

Order! Order!

The Official Journal of the Association of Former Members of Parliament



SPRING 2025

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

2 SIR VINCE CABLE
Guest Speaker at our
April meeting



6 ALUN MICHAEL
My 12 years as a
Police and Crime
Commissioner



9 DAVID HINCHLIFFE
Remembering
those absurd all
night sittings



18 SIR TONY BLAIR
A tribute to the late
Lord (John) Prescott

UNESCO AND AN AFRICAN VILLAGE

A perfect storm of stunning wildlife and acute poverty is
setting conservation and communities at loggerheads pp4-5



ASSOCIATION NEWS

Laura Blake

LAURA BLAKE

As you may already be aware, I have decided to retire from the role as your Administrator. I have enjoyed working for the Association over the last three years immensely, with all the different challenges and personalities it presented to me. However, I am pleased to say that I leave the Association with an increased membership of over 500 former MPs.

The good news is that we have found a new administrator and are delighted that Nicola Ravis has agreed to take over the role in April. Some of you may already know Nicola from her years working in Black Rod's office. I am confident that I am leaving the Association in a safe pair of hands.

DATES FOR THE DIARY SPRING ALL MEMBER MEETING

**Thursday, 24th April 3.00-4.30pm
House of Lords Committee Room 1**

We are delighted that the Rt Hon Sir Vince Cable former Liberal Democrat MP for Twickenham and leader Deputy Leader of the Liberal Democrats from 2006 to 2010 has agreed to be our guest speaker at the Spring meeting. He was appointed Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills in 2010. He served in the Liberal Democrat Shadow Cabinet as Spokesman on Trade and Industry from 1999 to 2003, and Shadow Chancellor from 2003 to 2010. Following the Spring Forecast which is due to take place on 26th March, this should be an interesting meeting.

Please let me know if you wish to attend on my email blakelb@parliament.uk

SUMMER ALL MEMBER MEETING

The Summer All Members' meeting will take place on Thursday 17th July at 4pm. Venue to be confirmed

SUMMER RECEPTION

Our Patron, Mr Speaker, has again kindly agreed for us to hold our Summer reception in the State Apartments in Speakers House on **Thursday 17th July** from 5.30pm until 7.30pm

As usual there will be a cover charge to attend this event of £40 per head.

Please complete the form below and send it to me either by post or email confirming payment and attendance. Upon receipt of payment, I will forward the official invitation for the event.

Partners are welcome, but no guests please.

SUMMER RECEPTION APPLICATION FORM

I would like to attend the 2025 Summer Reception

NAME.....

I would like to bring my partner (NAME)

Please pay --- The Association of Former MPs" Account No. 50281506 --- Sort code 20-47-39.

Barclays Bank

Reference : "Summer" the sum of £40 per head.

Please return the form either by email or post to The Administrator, Association of Former MPs,

House of Commons, Room G13, 1 Parliament St, London SW1A 4NE, email blakelb@parliament.uk.

WELCOMING NEW MEMBERS

TIM LOUGHTON



Former Conservative MP for East Worthing & Shoreham 1997–2024

Tim Loughton was one of the select group of Conservative MPs elected for the first time in 1997 for the new constituency of East Worthing & Shoreham. He was returned at every election until he stood down at the 2024 General Election. He served on the Conservative Front Bench for half of his time in Parliament, mostly as a Shadow Education Minister before becoming Minister for Children in the Coalition Government in 2010. In that role he instituted a series of reforms around children's social care, adoption and child sexual exploitation. From the backbenches he continued to champion the cause of vulnerable children particularly in the care system and around mental health, chairing the APPG's for Children and First 1001 Days. Tim also served as Deputy Chairman of the Home Affairs Select Committee from 2014-24 and in 2017 successfully steered through one of the most complex private member's bills, now the Civil Partnerships, Marriages, Deaths (Registration etc.) Act. He established two and chaired three charities in the environmental education, arts and perinatal mental health space. Since leaving Parliament Tim has been chairing Safeguarding Boards for children in care and adults with learning disabilities and advises companies on education and children's social care as well as getting his life back after being a Conservative Party activist since 1977.

ROBERT LARGAN



Former Conservative MP for High Peak 2019–2024

Robert describes himself as an "independent minded moderate" and is a member of the One Nation Caucus of Conservative MPs. He served as a member of the Transport Select Committee and contributed to various inquiries, including into the impact of coronavirus on the aviation sector and the rollout and safety of smart motorways. Robert has also been a member of the Conservative Environmental Network and is a keen advocate for environmental and conservation causes. He also founded the APPG for the Peak District and was elected chair, with a focus on bringing green jobs to the region. Robert was appointed Assistant Government Whip in October 2022 assisting the Northern Ireland Office ministerial team, and later joined the Treasury ministerial team.

DEAN RUSSELL



Former Conservative MP for Watford 2019-2024

Dean was parliamentary Under-Secretary at BEIS in September 2022. He sat on the Health and Social Care Committee, and Human Rights Joint Committee. In October 2021 the Speaker appointed Dean as Chair of the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Works of Art. In November 2021 he was appointed PPS to the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.

Dean presented the Employment (Allocation of Tips) Bill to Parliament, which prohibits employers from retaining tips intended for staff. Dean also introduced a First-Aid (Mental Health) Bill to make mental health first-aid part of first-aid training requirements in workplaces. Dean also helped ensure the introduction of Zach's Law, an amendment to make epilepsy trolling online illegal.

GOODBYE LAURA

By Eric Martlew, Chair of the Association of Former Members.

I am sure that I speak for the whole membership when I say it is with great regret that we are now having to say goodbye to Laura. Laura has worked for the Association for three years, having taken over from Sally Grocott. This in itself was a challenge but Laura, due to her quiet professionalism and her personality, soon proved her worth.

Her background in business and politics, especially her experience in her work in the House of Lords, has proved invaluable. Additionally, her networking skills with House officials has paid tremendous dividends in helping to promote the interests of the Association.

Her organisational skills have been a great asset. The smooth running of the Downing Street reception belies the difficulties behind it. Dealing with No 10 was a nightmare but the reality behind this event was disguised by Laura's hard work. I personally have enjoyed working with Laura. She has been extremely helpful to me and on occasions has given me very sound advice, which was greatly appreciated. It is very sad to see her go and we wish her well for the future.

But the good news is that she has agreed to come back to help out with the Association when required.

Thank you, Laura – and best wishes.



Aminata Kallon: "I get my money from farming. How else?"

THE BEAUTY OF TIWAI ISLAND

While researching a book that she is writing, Sally Keeble walked from village to village in the forest of Sierra Leone for five days, with a Mende woman interpreter, talking to women. On one visit, she was told that she was the first 'tourist woman' to ever walk into the village: she thinks they might have meant white woman. In another village, a row had erupted as villagers were being told about a proposed 'buffer zone' to protect the unique environment of Tiwai island. They drowned out what the visiting officials were trying to say by banging pots and pans.

This is her report:

Aminata Kallon sits outdoors among her cooking pots nursing her child, a girl, who looks to be aged about three, which is old, even in a breast-feeding culture like rural Sierra Leone.

A tall, slim, dignified woman, she's the chief's wife in Giema, a village by Tiwai Island where a perfect storm of stunning wildlife and acute poverty is setting conservation and communities at loggerheads.

