-horse race. Labour MPs who survived, where the Brexit vote was at least twice and sometime three times their winning majority, included Ed Miliband (Doncaster

...what makes 2019 stand out was the collapse of the Labour vote in the so-called 'red wall' seats

North), Rosie Winterton (Doncaster Central), Yvette Cooper (Normanton), Mark Tami, (Alyn and Deeside) and Jon Cruddas (Dagenham and Rainham).

The collapse of Labour support in the Midlands and North can be attributed to a number of factors. Jeremy Corbyn, in 2017 unexpectedly increased the Labour vote in an election which the Conservatives were thought to be coasting to victory. But in 2019, his 'cuddly granddad' image had been tarnished by anti-Semitism, splits and resignations from the party. The election promises, particularly of 'free broad band' were seen as expensive and unaffordable.

Undoubtedly 'Get Brexit Done' was a powerful rallying cry in Leave seats but it was not merely a wish to get the matter resolved, there was genuine anger at the way in which metropolitan Remainers were thought to be trying to overturn the referendum result, which Labour had promised in 2017 to implement. The language of many Labour supporting groups accusing Leaver voters of being fooled by the 'Tory Press', of being 'Gammons' and thick, was hardly the way to encourage voters to support them.

### Some extraordinary results.

Three constituencies, Leigh, Rother Valley and Don Valley had returned Labour Members for 100 years. Many more with Labour traditions dating back to the Thirties were lost with swings far above the national average. The largest, in Bassetlaw, where outspoken Leave supporting Labour MP John Mann resigned shortly before the election, was 18%. A Labour majority of over 4,000 became a 14,000 Conservative one. The seat last elected a Conservative in 1929. Of the 20 seats which even in the Thatcher years remained Labour, 11 had Conservative majorities of more than 10%.

The loss of 59 Labour seats was obviously the story of the night, but there were also large swings to the Liberal Democrats in some Conservative held 'Remain' seats Home Counties. The largest, 18.5%, reduced Dominic Raab's majority in Esher and Walton

from 23,000 to below 3,000. Others included; South West Surrey (15.6%); Hitchin and Harpenden (15.4%); and Surrey Heath – Michael Gove's seat – (11.0%). The Conservatives held Wimbledon, by 628 votes; Cheltenham by 981 and Winchester by 985. Labour held Nick Clegg's former seat at Sheffield Hallam by 712.

### Does 2019 mark a permanent shift in voting behaviour?

In my article for *Order Order* on the contrast between 1964 and 2017 General Elections I noted the decline of the Labour vote caused by the disappearance of large factories employing thousands, most of whom would have been in manual workers' unions. To a smaller extent these have been replaced by a move to the left by many white collar public sector employees, particularly in education, the NHS and local government. Boris Johnson's successful scaling of the 'Red Wall' enabled the Conservatives, for the first time since universal suffrage, to receive more votes than their opponents in every social class.

Labour voters are now concentrated amongst the under 40s, or of Afro-Caribbean heritage or from the Indian sub-continent, (although there are signs of a larger Conservative vote amongst people of Indian or East African Asian descent), living in the large urban conurbations or university towns. More than half of Labour MPs represent towns with over a quarter of a million people.

## Can Labour pull back under a new Leader and get within striking distance of victory?

Labour cannot win without regaining both their industrial heartland and Scotland. To deprive the Conservatives of a majority they need to take 43 seats on a swing of just under 4%. For a bare majority they need to take 123 seats on a swing of 10.3%. Without Scotland, the swing needed rises to over 12%.

Some seats are trending demographically towards Labour. Canterbury with its large undergraduate population and 'down from Londons' in the Whitstable part of the constituency saw an increase in the Labour majority. Iain Duncan Smith's majority in his Woodford and Chingford continues to decline: he held it by only 1,262 . Others are moving the opposite direction. Thurrock, once held by Labour with majorities in five figures, now provides Jackie Doyle Price with an 11,000 plus majority and nearly 60% of the vote – almost a mirror image of Andrew MacKinlay's 2001 Labour victory.

Much will depend on the Government's strategy to benefit the 'left behinds'. Capital investment rarely creates swift changes. HS2 will not be up and running in 2024, but targeted tax changes and incentives can bring fairly quick gains in terms of new jobs and improvements to the appearance of run down towns. If the new Conservative voters can see that the government is keeping to its side of the bargain then, having overcome family voting habits

The author declares the result for Bromley and Chislehurst

of three or four generations, then the Conservatives may hold many of these seats.

Labour has a mountain to climb. As the Blair victory of 1997 shows, given the right circumstances, the right leadership and policies, they could claw their way back in power, but it may take them 10 years or more.

Nicholas was MP for Pembrokeshire, 1987–1992



## THE ABUSE THAT THREATENS DEMOCRACY By Teresa Pearce

### Seventy four MPs stood down at the 2019 election;

I was one of them. The number itself isn't the interesting thing. What matters is that a significant percentage of those standing down were people who were not yet at the peak of their political careers. They were what could be called "rising stars" and they wanted out. I myself decided to stand down because I am now 65 and wanted to retire, but I have to say that the toxic political environment was a major factor.

Cynicism about politicians has a long history in this country, and is expected. I came into parliament in 2010 in the wake of the expenses scandal, so I was ready for the public contempt. That scandal added to the demonisation of MPs, and it will probably take a generation to subside.