"All my other children have been sent away for schooling. They stay with family members and friends in the towns. This is the only child I have left, which is why I am still feeding her."

But the farming that she relies on for food and to pay her absent children's school fees is under threat. Tiwai Island is bidding to become Sierra Leone's first World Heritage site, and last month UNESCO announced that it required

a buffer zone to be established around the island that would spell the end of Aminata's farm.

Tiwai Island is a gem. Its dense forest covers 12 square kilometres in the centre of the Moa River. One of the last strongholds of the elusive pygmy hippo, it's home to 11 different species of primates and 135 birds.

The World Heritage bid is the brainchild of Tommy Garnett, a charismatic Sierra Leonean environmentalist who almost single-handedly saved Tiwai from destruction. He shaped the agreement with local communities that gave it protection in the 1980s. When the wildlife was hunted to near extinction and research and tourist infrastructure destroyed during Sierra Leone's civil war, he pulled it back from the brink, then restored it after the Ebola epidemic of 2014, rebuilt soon after following a devastating storm, and again after Covid.

On one visit, she was told that she was the first 'tourist woman' to ever walk into the village: she thinks they might have meant white woman.

A key aspect of the Tiwai vision is the involvement of the local communities, eight riverside villages that manage the reserve for the benefit of both the wildlife and the people. It's an innovative model overseen by a local management committee and the Environmental Foundation for Africa, the Sierra Leonean NGO which Tommy runs.

Tiwai's bid for World Heritage status is as a complex in conjunction with its much bigger neighbour, the Gola Rainforest. Almost four years' work has gone into preparing the project, which is nearing deadline.

The forests, UNESCO says, are not only "unique nationally, but of immense importance both regionally and internationally." So far, so good.

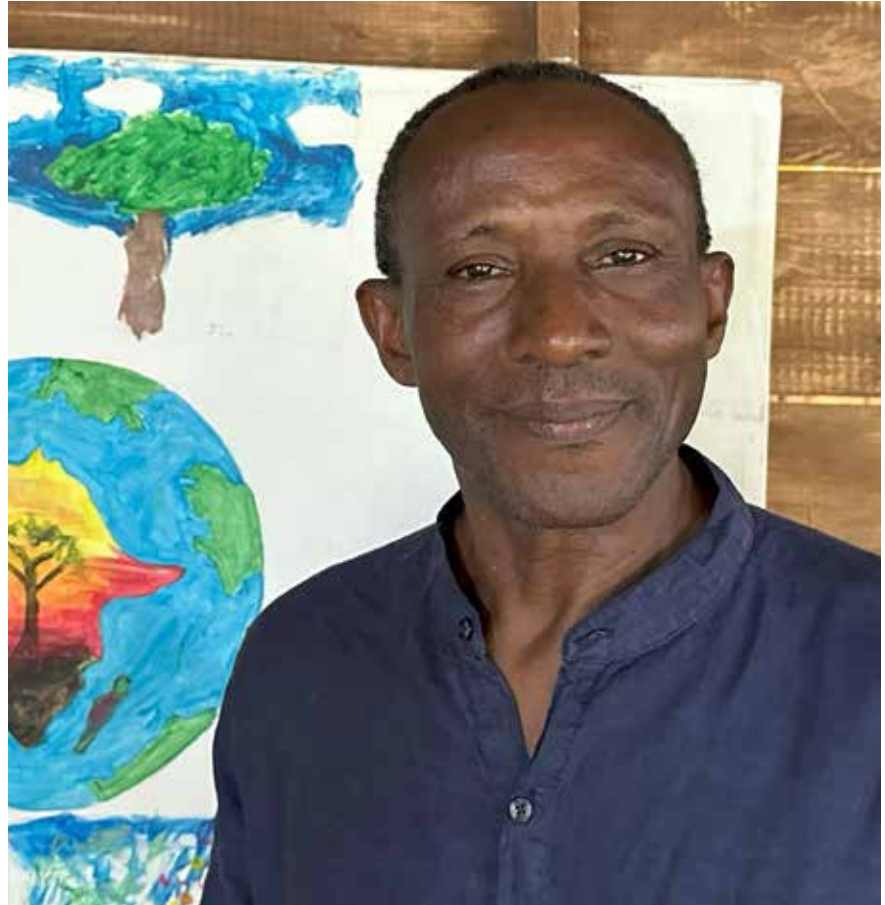
Buffer zone

But last month UNESCO abruptly required the establishment of an extended buffer zone around the island that would restrict the communities' access to the river and ban most of their agriculture. A consultation about the buffer zone in Kambama village ended with speakers being drowned out by angry villagers banging pots and pans.

For Aminata, the buffer zone spells disaster. "I get my money from farming. How else are we supposed to get money to support our children? I have no hope or expectation of the future other than to see my children through education so they can support themselves. This is why people are against the buffer zone."

And the farming is arduous: blistering days cultivating cassava, rice and beans for most, eggplant, pumpkins and sweet potatoes for those who have vegetable gardens, for a few cocoa beans that they sell for a fraction of its market prices. Aminata's nickname "Komamoneh" – working for your stomach – is apposite.

There's a lack of alternatives. Like most others in Giema, she's had no education. Her village has no school or training programme, no health facility or mobile clinic — none of the services pledged for decades by the international development community.



Tommy Garnett. "We're in a tight place"

Eco-tourism

Eco-tourism was part of the original Tiwai Island vision, and provides some employment and income for villages. But numbers are low, 500 to 800 visitors a year, and it's basic, lacking the investment of the lucrative upmarket options elsewhere in Africa.

For Aminata and her peers it's a double betrayal. First by an international community that promised, but didn't deliver, pathways out of poverty. And then expected the poorest of people to pay the price of conserving this precious site in our much-abused planet.

Tommy is realistic about the pressures, "Sierra Leone's government is struggling financially, donor finances are getting scarcer, the money coming in is for specific issues that are climate change related. So we're in a tight place."

But it's only a stage in a battle that has already taken him 25 years. "This is like going for the Olympics. Thousands of people go for it, and how many of them get a medal? This is long term. It's the horizon."

A UNESCO spokesperson said, "Gola-Tiwai complex is included in the list of nominations foreseen to be examined by the World Heritage Committee during its next session in July 2025."

"In accordance with the procedures, UNESCO is not in a position to provide comments while the nomination procedure is ongoing, until the examination by the World Heritage Committee session."

THE MOST REWARDING JOB I EVER HAD

By Alun Michael, Police and Crime Commissioner for South Wales, 2012-2024

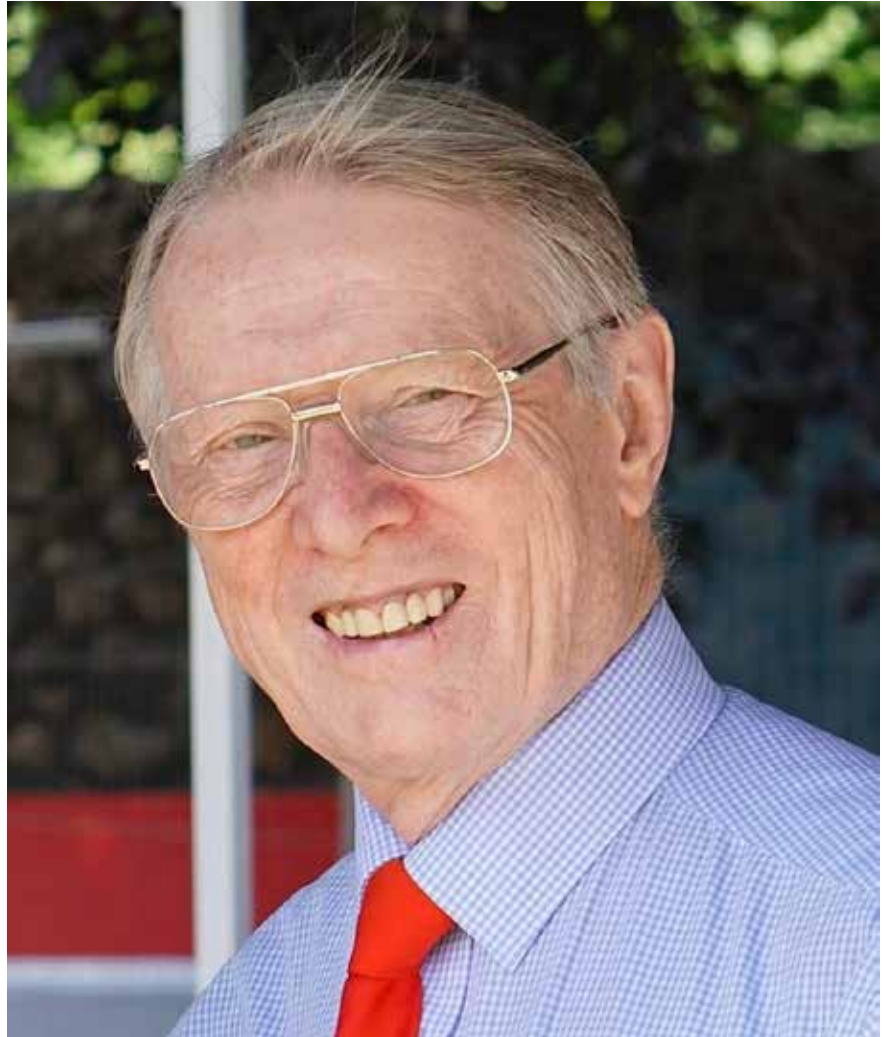
Resigning as MP to stand for election as Police & Crime Commissioner for South Wales wasn't an easy decision. Though all my experience convinced me that the police are brilliant at the things they do best, but can't be left to do it without serious accountability, I found the new role deeply worrying.

I was one of the expert Parliamentary group who studied the "American model" of Police governance, so I knew there was no such thing as an American model. There is a myriad of US models, some good, some awful.

While the legislation was going through Parliament, I was frequently called to conferences to debate with the Minister, Nick Herbert (now Lord Herbert). So I knew he believed in "letting a thousand flowers bloom" (or 43, to be precise) for democracy to sort out at the next election. Electoral averages might work in general, but could I allow the possibility that South Wales Police might be a disaster area in this dangerous experiment? Not likely.

At a personal level I'd worked with young offenders and knew that many didn't need to be drawn into offending if the right thing was done at the right time. That belief, and anger that young people I worked with had been abandoned by the Thatcher Government, was what led me to stand for Parliament. That's not said to irritate Conservative readers: it's simply why I stood for Parliament.

It's not about being soft, but doing the right thing. The highlight of my Parliamentary career was bringing in the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act – introducing Community Safety Partnerships, Youth Offending Teams, the Youth Justice Board and Community Safety Partnerships.



Tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime. It has stood the test of time with support from police leaders.

But would these new Commissioners take things in the wrong direction, away from the partnership work that is essential to delivering Peel's core principles?

That doubt was why two of us – myself and the late Tony Lloyd – resigned to stand for the Commissioner role at a time when the Labour Party was still mainly focused on opposing the idea in the first place.

'Let them get on with it'

So how did it work out in practice?

The twelve years in this role were beyond doubt the most productive and rewarding of all the roles I've enjoyed.

There's no lack of competition as each of my 25 years in Parliament was rewarding, particularly as a Minister and as a Select Committee member. They followed 15 challenging but rewarding years as City Councillor, Youth Worker and Chair of the then Juvenile Bench.

What made the Commissioner role

different was its personal nature, making it both a personal challenge and a personal opportunity. Nick Herbert had been right to say “elect them and let them get on with it”.

It's not absolute power. You don't run operational policing. You set the budget, and have a wealth of detailed responsibilities, including appointing the chief constable (I had three outstanding Chiefs, but it's not guaranteed) and holding the chief constable to account. Some Chiefs resent that, although it's what Parliament decided - but others understand it, and the wiser ones welcome it.

You have authority to bring people together to get things done – like being a Minister but locally, for communities you know and understand, without the bureaucracy of a ministry or a Whips Office, no daily grind of Parliamentary business. Local leadership, though voluntary commissioners and deputy mayors have been remarkably effective, working as a team and with Ministers through the APCC.

One surprise is how the role influences attitudes. The 2021 election massively increased the right-wing balance among Commissioners and Deputy Mayors – but work on early intervention and prevention continued to be central. As in local government, joint working and compromise can emerge in a politically polarised landscape so can we hope it will return in the Commons too?

Examples

There's only room for examples from Wales.

First IRIS: A GP Surgery in Bristol showed that training all the staff can lead to a massive increase in reporting of domestic abuse. We decided to take it up on an industrial scale. Through my team, I put in money to cover the costs for the first year - provided Health Boards would pay in future. Referrals increased from single figures to thousands – two thirds of them 'first time ever' reports - across three Health Board areas. Welsh Ministers are encouraging the other four Boards in Wales to take it up too.

Second organisational: Many factors affecting crime, disorder and disruption fall within devolved responsibilities, so it made sense for Commissioners to pool individual autonomy with Chiefs to speak with one voice with Welsh Government and the (non-devolved but coterminous) other elements of the criminal justice system. We set up and owned the Partnership Board, but the First Minister accepted our invitation to chair it, creating a place which respected constitutional reality while enabling partnership to flourish. A good example of being able to achieve more together than we could alone.

That accelerated during COVID-19. For the first time (because health is devolved) we were enforcing Welsh law and as it was being written the Commissioners and Chiefs were meeting Welsh Ministers along with colleagues from Health and Local Government weekly and almost daily at times. Together we were able to get things moving to re-open courts.

Cooperation

Sadly, the machinery in both Cardiff Bay and Whitehall often misses the point of devolution, something that I've campaigned for since the 1960s. Policing can act as required by law without reference to the Welsh Government, but you can't follow Robert Peel's principle that “the first responsibility of the police is to prevent crime” without working effectively with education, health, local government, and the voluntary and community sector. Frankly, nor can others, especially Probation or Prisons.

Devolution shouldn't be a choice “either you do it, or we do it” (with devolution as a choice of delegating or retaining at Westminster) but about shared leadership, cooperation and teamwork. It's what makes the current relationship between First Minister Eluned Morgan and Secretary of State Jo Stevens particularly exciting. There may be lessons from policing in Manchester too, if we focus on achieving a triumph of leadership over bureaucracy and cooperation over telling people what to do.