However, the level of abuse of the past three years is something different. In 2019 conversations in the tea room were often about direct death threats, personal alarms and new security measures at home. After the terrible murder of Jo Cox I heard, more than once, women MPs talking about "when" not "if" there would be another MP killed.

I believe social media has played a big part in the abuse. Years ago a person would have to write a letter, put a stamp on it and post it. Now it takes just a single click. Also, letter writing is a solitary pursuit, but with social media people can find each other and soon become a "virtual mob". Within that echo chamber it normalises what are extreme views.

I wanted to be an open, accessible MP, but in recent years this became impossible. We were advised by police to stop drop in surgeries and do appointment only, to not go to events alone, to vary travel routes and to carry personal alarms. It changed me. I became jumpy and jittery, I was wary of people in the supermarket and in the street, I found public transport challenging. I was scared on a daily basis. It was no way to live, and it made me less good at my job. At times I felt I was broken.

It's not just women who get the abuse, but I think women MPs get more of it, because there are people who hate MPs and there are people who hate women: the Venn diagram between the two is quite large.

Interestingly, prior to the heightened Brexit toxicity, the worst abuse I received was when I was on the male dominated Treasury Select committee. It seemed that a woman questioning of powerful men brought out the misogynists that tried to silence me. Women with voices have always been a target.

What worries me is that, if this trend continues, will we see more people leave parliament, because the effect on them and their families is too much to bear. If we don't address the toxic nature of politics we will end up with a Parliament of big ego's, thick skinned MPs and democracy itself will suffer.

Teresa was MP for Erith and Thamesmead, 2010–19



## SELF-NOMINATION FORM FOR ELECTION TO THE **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MPs

NAME:	50 WORDS MAXIMUM ELECTION STATEMENT:
PARTY:	
DETAILS OF SERVICE AS AN MP:	
ADDRESS:	Signed:
FELEPHONE NUMBER:	
E-MAIL:	Please return by 31st May to: Sally Grocott Association of Former MPs, House of Commons, Room G13, 1 Parliament Street, LONDON SW1A 2NE or by email to: grocotts@parliament.uk





## SELF-NOMINATION FORM FOR ELECTION AS **CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FORMER MPS

NAME:	50 WORDS MAXIMUM ELECTION STATEMENT:
PARTY:	
DETAILS OF SERVICE AS AN MP:	
ADDRESS:	Signed:
TELEPHONE NUMBER:	
E-MAIL:	Please return by 31st May to: Sally Grocott Association of Former MPs, House of Commons, Room G13, 1 Parliament Street, LONDON SW1A 2NE or by email to: grocotts@parliament.uk



## WHERE ARE YOU NOW?

We asked a selection of ex-colleagues who stood down in December to tell us what they have been doing since



PAUL FARRELLY Newcastle-under-Lyme 2001–2019

AFTER 18½ YEARS, I stepped down at December's election from my home town seat, which had been

represented by a Labour MP for 100 years – just one of five constituencies in the country, with the same name and boundaries, able to make that claim. No longer, sadly.

I had told my family that the 2015 general election would be my last, but when the snap election came in 2017, they agreed I should stand and fight again. In 2020, promises aside, I simply could not bear another campaign under Jeremy Corbyn.

It was a weird feeling being a bystander up to polling day. The new candidate – from outside – didn't ask for a scrap of advice. Also my mother-in-law was going through the last throes of sudden, awful cancer. Therefore we witnessed a double tragedy, before Christmas.

Since then, it has been a step at a time – winding up two offices, preparing the home in the constituency for a heartwrenching sale (two of our three children are still at school in London) and helping my wife Victoria with family affairs.

We had no ready-made plan, because I had thought we would sensibly delay the election at least until the spring, but since leaving Westminster I've been doing some advisory work, having spent what I believe is a record 14 years on the Digital, Culture, Media & Sport Select Committee.

I am also researching a book, catching up with people I had not seen while chained to the House. And for the first time in all these years, I was at home in the evening for the kids' home-baked birthday cake, on the occasion of my 58th. I'm pursuing things Japanese, too – a real passion – as well as restarting language lessons after a three months' break.

Though I miss good friends cross-party in politics, I can really get used to this pace of life. And Fridays and weekends are back, finally, for family first.



SARAH NEWTON Truro and Falmouth, 2010–2019

THE SNAP GENERAL ELECTION brought forward

my decision to stand aside, so I had not made any plans. Having helped secure my former constituency for my successor, and campaigned in a number of marginal seats, I decided that I wanted to take my passion, hard work, determination and experience forward into new roles.

I was delighted to be invited to represent the Conservative Party in a Westminster Foundation for Democracy programme with the Indonesian Parliament in February, collaborating with women MPs aiming to strengthen democracy.

I am fortunate to have seen my husband manage the transition from stepping down from a senior role in a leading international law firm into a portfolio career. A portfolio career is my aim.

I came into Parliament with extensive experience in the public, business and voluntary sectors and have held several leadership roles since, most recently at the Department for Work and Pensions and the Home Office. I have 30 years' experience of leading strategic planning, change management, reputation management, innovation with a focus on sustainability, and inclusion. I was the Director of the ILC-UK a 'think and do' tank tackling demographic change and Director with responsibility for fundraising and marketing at Age Concern - now Age UK. I also have 10 years' experience in financial services, as Marketing and New Business Development Directors for American Express Europe, at Citibank and on the Board of Age Concern Enterprises.