Political Incident No. 8

Jeffrey Archer, the best-selling author, was a stalwart of the Conservative Party and during the General Election campaign of 1987 was out and about campaigning for Conservative candidates.

I had been in touch with Conservative Campaign Headquarters to shout “We've got a really good chance of winning but we're running out of money!!” Back came the response. “We can let you have £600.”

“Wonderful! Thank you!” - “It comes with strings” - “Which are?” - “Jeffrey Archer” - “Send him up at once.”

Jeffrey arrived with a number of minders. He took charge immediately, issuing staccato commands. “Leaflets” he said, grabbing them and pushing them into the hands of our willing helpers. “Into the crowd. Tell people ‘Jeffrey Archer for Hugo Summerson, Conservative candidate for Walthamstow. Jeffrey Archer here in Walthamstow, supporting Hugo Summerson, Conservative candidate.’ Off you go!”

And off we all went, supporters, candidate, minders and all, into the crowd.

Jeffrey was in his element. “Great to meet you! But here's your Conservative candidate. He's far more important. Hugo, come and say hello to these lovely ladies. Conservative voters? That's the way. Thank you very much. More leaflets here!”

An enormous crowd gathered, stretching from the Tube station almost up to the High Street. People rushed out of shops, pushing and craning. Others leant out of windows shouting “Jeffrey!” and waving. Jeffrey waved back.

Two women stood on the edge of the crowd. “Oo is it?” one of them asked.

“Dunno. I'll go and look”.

She set off, pushing her way into the crowd, while her friend stood on tiptoe. A few minutes later she returned, her face glowing with excitement. “Oo is it?” her friend repeated.

“It's that Jeremy Beadle off the telly!” she cried. A winning combination! Jeffrey Archer and Jeremy Beadle. What a bargain at £600 the pair.

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



STILL WITH US – THE BLIGHT OF SLAVERY

By Andy McSmith

Almost 120 years since William Wilberforce persuaded Parliament to outlaw the international slave trade, nobody knows how many people there are held as slaves. The answer, very roughly, is millions worldwide, and in the UK, thousands. The Home Office receives, on average, more than 1,500 reports a month of potential victims of modern slavery. Nearly a quarter are British born. More than a fifth are either Albanian or Vietnamese.

This grim picture of modern slavery was set out in a talk by Baroness Butler-Sloss at the Association's December meeting.

"Children, sometimes under 12, are in what they call county lines," she says. "They are groomed into carrying drugs around the country. They go into small towns and villages – because our big towns, as you know, are awash with drugs. They are almost certainly trafficked."

"The places they stay in are sometimes called 'cuckoo homes.' They find somebody who is vulnerable, they go to this vulnerable person's house, and basically either push them out, or let them stay but take the place over.

"Across the world and slavery comes in a variety of types – obviously sexual, certainly debt bondage, a lot of people are forced into crime. There are millions."

Elizabeth Butler-Sloss, 91, who was the country's most senior judge, was first alerted to the international slave trade when airport officials intercepted a group of Nigerian women, all under the age of 25, who were in transit from their

homeland to Italy, where they would have ended up as street prostitutes.

Years later, after the late Frank Field had persuaded the Prime Minister of the day, Theresa May, that there needs to be a Modern Slavery Act, Field, Butler-Sloss and John Randall were given the task of producing a report, which they did in six weeks.

Anthony Steen, the former MP for Totnes, told them the story of a young woman from the Czech Republic, who had been trained as a bona fide masseuse by her mother, and who answered a job opportunity to work in what purported to be a massage parlour in Totnes. It was a trap. She was a virgin. No sooner had she arrived in Totnes than she was given over to a dozen men. She was then taken to a pub, where she made such a scene that police were called, and she was put on a plane home.

But amid the bad news, they heard from at least one witness whose story ended well.

She said: "In Bedfordshire, a gang was going to the soup kitchens, where unemployed men were picking up food, and offering them a substantial sum to go and work on building sites. They were then ferried to Sweden, where they were living in caravans – rather too many of them to each caravan – and were working long hours for either no pay, or minimal pay.

"A Swedish boy, who was part of this group, got himself from the north of Sweden to Scotland, and went and told the police what was going on. A police

officer from Sweden went to one of the caravans and said 'We think you're slaves'. It had never crossed these men's minds that they were slaves. They were then sent back to whichever country they had come from."

Baroness Butler-Sloss was delighted by the 2015 Modern Slavery Act, and the seriousness with which Theresa May tried to address the problem. But after May was ousted, the issue slipped to poor second place behind the political imperative to reduce immigration. After Sara Thornton "a woman of considerable stature" ended her three-year term as Anti-Slavery Commissioner in April 2022, it took until December 2023 to appoint a successor, Eleanor Lyons. There is a Modern Slavery Unit in the Home Office, but Baroness Butler-Sloss is unimpressed.

"It was small when it started: it has got bigger and bigger. They started with 20, they certainly have 40, it may have gone up from that, but what on earth they are doing, I just don't know. I think they're full of good intentions. They have lots of meetings, lots of conferences, lots of reports, and as far as I can see, they don't do very much. Cut down the number of people working in it, and save some money, I say."



ALL THROUGH THE NIGHT

DAVID HINCHLIFFE RECALLS THOSE INSANE LATE SITTINGS

On the odd evenings when there are no ongoing books to read and nothing of interest on the television, we'll dip into the Parliament Channel. Invariably nowadays the Commons has risen and, if the 'Upper' House has not 'Adjourned for Pleasure', a Lords debate will entertain, with speeches often being made by folk we genuinely believed were deceased.

A lot of former MPs take the view that it is an indication of declining standards when the Commons rises early - but I'm not one to criticise the fact the House is nowadays meeting during what might be termed civilised hours.

I was first elected in 1987, and during my first two Parliaments it was rare for us not to be debating and voting until 10.00 p.m. and, quite often, significantly later - sometimes well into the following morning. Why the formalities did not start until 2.30 p.m. back then was a mystery at first, until I learned that evening votes suited the large number of practising lawyers - mainly, but by no means wholly, on the Conservative benches.

All-nighters

I now recognise that a good number of the 'all-nighters' arose from the Labour Opposition's attempts to block the Thatcher/Major legislative programme, or controversial private bills. At the time of increasing pit closures in constituencies like mine, I recall going well into the early hours with filibusters involving mimicking the calls of Humber bird species likely to be displaced by new port facilities being proposed

for the importation of coal. I was an infrequent and reluctant participant in such overnight debates but did once make a lengthy speech against corporal punishment at 4.30 a.m. when a key motivation was to name my former deputy headteacher, who was a brute with both the slipper and cane.

Sleep

My main consideration during late or all-night sittings was, frankly, to try and get some sleep - but in the days long before Portcullis House, this was easier said than done. The bars stayed open as long as the House was sitting and, while there was some veneration for those who could continue drinking and remain functional, the old Strangers was definitely not at its best after the midnight hour.

The vast majority of those hanging around for votes would by then have sought somewhere for slumber, when there was fierce competition for very limited comfort. Longer-serving colleagues may have had armchairs or settees in their offices, but I was part of the wandering tribe seeking a quiet corner to take a nap. The Commons Library's armchairs were much sought after, particularly those in the room closest to the Speaker's Office. The male MPs' bathroom, next to Annie's Bar, was another venue of choice, with the then small minority of women MPs competing for the Lady Members' Room.

When a vote was called, the usually fastidious were frequently unkempt, and I've even spotted colleagues without their

dentures. In my own case, contact lenses were replaced by spectacles, with Peter Kilfoyle cruelly labelling me Foo Man Choo because of my changed appearance. The one crumb of comfort was not being the poor soul who had the Adjournment Debate or the Minister scheduled to respond.

After I graduated to my own office, I lay on the floor upon the cushions of the two-seater settee and later brought in my own camp-bed, but, by then, the days of all-nighters were numbered, with the large numbers of female MPs elected from 1997 refusing to go along with what they rightly perceived as macho-nonsense. Looking back, I honestly wonder how MPs survived those ludicrous times. Sadly, of course, some didn't.

Busted

I was a fairly new Dad when first elected and frequently resembled a zombie while on weekend parental duties, after our second child was born in 1988. A week with minimal sleep at Westminster, and advice surgeries on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings were followed by a family trip to the supermarket on Saturday afternoons. While my wife, Julia, took our children on the shop, I'd ease the car seat back and have a nap in the car park. My sad plight at the time didn't go unrecognised in the constituency. I awakened from forty winks one day to find an A4 sheet of paper had been inserted under my windscreen wiper informing passers-by "THIS IS YOUR LOCAL LABOUR MP."

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

ANGELA KNIGHT Erewash, 1992-1997



I EXPECTED TO LOSE MY SEAT – Erewash, in the east Midlands – in 1997, but that didn't stop me fighting to the end. Afterwards, the biggest question was getting a job as soon as possible. My sons were small; I was divorced; and I needed an income, and rapidly.

I had less difficulty than some as it was seen as an advantage that I had spent a short time in parliament, and had worked for

years in the business and commercial world. During my one term I became economic secretary to the treasury.

I answered an advertisement from what was then known as APCIMS, the association of private client investment managers and stockbrokers, a small trade body looking for a CEO. Surprisingly, no other former MPs applied. I accepted their offer of a job, and only then went on a summer holiday with my children. Others who lost their seats went on holiday first, which I suspect was a mistake: the commercial world was not crying out for former politicians.

On returning, I put my house in Sheffield on the market, selling in the north and later buying in the south - the expensive way round!

Since then, I have been the CEO of two further trade association roles; the BBA during the banking crisis, and then I was hired to create Energy UK. I have also been a non-executive director on several boards and now that I am no longer a CEO, I chair two company boards. There is a good life to be had after electoral death!

DAVID BORROW South Ribble, 1997-2010



I EXPECTED TO LEAVE Parliament in 2010 and fortunately I didn't need to start job-hunting. Within weeks I was a trustee of three charities – George House Trust HIV/AIDS charity, FOMO which cares for orphans in Malawi and Preston Community Transport. In 2011, I was

back on Preston Council for my old ward that I represented 1987/97.

Two years later I was elected to Lancashire County Council and became Deputy Leader. Finance portfolio, minority administration, big budget cuts. Not an easy time.

Having been a committee member of the Parliamentary Pension Fund, I joined the Lancashire Pension Fund Committee.

We set up a joint company with the London Pension Fund, the Local Pension Partnership, to manage the investments and administer the schemes. All Local Government Pension Schemes have since set up joint pension companies as part of government policy.

I retired as a County Councillor in 2017 but remained on the Lancashire Pension Fund Committee as a district council rep.

I served as Mayor of Preston during Covid 2019/21 and then spent a couple of years on the Cabinet. By late spring last year, I was ready to stand down as an elected representative after twenty-three years on Preston Council, four years on the County Council and thirteen years in Parliament. Whilst enjoying the May sunshine in Spain, the General Election was announced, and my resignation went in.

Not as busy now, but a trustee of five charities. Also looking forward to spending time at our new holiday flat by the sea.

BOB WALTER North Dorset, 1997-2015



IT IS ALMOST A DECADE since I retired from the House, after 18 very rewarding years, during which I had been, at various times, Leader of the delegation to the Council of Europe and Western European Union, Chair of the British Group of the IPU and vice chair of the British Irish Parliamentary Assembly. I was also the final President of

the WEU Assembly. All that gave me an insight into European institutions, particularly in the defence field.

After retirement, I was elected President of the European Security and Defence Association. I have served on the Advisory Board of the Berlin Security Conference and chaired the European prize jury of Civisme Défense Armées Nation (CiDAN) and was invited to advise the Prime Minister of Macedonia and the Foreign Minister of Turkey on their respective relationships with the EU, NATO and other European nations.

My defence interests have been reinvigorated by current geopolitical events. Two years ago, I was asked to be chairman of Eurodéfense – UK, which brings together retired politicians, generals and ambassadors and younger experts in the defence and security fields across Europe. The second Russian invasion of Ukraine and the election of Donald Trump have focussed our activities on how we can defend Europe and the values we hold dear.

Retiring in good health let me pursue my passion for sailing. In 2015, I bought a beautiful sailing boat, which I have kept in the Aegean Sea. My wife and I spend several months of the year on the water, often with friends and family.

SIR WAYNE DAVID Caerphilly, 2001-2024



AFTER 23 YEARS, on 4th July last year I stepped down as the MP for Caerphilly. I was adjusting to life after many years in full-time politics and I'd just signed a contract to write a book about the Welsh buccaneer Sir Henry Morgan, when I received a message from the First Minister of Wales, Eluned Morgan. Eluned wanted me to be her Chief Special Advisor.

To say I was surprised would be an understatement. But I readily accepted. I have held Eluned in the highest of esteem since we were both members of the European Parliament in the 1980s, and my interest in Welsh politics has remained unabated since I was a Wales Office Minister under Gordon Brown.

Today, devolution is a permanent feature of Britain's political topography and there is a strong partnership between the Labour governments in Cardiff Bay and Westminster. Gone is the hostility to devolution which characterised 14 years of Conservative central government. Instead, there is a genuine mutual respect between the two governments. My job is to help Eluned Morgan to deliver for the people of Wales the real and tangible benefits of devolution with two Labour governments working together.

Welsh devolution is not about constitutional abstractions; it is a means to develop and deliver material policies which can and must address the particular needs of the Welsh people. I am doing my utmost to help make real Eluned Morgan's vision for Wales. It is an exciting job and one which is extremely worthwhile, even if it is a job which was somewhat unexpected.

HELEN GOODMAN Bishop Auckland, 2005-2019



I DIVIDE MY TIME between London and Durham. I'm a Professor in Practice at the School of Government and International Affairs at Durham and also involved in the University's work on technologies for net zero. In particular I've been championing minewater heat- as befits a former Durham MP.

I chair Church Action on Poverty and we run 130 foodbanks supporting sixty thousand

people. I'm a trustee of Zaccheus 2000 – a London based advice charity and of BEARR, which supports civil society organisations in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. I hosted a family from Ukraine for a year after the Russian invasion. This month I'm going to Paris to take part in a conference on women's rights in Iran.

I was alarmed to learn that the bird population has fallen by 30% in as many years so every spring I take part in the British Ornithological count of curlew, lapwing, oyster catchers and redshank which we have in the North Pennines.