I want to put all this experience to work and make a positive contribution, with a portfolio of advisory and Non-Executive Board Director and Trustee roles in the business, public and voluntary sectors. I also plan to continue to split my time between Cornwall and London.



JEREMY LEFROY Stafford, 2010–2019

I HAD EXPECTED an election in 2019, or spring 2020 at the latest, when I would stand down. Even

so, the change from the busy but relatively predictable timetable in Parliament and Stafford constituency was great. I had, to coin a phrase, 'taken back control' and found it challenging – as I suspect the UK will

I do relish my current freedom, but am not particularly good, so far, at using it in a disciplined way. I find that I am Vice Chair of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, Chair of a Staffordshire and Stoke Enterprise Board, Chair of Stafford Together, Trustee of the Community Foundation of Staffordshire, Patron of the North Staffordshire Climate Network (alongside an esteemed former colleague Joan Walley – former MP for Stoke-on-Trent North), back on board with Advanced Bio-Extracts producing quinine in Kenya, and helping friends in the export of avocados, coffee and cocoa from Tanzania. There are other voluntary jobs which I apparently said I would do on leaving Parliament, of which people are kindly reminding me.

Then there is my pledge to Janet to extend my cooking repertoire beyond Spag Bol. As for the garden, my first task is confronting the vegetative creep across the lane from our hedge.

I have also taken up playing oboe in our local University Hospital orchestra. It is conducted by a heart surgeon and contains a galaxy of medical talent (excluding the second oboe), so if you are feeling queasy on a Thursday evening in Newcastle-under-Lyme, you know where to come.

But the greatest pleasure has been seeing more of family and friends. This month I went to Warwick School to hear my 17 year old nephew Alexandre play the first two movements of Mozart's 21st Piano Concerto, which was breathtaking. I was also hoping to hear another nephew, Jonty, perform in Brahms's Requiem in St Martin-in-the Fields, but a mishap on the parliamentary ski trip put paid to that so I was confined to a hospital bed in Davos reading riveting books by current (Damian Collins) and former (Denis MacShane) colleagues



# HOW THE NATIONAL LOTTERY WAS BORN 25 YEARS AGO

by Sir Ivan Lawrence QC

Perhaps it was the imminence of Brexit, and a General Election shortly to produce a Conservative majority of 80 seats for a new and hitherto unlikely prime-minister, that drove the 25th anniversary of the start of the National Lottery, on 19th November last, out of the nation's mind.

ut there it is – almost certainly the most successful lottery in the world, having raised over £40 billion for half a million charities and other good causes (like the Olympic Games), £55 billion in prize money, more than £15 billion for government taxes, provided tens of thousands of jobs, saved thousands of village post offices from closure, created (on a 14 million to one chance) thousands of millionaires and multi-millionaires – and still going strong.

Yet you will find nothing about the history of the National Lottery on Google, except that it was founded on Prime Minister John Major's initiative – which it wasn't – and no mention at all of the person who really fathered it – ME! And I think that readers of *Order Order* have a right to the truth – so here is how the National Lottery was really born.

Shortly after midday one Thursday in October 1991, a phone-call from a journalist informed me that I had come top in the MP's draw for private members bills. I was besieged by demands to know what topic I had chosen. Since I had never taken any interest in the private member's lottery, other than to table my name year after year, I had no idea.

Suggestions came thick and fast. I must want to help the disabled, the sick, the elderly, improve the criminal justice system, speed planning applications and build a third runway at Heathrow. The former MP, Foreign Minister and Lord Chamberlain, Richard Luce, happened to have briefing on a national lottery and the telephone number of the organiser of the National Lottery Promotion Society, to hand. The Lord Chancellor, James Mackay, no less, phoned me to say that the government, and he himself, would consider it a particular favour, as would the shipping industry and the entire nation, if I were to deploy my universally admired legal skills to put onto the statute book a vital provision that the government had simply been unable to secure time for. This would be none other than a Bills for Lading and Carriage of Goods by Sea (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, which would repeal the out-dated Act of 1855, and modernise the right of suit in connection with important shipping documentation!

Yes, well, I thought – though did not of course say – I will call you, James, on this one: don't bother to call me! Mind you, his immense Scottish charm, and the fact that such a Bill would be certain to be passed, when others that I might choose without government support would not, was certainly tempting. But I am ashamed to confess that, the possibility of statues of me in every city centre and my name forever in the history books as the provider to an eager nation of the massive benefits of a national lottery, I found even more tempting. How wrong that turned out to be: Google does not even mention my name under the title "National Lottery"!

Anyway, that is what I chose, and although totally unprepared, I had to get on with it. I had to learn all about the subject. I had to draft a Bill and get it onto the Statute Book. I found that much work had already been done. Since the celebrated broadcaster

Google does not even mention my name under the title "National Lottery"!

Robin Day had argued for such a lottery before the Rothschild Royal Commission on Gambling, which went on to recommend it in their report of 1978, the Lottery Promotion Society, led by the formidable Australian conductor Denis Vaughan who had seen the Sydney Opera House built with lottery money in the 1960s, had been getting a campaign together. Lord Birkett (Deputy Director of the National Theatre), Sir Eddie Kalukundis (Head of the Ambassadors Theatre Group and Chairman of the Sports Aid Foundation) went into action. I had meetings round the country with the media, with companies who might sponsor the lottery or might provide machinery for its operation, with charities and churches that wanted reassurance that it would not destroy their own charity or encourage fecklessness. I met Sam Wannamaker, the film star and director, who needed lottery money to build the Globe Theatre on the Thames, and Lord "Dickie" Attenborough, who wanted the lottery to resuscitate the dying British film industry and the Arts.