I've been catching up on the classical education I never had; reading Herodotus, Thucydides and Homer (not in the Greek); Cicero, Caesar and Virgil (not in the Latin) and listening to lots of Beethoven. To the amusement of my kids I've also discovered daytime bingeing on TV box sets: "Mum, only 25 years after the rest of the country." I am happy to meet up with former colleagues in the North and the South.

ROBERT HALFON Harlow, 2010-2024



IMAGINE DECIDING TO BE AN MP at ten years old, taking thirty years to get elected, fighting six elections in Harlow, losing the first two - and then voluntarily giving all this up at the last election. Without a doubt - it was a real wrench to leave.

I still feel like a crack addict on methadone, especially when I watch PMQs.

To leave Parliament is not just saying goodbye to an all-consuming, addictive profession but a way of life. You say goodbye to friends, staffers, and doorkeepers, and the wonderful tea room is closed for good. Your Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays are no longer filled with constituency visits, surgeries, campaigning, and Sunday Civic Services. Once belle of the ball, you are no longer even ghost at the table.

But despite Parliamentary hunger pangs, I decided to shut the Commons door. Twenty-five years of being a Parliamentary Candidate and MP was a long stint.

Apart from campaigning for fuel duty cuts, my passion in politics was championing apprenticeships and skills, a role I was able to do twice as Minister and Education Select Committee Chairman. I was the first MP to ever employ Commons-based full-time Parliamentary Apprentices, a practice that is now widespread.

So, stepping down as an MP has allowed me to continue supporting apprenticeships and skills, albeit in different ways. I have set up the Ladder of Opportunity Consultancy and now work for various skills organisations, from BPP to Captiva to the Green Skills Advisory Panel to GK Strategy and Metaverse Learning and a few more. I feel fulfilled because I can evangelise technical and vocational education and contribute to the national debate.

A GOOD READ

PLUS CA CHANGE...

Denis MacShane

English MPs. Legislators and Servants of their Constituents 1750-1800

By Michael McCahill

Published by Bloomsbury

TO KNOW WHERE PARLIAMENT should go it is helpful to know where it has come from. Wannabe MPs do not have to sit an exam on Parliamentary history but if they become ministers or even the First Lord of the Treasury it would be no bad thing if they studied the roots of UK parliamentary democracy – what worked, what was a dead-end – and never forget that parliamentary reform, from how to elect MPs and how keeping Parliament independent of money and other special interest power-holders, is an eternal question.

A new book on MPs in a key period when the Commons emerged into the shape we recognise today is therefore worthy of attention. In the late 18th century the Whig intellectual grandee MP Edmund Burke argued that MPs should not be beholden to their constituents' wishes, but should be free to exercise their own judgement in Parliament:

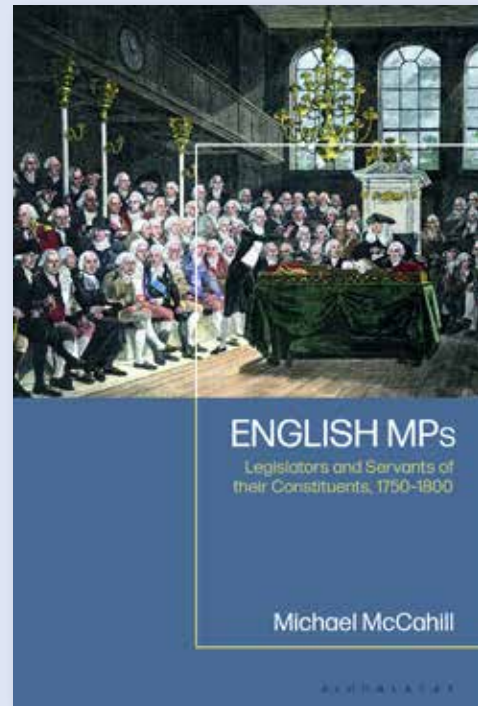
"His unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

Burke's rotund phraseology is often quoted as showing MPs defending a superior interest to that of obeying constituents' wishes. In fact, Burke made sure he was in line with what his next constituency, Bristol wanted. He vigorously opposed any limitations on the slave trade – a central source of Bristol's wealth. He began by supporting the efforts of Americans to throw off British rule but when Bristol merchants and ship-owners told him to shut up, as they profited from trade with the American colonies, he shut up and did as he was told.

Three quarters of all laws enacted in Parliament in the 18th century were small individual bills, many of them to allow wealthy land-owners to enclose common farming land used by peasants, and drive the hapless men and women without money or even a vote into poverty, as little better than serfs for the lords and knights of the shires whose wealth was based on owning land – just as today money buys many laws that protect the rich and leave Britain with more poor people than most comparable European nations.

The men who made a fortune from colonising India made sure their main agent Lord Clive (of India) was protected. A rich Indian landowner gave him £234,000 (£30 million in today's money) as a bribe but the House of Commons absolved Clive of any wrong-doing just as MPs, including ministers, who helped friends and political contacts make millions from the government via PPE and other contracts during the Covid pandemic, have never been sanctioned.

MPs busied themselves almost as local councillors getting parliamentary approval and money to build roads, canals, bridges, and paving town centres to help increase trade and the establishment of shops.



What changed Britain was not the efforts of MPs but outside events – such as America and France opting to be republics, and rejecting rule under monarchies so dear to the ruling Tories and Whigs, who had their differences but never challenged the rule by those with money.

More important was the first great Europe-wide war declared by Britain against France at the end of the 18th century, in the vain hope of putting a King back in charge of France. It lasted four times as long as the two 20th century world wars and involved Britain in military action in every corner of the globe. Giant armies and navies came into being. Income tax and inheritance tax were legislated as temporary measures just as some are suggesting new taxes today to face down the neo-imperial ambitions of Putin.

Whatever hopes King George III had of restoring monarchical rule collapsed as Parliament became essential to vote the money to conduct the never-ending war. The 18th century system of rotten or pocket borough controlled by aristocrats gave way, as did the ban on Irish Catholics having the vote as so many of them fought and died to deliver Wellington and Nelson their victories.

Today, of course, any ambitions MPs have for the constituencies they represent depend on securing support of their party colleagues to agree laws, if their party forms a government. MPs dutifully hold advice surgeries, but their 18th century predecessors could get money to increase economic activity or improve transport links – which no MP today has any hope of achieving.

The giveaway phrase "the Crown in Parliament" is accurate. The new monarchs control the Treasury or Home Office and many MPs feel more powerless than their predecessors 250 years ago.

Denis MacShane was the MP for Rotherham 1994-2012 and a PPS and Minister in the FCO for eight years.

A RENAISSANCE MAN WHO CRACKLED WITH CHARISMA

Jerry Hayes

*From Acorns to Oaks:
An Urgent Agenda to Rebuild Britain*

By Michael Heseltine

Published by Biteback

IN THE SWELTERING SUMMER OF 1983, flotillas of handwritten invitations for drinks with senior cabinet ministers began to arrive. We were greeted in tens, offered warm white wine and a forever open door. At last Michael Heseltine's arrived, so off I tramped to the ghastly MOD building expecting the usual platitudes and sly hints of leadership ambitions. Michael hadn't invited us in tens. He had invited the whole of the 1983 intake. And before we could take a sip of our chilled white wine, this tall man with a flowing mane of blond hair framed behind a portrait of David Lloyd George gave a speech that crackled with such charisma and passion that many of us just turned to each other and said, 'wow!' And that is the most accurate way to describe the man, his achievements and this book.