To my surprise and disappointment, the Conservative Government ("Freedom for the individual", "Trust the People" etc.), led by John Major, were against a national lottery and actually stopped me getting a Second Reading for my Bill by keeping Ministers and the payroll out of the lobby. I secured 84 supporters out of the necessary 100, which on a Friday was not at all bad, and there were 35 contributions from the floor. After the debate Michael White, the Guardian correspondent, told me that Number Ten had assured him that the national lottery was dead!

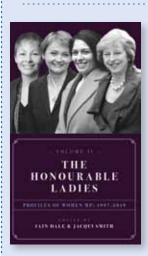
But of course it wasn't! Ministers of the status of Kenneth Baker at the Home Office, Chris Patten at Environment, and Tim Renton at Culture and the Arts backed the lottery. The tabloids were behind it. National opinion polls showed 70 to 80 per cent of the adult population said they would play it. Nearly everyone wanted its billions of pounds to provide athletic stadiums, swimming pools, concert halls, the arts, the culture and the survival of the heritage that was not available from any other source. It was obviously going to improve the quality of life of the nation. Faced with this, John Major changed his mind. The National Lottery went into the Conservative Manifesto and the election was won.

The rest is history! Camelot, who have so successfully run this franchise for 25 years, used to invite me to their annual parties, but have long since stopped. Apart from occasionally winning £35, the National Lottery and all who operate and sustain it, seem to have quite forgotten me. I asked Gloria, my late wife, if she would still love me if she won the Lottery. "Of course", she replied with great sweetness, "but I will miss you"!

Sometimes political life is so sad!

Sir Ivan was MP for Burton, February 1974-1997

### A GOOD READ



## THE WINNERS AND THE FAILURES

Andy McSmith

The Honourable Ladies, Volume II – Profiles of Women MPs 1997–2019

Edited by Iain Dale & Jacqui Smith

Published by Biteback

...you come across fascinating detail about less high profile careers...

ONE EXCELLENT BOOK THAT DID NOT GET THE ATTENTION IT DESERVED late last year was the second volume of *The Honourable Ladies*, the collection of short biographies of every woman elected to Parliament between May 1997 and August 2019. It was bad luck that it went on sale in November, when most of its potential readership was engrossed in a general election.

The stories told here vary wildly. On the front cover are images of four women – Caroline Lucas, Yvette Cooper, Priti Patel, and Theresa May – who have steered the treacherous waters of national politics successfully. We know how their careers have panned out so far, but leafing through this volume, you come across fascinating detail about less high profile careers, including some women who, in their quiet way, made valuable contributions to public life. There is Anne Begg, the first MP ever to address the Commons from a wheelchair, and Tracy Crouch, whose resignation from Theresa May's government on a matter principle was the catalyst that finally pushed the government into reducing the maximum stake on fixed odds gambling machines.

But some of the other stories are not cheerful reading – such as the unhappy life and miserable death of Fiona Jones, the only woman to ever to represent Newark in Parliament. Jane Dodds, whose entry is at the end because she was the last woman elected before the December general election, is still alive and active in Welsh politics – but not as an MP. Her career in the Commons lasted just four months, from August to December. The second to last was Lisa Forbes, winner of the June 2019 Peterborough by-election, whose entry ends, written by Erin Sharpe, with the caustic observation: "It's difficult to think of a less illustrious start to a political career." Her stint as an MP was over after six months.

Peterborough has not proved to be a happy seat for women MPs. No sooner had Helen Brinton been elected than her husband walked out on her, and she was subjected to singularly unkind press coverage, from which her career never recovered. Forbes's immediate predecessor in Peterborough, Fiona Osananya, broke a glass ceiling of a kind, by being "the first sitting female MP in the UK to be sentenced to jail."

More than three times the number of women entered Parliament in the 22 years between the 1997 and 2019 general elections than in the previous 80 years. It is no small achievement by the editors, Iain Dale and Jacqui Smith, that they rounded up not far short of 200 women to contribute 331 short biographies (if I counted right), with no one left out.



## THE HOSTAGE WITH THE WAND OF OFFICE

Tom Levitt

Dear Queen

by Janet Anderson

Published by Red Axe Books

I GUESS I KNEW THAT A WHIP WAS 'TAKEN HOSTAGE' IN BUCKINGHAM PALACE every time the Queen visited Parliament and that someone wrote a daily account for Her Majesty on each day's proceedings. What I didn't know was that (a) these were two aspects of the same job and (b) the notes could be so entertaining.

Janet Anderson, the former whip who has revealed all to the world, even got to keep her own snooker cue – sorry, 'wand of office' – when she finished her year as Vice Chamberlain to the Royal Household, back in 1998. In *Dear Queen* she has become the first and only Vice Chamberlain to publish these letters.

The notes are largely factual and pertinent, there's little in the way of *really* salacious gossip (much to the disappointment, we hear, of Prince Philip). But they aren't without colour and Janet's own prejudices – sorry, 'honest and deeply held convictions' – are not completely restrained. A backbencher commonly regarded across the House as 'barking' gets a mention as such, for example. And Glenda Jackson is never going to be allowed to forget the day she missed a debate as a minister, causing Hilary Armstrong to rush to the despatch box in her stead, completely unprepared. Glenda was punished by being assigned a succession of late night adjournment debates to cover.

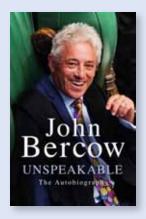
There's much humour in the letters, clearly appreciated by Her Maj, but there's also discipline. Every minister is 'Your Minister' in 'Your Government' and there's much protocol – which didn't prevent the Chief Whip's mum getting a chinwag with HRH at a garden party. Of which Janet had to attend every one, poor thing, though she did get to sup in the 'family' tent.

Janet fingers individuals 'of Cabinet potential' (she was right), assiduously reports the comments of the Bolsover Beast and celebrates the contribution of the Teletubbies to Parliamentary life. She even apologises for reporting on boring or lacklustre days.

At a serious level, it's right that in a constitutional monarchy the Head of State not only is aware of Parliamentary goings on, warts and all, but relates to the place on a human level. Summaries of Hansard aren't enough. Elizabeth II is the star of this show. She comes across as warm, engaged, welcoming to Janet – and very interested in the human beings serving her nation at the highest level. They discuss the impact of Parliamentary life on families, and welcome the number of women MPs reaching 100, whilst Janet is honest about the Government's record and reputation.

It was sobering to note how much debate there was about Iraq – six years before the war.

Like any Parliamentarian, my first reaction to any political book is to search the Index to see if I'm there. With *Dear Queen* there's no index, so you have to read the lot to find your moment of glory. It is worth the effort. I don't appear – my first year in Parliament was a quiet one – but you might!



### FIZZING WITH VENOM, THE EX-MR. SPEAKER SPEAKS HIS MIND

Gerry Hayes

Unspeakable, the Autobiography by John Bercow

Published by W&N

I WOULD LIKE TO THINK THAT JOHN BERCOW IS HIS OWN WORST ENEMY, but I am afraid that this book puts him well to the back of that lengthening queue. *Unspeakable* is by far the most honest political autobiography I have ever read. Too honest. It fizzes with malice and spits venom in a way that would make a cobra blush. It is the sort of book that his victims would say is unput-downable because it should be hurled from the nearest window coupled with a hope and a prayer that it doesn't fall upon consecrated ground. It is by no means a slow burner. Chuck it on the fire and it will make Armageddon seem as exciting as a Bill Cash speech. Just a moment, Bercow is actually nice about Bill.

He has certainly been on a journey. From a foam flecked right winger Powelling his way through the fetid racism of the Monday Club until his Blairian conversion to motherhood and apple soufflé.

'I was a naive, misguided, insecure and perhaps angry young man.....a man possessed, swivel eyed and somewhat alarming..... as a kid I was headstrong, stubborn and uncomfortable with authority.....I was no doubt a pain in the arse.'

I suspect his many victims might think that he hasn't changed that much.

A master wordsmith though, even if they are written in vitriol: 'I went on to develop a relationship with the Conservative Whips characterised by trust and understanding: I did not trust them and they did not understand me'.

On Chief Whip, Patrick McLoughlin: 'A rather unimaginative and slow moving control freak.' On William Hague: 'This youthful geeky weirdo had achieved virtually nothing.'

Even the decent, cerebral and charming Andrew Lansley doesn't escape a monstering: 'staggeringly, mind blowingly, unsurpassably boring.....driving listeners to a grisly combination of fatigue and exasperation'.

Theresa May is also not without the Bercow benediction: 'decent but as wooden as your average coffee table, a worthy public servant but as dull as ditchwater, courteous to everyone but lacking in an ounce of small talk with anyone, honest but lacking in any original convictions....'

And not content with slagging off colleagues he has inevitably closed down a lucrative speaking tour of China by describing a President Xi speech thus: 'to say it was dull would be an understatement. It was staggeringly, mind numbingly, ball breakingly dull....my expectations were low and President Xi fell effortlessly below them'.

Yet there is a troubling degree of paranoia that seeps out of the pages. The clerks are out to get him. The Tory party is scheming to depose him. Enemies to be foiled. Plots to be crushed. *Unspeakable* may have more me-me-me's than Pavarotti and sometimes veers between King Lear and Titus Andronicus, but it's a darn good read. I like John Bercow and honestly believe that he did his best to modernise a creaking institution and give Parliament a stronger voice against the executive. But boy, does he have demons.



### GOODBYE, BREXIT. HELLO 'BREXITERNITY'

Jeremy Lefroy

Brexiternity, the Uncertain Fate of Britain

by Denis MacShane

Published by I.B.Tauris

THE ERA OF BREXIT HAS CLOSED – which is probably the only point on which Denis MacShane would agree with Boris Johnson. We are now into 'Brexiternity', which could last more than a decade. "It encompasses all the decisions which Britain will now take on how to interpret the June 2016 plebiscite."

In his informed history of the 2016 referendum, Denis is scathing about recent Conservative leadership, but also frank about Labour's strong Eurosceptic history, going back to 1945–51, and critical of its approach since the referendum.