Heseltine has taken Churchill's advice when he said he knew what history would say about him because he would write it and encourages modern day politicians '(to) get your side of the story into print'.

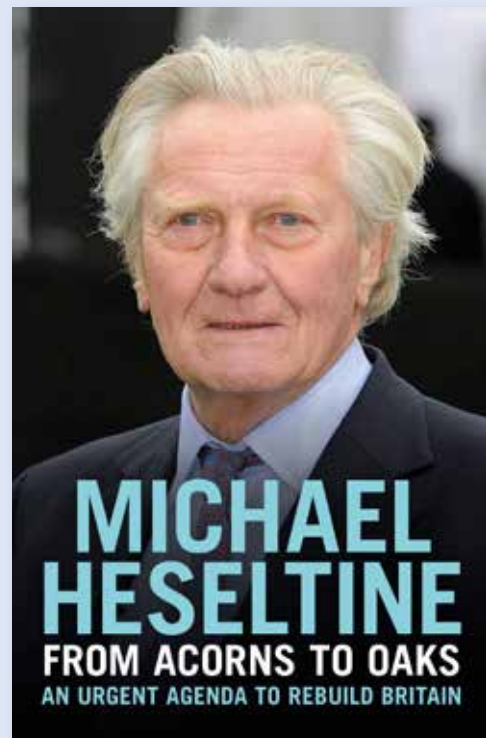
This is a story of renaissance man. He made a small publishing business into a multi-million pound empire, delivered the Right to Buy, regenerated Liverpool, Manchester and many derelict wastelands, which - before he encouraged a partnership between central government, local authorities and the private sector - reeked of despair, vandalism and failure. He didn't mouth platitudes about an industrial strategy, he developed one. He learned an important lesson from the Liverpool riots, 'nobody was in charge'. That is why he championed unitary authorities and mayors. When he was trying to persuade a reluctant Margaret Thatcher and Geoffrey Howe to release funds to regenerate a derelict area of the east of London he turned to former Labour minister Reg Prentice for advice. 'Tell the PM that all the councillors are communists'. It worked.

He gave us Canary Wharf, the Dockland Light Railway, Concorde, the Audit Commission, as well as revolutionising defence procurement by appointing Peter Levene. And Heseltine is still fizzing with ideas. He was putting forward imaginative plans to grow the economy before Liz Truss was born. Politicians would be wise to read, 'No Stone Unturned, In pursuit of growth'.

And in his spare time, he and his wife Anne have designed one of the most lauded and beautiful gardens in Britain.

What troubles me is that Heseltine may be primarily remembered for storming out of Cabinet over Westland. He rejects accusations that this was a ploy for the leadership.

'I remain appalled by the behaviour of those advising Thatcher. They had persuaded themselves that this was some sort of scurrilous plot to replace her, despite there being not a shred of evidence to support such an idea for



the simplest reasons that no plot existed ... I made no attempt to mobilise support in the cabinet for my position. I even tried to contact Willie Whitelaw and Lord Hailsham in the hope that they could help resolve the growing controversy. They both proved unavailable'.

He quotes from Charles Moore's biography, about how a select committee had been misled,

'If the committee had known and published what had really happened, however, and been allowed to question the officials involved it is hard to see how Mrs Thatcher would have been able to remain in office'.

And he has a salutary warning to new Members of Parliament: 'On election day you were a hero, an all-conquering victor. Upon entering the Palace of Westminster, you were firmly reminded that you are barely a foot note in British history'.

Michael Heseltine at 92 is still a force of nature. Here are his words from 'Empowering English Cities': 'I want to unleash the ambitions of the British people. I want to empower them to rise to such an opportunity. We will never inspire such a vision with empty catch phrases or lofty exhortation. We need a plan of action. A call to arms. Detailed. Practical. Based on experience. It is a programme of national rejuvenation. We should start with our cities, embrace our towns and spread the benefits deeply into the countryside and villages'.

His commitment to a strong Europe remains undimmed.

'I was in Berlin in August 1961 on the night when the Russians closed the Berlin Wall. I wandered around the Brandenburg gate in no man's land between Russian sub machine guns... it was Winston Churchill who proclaimed in 1946, "we must build a kind of United States of Europe".'

Never was that more true than it is today.

Jerry Hayes was MP for Harlow, 1983-1997

A GOOD READ

"HE SHOULD SEEM ALL INTEGRITY"

Helen Goodman

Integrity
by Martin Albrow

Published by Polity books

IN THIS SHORT BUT BRILLIANT BOOK Albrow illuminates the concept of integrity, which is crucial to a well-functioning democracy. He begins with the history: integritas- the honour of the virgin in Rome, which combines both wholeness and virtue. It is an unusual concept in referring both to objects in the natural world and human morality. The journey goes via Machiavelli, who advises the Prince that "he should seem all integrity..." And here of course we see the beginning of modern political practice.

The desire to demonstrate to the public that what you see is what you get has led us down the path of using transparency as the key tool for ensuring proper behaviour. Yet we seem to have reached a crisis of trust in our politics and while tidying up the bureaucracy of ethics in public life might improve things, a tiny bit, this misses the point. Relying on transparency and "shaming" to punish rule breakers just doesn't raise standards. For example, it doesn't deal with the Trump phenomenon of kudos from flouting. Even at a petty level it fails: I secured an adjournment debate once to get some political prisoners out of gaol in Azerbaijan. Only one person intervened to criticise my argument. I subsequently looked up his entry in the register of interests to discover he'd been given £300 of Caspian caviar by the Azeri government. I'm sure every reader of this magazine will have their own examples.

Would making the codes legally binding help? Possibly, but public service ethos is surely more than acting within

the law. Certainly, the public expect more, as we discovered in the expenses scandal when the defence of "following the rules" simply did not wash.

Albrow's book ranges over integrity in the creative arts, the private sector, the professions and the media. It is a delight to read not just because of the range of examples he gives, from George Orwell to Enron, but because it stimulates the recollection and realisation that so many of our own experiences are about integrity, and its absence.

There's also a public service angle on this which is complex. Are the public services over-managed, under-managed or badly managed? Of course, resources must be allocated, efficiency measured, staff recruited and rewarded, results achieved, but - and it's a big but - professional standards need to be maintained without allowing professional interests to dominate client interests. One example will suffice. There is a new hospital in Bishop Auckland, but several departments have been transferred to Darlington where it is said medical standards are higher. It is also where most consultants live.

Once lost, a culture of integrity is hard to restore (though unlike the plight of the Roman maid, not impossible). A senior judge told me recently he had been to a conference with his European counterparts and they were asked whether they believed any of their national colleagues had been offered a bribe. (A typically clever lawyer's question!) Only the British said no.

A restoration of professionalism and confidence in the mission of public service is now essential for our politics and this depends on transmitting culture and values. Rather than a further rewrite of the Ministerial Code, I'd give every MP a copy of Albrow's book and let them reflect on how to interpret it in the challenges they face.

Helen Goodman was MP for Bishop Auckland, 2005-2019

SCOTTISH BRANCH UPDATE

Gordon Banks, Chair of the Scottish branch

IN NOVEMBER, we held Executive & all-Member meetings and a guest speaker event at The Scotland Office, Edinburgh at which we were privileged to have David Clegg, Editor of The Courier speak to members about how successful the publication has been in developing itself as a news outlet in today's digital world. Many of you will have fond memories of David from his time spent in Westminster.