He is open too about the weaknesses he sees in the Single Market. He describes it as a "big win for classical liberalism. The individual firm and individual citizen were privileged. Community, social and national identity were relegated... National governments could not take national measures to protect their people."

He points out, nonetheless, several countries, such as the Netherlands, took measures in the key area of freedom of movement, which, had a similar system been introduced in the UK in the past 20 years, would have "reassured all citizens that the number of non-nationals was known. It helps stop any abuse of the welfare system and is needed for any recourse to healthcare." Would it have made freedom of movement more acceptable in the UK? We will never know.

Sometimes he is optimistic, sometimes not. "In a sense, Brexit is almost a welcome experiment by which we will see if a country that decides to leave the EU can not only survive but flourish."

But a few pages later, we read: "Brexiternity is lose-lose for the EU and the UK. Finding a solution will require leadership of a higher order than that on offer in the first two decades of the twenty-first century."

Denis's passion for his subject can occasionally overwhelm his writing. He denounces the "demagogic, xenophobic, English nationalist politicians and propagandists in the twin professions of politics and journalism who have told so many deliberate and dishonest untruths to win their end" – a generalisation that fails to give credit to politicians and journalists who made a case for leaving, without resorting to lies. During the referendum – in which I campaigned to remain – I debated with Bill Cash, Gisela Stuart and Dave Nellist (an interesting mix). All made their cases clearly and reasonably.

But I would like to read this book again in five or ten years, when we will know how new arrangements for trade, agriculture, fishing, security and mutual cooperation between the UK and EU are working. Then we will see whether, as Denis writes, "future historians may decide Brexit was the moment when Britain quietly closed down as a global policy maker and went into decline as a country of influence."

If I can make one prediction about 'Brexiternity', it is that this is unlikely to be Denis's last book on the subject. I will be the first to pre-order the next because – whether you agree or disagree with him – it will be well worth reading.

### **TRIBUTES**

#### **ANDREW MILLER**

23 March 1949–24 December 2019 Labour MP for Ellesmere Port and Neston, 1992–2015 Remembered by John Austin



When Andrew Miller wrote for *Order Order* and was notified of a rogue apostrophe, he responded with characteristic good humour "The reason I failed the 11 plus may well have something to do with my inability to spot the offending apostrophe! The science teacher at my secondary school was much more interested in my capacity to

devise new explosives". Maybe that teacher's influence resulted in Andrew becoming the leading voice for science in Parliament and recognised by the Science Council as "one of the UK's 100 leading practising scientists".

Born in London, Andrew was educated in Malta and Hampshire and at technical college in Portsmouth. In 1967 he began work as a laboratory technician in Portsmouth Polytechnic's geology department. In 1976 he left to study for a diploma in Industrial Relations at the LSE, and was appointed NW divisional officer for the Association of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staffs. He gained a reputation as a formidable negotiator with an eye for detail.

In 1992, despite the return of a Conservative government, he overturned a Tory majority in Ellesmere Port, which has remained Labour.

Andrew and I shared an interest in the democratisation of central and eastern Europe and worked together in the All-Party Hungary Group, which he chaired. He was appointed to the First Steps Team working with the Foreign Office to promote relations with EU and prospective member states, with specific responsibility for Hungary and Malta.

In 2008 Andrew pioneered a private members bill to give equal rights to temporary and agency workers. His bill was blocked by the government who then brought in the almost identical 2010 Agency Workers Regulations Act.

Andrew became the voice of science in parliament. At his funeral, Dr Stephen Benn, Vice President of the Parliamentary & Scientific Committee, said "He was always rightly proud that in 2010 he became the very first directly-elected Chair of the House of Commons Science & Technology Select Committee. It gave him an authority unmatched by his predecessors".

Andrew also chaired the House of Commons Regulatory Reform Committee. In retirement he continued helping scientists understand how Parliament deals with science issues.

In 2015, twenty science organisations gathered to thank Andrew for his work, and in 2016 he received a Lifetime Achievement Award for Outstanding Contribution to the Cause of Science.

Another achievement which showed Andrew's patience and determination was his 10-year campaign to have Nelson Mandela's appearance in the Great Hall recognised with a plaque there.

Described by The Guardian's Julia Langdon as "a modest man, unusually self-deprecating for a politician", he was a dedicated constituency MP, supported throughout by his wife Fran and family.

### **GERALD BOWDEN**

26 August 1935–7 January 2020 Conservative MP for Dulwich 1983–1992 Remembered by Nicholas Bennett



Gerald Bowden, known to all as Gerry, was educated at Battersea Grammar School, and Magdalen College, Oxford, where he read law, and trained as a Chartered Surveyor at the College of Estate Management. He was called to the bar in 1962. After National Service, he served with the Territorial Army, retiring as a lieutenant-colonel a year

after his election as an MP.

When he was elected as Greater London Council (GLC) member for Dulwich in 1977, he was head of the Law Department in the Faculty of the Built Environment at South Bank Polytechnic (now University). A colleague, Ian Twinn, later MP for Edmonton, remembered him as "a great academic colleague and friend in politics."

I first met Gerry in 1978 when I was co-opted onto the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). We had an immediate rapport. A tall, slim balding man, Gerry was amusing, warm, caring, and very clubbable.

He lost his GLC seat in 1981, but was then co-opted on to the ILEA Education Committee as Deputy Leader of the Opposition. Two years later he regained his former constituency but this time as MP, beating Labour's Kate Hoey, for whom he had a high regard, by 1,859.

Gerry was an assiduous constituency MP. He fought a long battle to ensure that the Channel Tunnel rail link went through east London rather than Dulwich and Peckham. He was eloquent in his support for leasehold reform and in his campaign to save the site of the Rose Theatre, Bankside, from being covered by an office block, and teamed up with Simon Hughes, his Lib Dem neighbour, to try to turn Southwark into a tourist destination. At one stage he was PPS to Arts Minister Tim Renton but he was happy to serve on the backbenches as Vice Chairman of the Conservative Arts and Heritage Committee and on the corresponding Select Committee.

Although a strong supporter of Margaret Thatcher, he wasn't afraid to rebel. He opposed the 1984 Trade Union Bill for being too cautious and opposed the Sunday Trading Bill in 1986.

Gerry always knew his tenure in Dulwich was a short lease. In 1987, he clung on by 187 votes, after two recounts, but lost to Tessa Jowell in 1992.

When I last lunched with Gerry at his Georgian townhouse on Kennington Road he was already quite frail. He married Heather Hill in 1967. Sadly she died of cancer shortly after Gerry's election as MP. The death of his daughter Emma, and granddaughter Heather and Emma's fiancé Richard Cousins and his sons in a seaplane crash in Australia on New Year's Eve 2017 was a severe blow.

### **BRUCE GEORGE**

1 June 1942 – 24 February 2020 Labour MP for Walsall South 1974 – 2010 Remembered by Sir Hugh Bayley



Bruce George won his marginal Walsall South constituency in February 1974, aged 31, and held it for 36 years, before standing down in 2010.

He was never a minister – deemed too young, perhaps, by Wilson and Callaghan, and too old by Blair and Brown.

He spent Labour's 18 wilderness

years as a member of the newly-created Defence Select Committee, which he chaired in 1997–2005. He was made a Privy Councillor in 2000, a rare honour for a backbencher.

He was candid, sometimes too honest for his own good. In his maiden speech he admitted "Walsall could not possibly be regarded as top of the beauty league", or the "cultural centre of the universe". His Black Country constituents loved it, and him.

He campaigned against poverty and low pay throughout his time in Parliament, using that maiden speech to call on the newly-elected Labour Government to tackle low pay, when most trade unions opposed the introduction of a minimum wage, and to promote take up of welfare benefits.

Best remembered for his expertise in defence and security, he led the UK delegation to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, became its Vice-President, and the President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. Members of these delegations recall

his forthright speeches supporting democratic reform in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin wall.

Always a trenchant critic of Russia and the Soviet Union, he was nevertheless one of the first to recognise the danger of isolating Russia. His March 1998 Defence Committee report, supporting NATO enlargement, warned that "improvements to the security environment could be put at risk if enlargement caused Russia to bring about a resurgence of cold war antagonism".

He was awarded medals by the President of Georgia (a country, he joked, that was not named after him), and the OSCE, but the international honour he valued most was that Loic Bouvard, a second world war French resistance fighter, was best man at his marriage to Lisa in 1992.

Lisa, from St Louis, Missouri, who works for the Hansard Society, accompanied Bruce on many of his foreign missions, did her best to curb his most candid statements (she admits with little success), and cared for him through his long, final illness.

Meta Ramsay, John Smith's foreign policy advisor, recalls "He was very knowledgeable about Russia. He never took prisoners and came out with guns blazing in any fight. He was very old Labour, and none the worse for that."

Bruce was one of the lost generation of Labour MPs who turned the Party round after its defeat in 1979. He is remembered, in central Europe, as a stalwart champion of human rights and democracy, and remains a role model for politics today.

### DAVID LAMBIE

13 July 1925 – 15 December 2019 Labour MP for Central Ayrshire 1970 – 1983, and Cunninghame South, 1983 – 1992 Remembered by Brian Wilson



David Lambie, who has died at the age of 94, was a formidable and independent-minded Labour MP with a lifelong allegiance to his native Ayrshire and the town of Saltcoats.

He was schooled in pragmatic socialism. His father, Bob Lambie, was a towering figure in Ayrshire politics for half a century. His mother, Beanie, started work in an Ayrshire mill at the

age of ten. Bob, Beanie and David's wife Netta were all Provosts of Saltcoats.

After graduating from Glasgow University with a BSc ,with first class honours, he spent 20 years teaching geography, at Allan Glen's and then North Kelvinside Academy.

In 1960, the Scottish Secretary, John Maclay, tentatively proposed diluting teaching as a graduate profession, to address a teacher shortage. This, and the question of pay, led Lambie and a colleague, Arthur Houston, to organise the first teachers' strike in the 114 year history of the Educational Institute of Scotland, an organisation that barely saw itself as a trade union. After 1964, Labour created the General Teaching Council for Scotland. Later, David led the campaign that secured a 16 per cent pay increase.

He was a powerful orator, who would never read a speech or, even at the smallest branch meeting, declaim from a sedentary position!

He fought Bute and North Ayrshire four times, in 1955–66, three of them against the popular war hero, Sir Fitzroy MacLean, before winning neighbouring Central Ayrshire. He and Fitzroy remained friends and often allies on Ayrshire matters. David said: "My father taught me that if you cannot go out and have a drink with your opponents after a flaming row, you might as well chuck politics."

His maiden speech was on an Education Bill which would bring fee-paying back into Scottish state schools. "If the system of education is bad in my part of Ayrshire, it is bad not only for working-class children but for the children of my family," he said. "That is why there has been an education lobby in Scotland that has taken in all sections of the population".

He was continuously involved in defending jobs in ailing industries or working to bring in new ones. He was a leading critic of the Falklands War, and an early proponent of Scottish devolution. He chaired the Select Committee on Scottish Affairs from 1981–87.

In an interview to mark his 80th birthday, he fulsomely praised what Tony Blair's governments had achieved, with the caveat that he had moved decision-making away from Parliament and Cabinet to a coterie. "The reason he could do this is the reason Thatcher could do it – too big a majority in a democratic system is a disaster".

He and Netta, herself a much respected political figure, were married for 66 years. She survives him along with four daughters, a son, 12 grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren.



### **NEWS FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTREACH TRUST**

by John Austin, Chair of the Parliamentary Outreach Trust

Since our last report in *Order Order* we have been successful in recruiting a number of new members from ex-MPs who left Parliament at the December election. New volunteers include former Cabinet Ministers & junior ministers, chairs and members of Select Committees and several prominent former front benchers. This will greatly assist our ability to respond to requests for speakers.

Several members have now signed up to volunteer for the Speakers for Schools (S4S) programme and a number of our new members have expressed interest and will be contacted by S4S. The most recent S4S event was a visit by Victoria Borwick to Haberdashers' Aske's Knights Academy, a secondary school (formerly Malory School) on the borders of Lewisham and Bromley in London.

We have now established firm links with Exeter and Brunel Universities and are in discussions with Leeds University about a possible programme in the next academic year. Whilst we still offer our standard format of sending two speakers from different parties to talk about the legislative process, how parliament works and the role of MPs followed by a spontaneous question and answer session, now we are more frequently tailoring our contributions to specific issues, responding to requests from schools and colleges to meet the needs of the curriculum.

We had very positive feedback from the The Ursuline College in Westgate, Kent following the contributions from Nicholas Bennett and Derek Wyatt at their 6th form conference for criminology students in November and we are now positively asking for feedback from all institutions when we send speakers.

In November, Adrian Sanders and Dr Edmund Marshall participated in a meeting on the work of Parliament with the "Model Westminster, Exeter", a student society at the University of Exeter

Two sessions have been held at Brunel University, the first on 6 December with Tim Janman and Tom Levitt on the impact of Brexit on politics, party allegiance and political parties and the second on 31 January with Nicholas Bennett and Bridget Prentice on the role of Members of Parliament and the functions of MPs as both legislators and representatives of their constituencies. The session also examined the capacity of MPs to be representative of under-represented/minority groups. Brunel hopes to arrange two further sessions in 2020, one on the role of the Civil Service and the other on campaigning and elections.

A programme was also arranged with the University of Exeter for their Parliamentary Studies students with Phyllis Starkey on 20 February, Adrian Sanders on 5 March & Tim Janman on 19 March. There will also be a college-wide seminar later in the year

with Bridget Prentice on electoral systems, voter registration and the work of the Electoral Commission. Further sessions are being planned for the autumn term.

We also responded to a request from the Overseas Department of the House of Commons to provide two speakers, Nicholas Bennett and Keith Best, for an incoming group of Parliamentary interns from Canada. We are following up on the Canadian visit by discussing possible future partnership working with the Overseas Office of the House of Commons

In June, Nicholas Bennett and John Austin will be participating in a session for a group of students from the Louisiana State University on the London leg of their European Study Visit.

We have also made approaches to both the University of Birmingham and Birmingham City University. Members have also provided contacts at LSE, Plymouth, Wrexham and Stirling and through the Scottish Association of Former MPs and Iain Luke, we are pursuing links with Dundee University and the Harris Academy in Dundee.

Members can keep track of the Trust's activities on our website at: www.parlyoutreach.org.uk and can contact me at: admin@parlyoutreach.org.uk

### **ADVANCE NOTICE:**

The Annual General Meeting of the Parliamentary Outreach Trust will be held at on Tuesday 7th July at 12.30pm (venue at Westminster to be confirmed).

## EDWARD DU CANN



Late in 1974, as Edward Heath's grip on the Conservative leadership was slipping away, a name seriously touted as his successor was that of Edward du Cann, then Chairman of the 1922 Committee. He and Heath had worked together, and could not stand each other, an antipathy that did du Cann's chances no harm. But he announced that his wife did not wish to be married to the party leader, leaving the field open to the slightly less well know Margaret Thatcher.

Years later, du Cann – who was as successful in business as in politics, or more so – was taken by the life size statue of Thatcher that now stands in the Member's Lobby that he commissioned a maquette of it. Later, in his

90s, he commissioned its sculptor, Anthony Dufort, to make a head and shoulders bronze sculpture of him, looking not as he did in old age, but in the 1960s. It now joins the 10,000 or so fine art works that make up the parliamentary collection, having been donated by his family after Sir Edward's death in 2017, aged 93. The collection also now boasts a box set of photographs from the 209 Women series, which first went on display in December 2018, to mark 100 years since women were allowed to become MPs. The Parliamentary Collection also bought five photographs from the series for display, portraits of the MPs Mhairir Black, Yvette Cooper, Andrea Leadsom and Carline Lucas, and ex-MP Seema Kennedy.