Having studied the Nordic news model, David explained how this had been integrated into the Scottish news world and attributed the current strength of The Courier and its sister

publications to these adaptations.

Well done to everyone involved

David's contribution was also made available online to members unable to attend in person, thanks to Lawrie Quinn from the UK Executive.

At our meetings, it was agreed to adjust the timing of elections for Scottish branch office bearers to take place as soon as possible after the UK association holds its elections, due in September of this year.

Our next events are scheduled for 7th April 2025 also at The Scotland Office, Queen Elizabeth House, Edinburgh.

Lindsay Roy has already sent out

advance notification to everyone and full agendas etc will be issued in due course. The day will consist of an Executive meeting, an all-Members meeting, and a guest speaker event at which Brian Taylor, former BBC Political Editor and Herald journalist will speak to and take questions from members on his chosen subject, "Stands Scotland where it did?"

It would be great to see as many people as possible in person at the venue on the 7th April as we are unsure at the time of writing whether we will be able to offer online coverage of the event.

As usual if any members have suggestions for speakers, events or potential new members, please contact me at Gordon.banks@cartmore.com.

TRIBUTES

JOHN CARTWRIGHT

29 November 1933 – 18 November 2024

Labour & SDP MP Woolwich East 1974-1983; SDP MP for Woolwich 1983-1992

By John Austin

A Labour Party Agent 1955-1967, and regarded by his peers as one of the best, John Cartwright could have become National Agent or General Secretary had he not been elected to Parliament. He excelled as an organiser, but he was also the best constituency MP that I have known.

At his funeral, his son Neal said that John delighted in the poetry of words – as I discovered during the 1962 Orpington by-election, where he was the candidate's aide. After a hard day's campaigning John and fellow organiser Dick Knowles entertained campaign workers with their ditties based on political events.

We reconnected in 1966, when he was Labour Agent to Woolwich MP Christopher Mayhew and I was Agent for Dick Marsh in neighbouring Greenwich.

Although a Lincoln City fan, John adopted his local football team, Charlton Athletic, where he did the match announcements and half-time comments as 'The Voice of the Valley'. In 1967, as the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society's Political Secretary, he gained a seat on Labour's National Executive Committee, where he developed a political bond with Shirley Williams. He was elected to Greenwich Council in 1968, becoming Leader in 1971. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament twice in the neighbouring borough, against Ted Heath (Bexley 1970) and Cyril Townsend (Bexleyheath Feb 1974).

When Mayhew defected to the Liberals in 1974, John became Labour candidate and won the October election with 12,000 majority. He served as PPS to Education Secretary Shirley Williams.

In Opposition, John chaired the All-Party Consumer Group.

(As Leader of Greenwich Council, consumer protection had been a priority and he established a pioneering, shop-front Consumer Advice Service in the Town centre.) He chaired the PLP's Defence Group and served on the Defence Select Committee. When the "Gang of Four" set up the breakaway SDP in 1981 John did not join at first, and many colleagues were surprised when eventually he did. His closeness and loyalty to Shirley Williams was probably the tipping point.

He served as SDP spokesperson on Defence, Foreign Affairs and the Environment. Whilst many defecting Labour MPs fell by the wayside, John successfully defended his seat in 1983, attributed by most to his local popularity.

The SDP feared losing the seat at the following election and decided to abandon neighbouring Greenwich, throwing all their efforts into Woolwich. But "events" intervened. On Xmas Eve 1986 Greenwich's Labour MP, Guy Barnett, died suddenly. The February by-election went badly wrong for Labour; the SDP's Rosie Barnes romped home to victory, giving the struggling SDP a new lease of life. John retained his Woolwich seat against me in the 1987 General Election and succeeded Shirley Williams as SDP President.

In 1988 John opposed the SDP's merger with the Liberals, remaining loyal to David Owen. After the continuing SDP collapsed in 1990, John fought the 1992 Election as an "Independent Social Democrat" (albeit with the personal endorsement of Paddy Ashdown). I was his opponent again. My Dad said what a lovely man John was, that everyone loved him and added "You'll never beat him". I'm glad that on this occasion Dad was wrong! But despite having no Party, John's personal popularity remained high and, against the political tide, he almost made it, losing by only 2,200 votes in a "solidly safe" Labour seat.

I had the utmost respect for him and he never bore any personal malice. I also appreciated his sense of humour: his last "Sorry You Were Out" leaflet showed a photograph of him, on a doorstep, ringing a door-bell. It was my front door!



NEWS FROM THE PARLIAMENTARY OUTREACH TRUST

An update from the Chair, John Austin

THERE HAVE BEEN no University visits yet in 2025. Unfortunately, some of our regular contacts have moved on and we are in the process of making new contacts and re-establishing links.

Our partnership with the charity, SpeakersForSchools, continues and our members receive a number of invitations to speak at State Secondary Schools. Lord Clive Soley spoke with students at Inverness Royal Academy in Scotland in December on the importance of democracy and the Rule of Law, giving Syria as an example. In January, Sir David Lidington spoke with students at The Warren School in Romford, with a Q and A session on a wide range of subjects which he described as "serious and well

informed". And Sir Vince Cable has spoken to students at Yateley School in Hampshire and said "The response and feedback from the 6th formers was excellent; a really enjoyable experience." The students said that what they most enjoyed included "His experience and reflections on the current political climate (as well as his prior cabinet work) and the insight into life of an MP"

At its AGM held on 5 December the following Officers/Trustees were elected:

**Chair – John Austin;
Secretary – Keith Best;
Vice-chairs – Dr Tania Mathias
& Michael Meadowcroft;
Treasurer – Sarah McCarthy-Fry.**

The following were elected to the Executive Committee: Huw Edwards, Nigel Griffiths, Dame Sylvia Heal, Tom Levitt & Adrian Sanders

We would be pleased to hear from any members who wish to volunteer as speakers with the Trust or want more information. Please contact John Austin at admin@parlyoutreach.org.uk

We are still keen to hear from members who may have contacts at universities and colleges.

JOHN AUSTIN
Chair

TRIBUTES

RT HON SIR GEOFFREY PATTIE

17 January 1936–8 October 2024

Conservative MP for Chertsey and Walton, Feb 1974–1997
by Spencer Batiste



I first got to know Geoffrey Pattie in the Amazonian rainforest near Devil's Island in 1985. We were both at the European Space Agency's facility in Kourou to watch the launch of the Giotto satellite

to intercept Halley's Comet. A delay due to bad weather gave us the time to chat and I saw in him an admirable politician who was ambitious and prepared to fight for what he believed in, as well as a good man to be in the jungle with – be it in the Amazon jungle, or Westminster.

Soon after our return to London, he asked me to be his PPS at DTI. I agreed and we became friends. I learned he was a northerner, born in 1936 in Stockton-on-Tees, educated at Durham School and a fan of Middlesbrough football club. In 1960, he married Tuema Eyre-Maunsell in what proved to be a life-long loving union. After serving a term on the GLC, he was elected in 1974 as MP for Chertsey & Walton. We both remained in Parliament until 1997, when he chose to leave, whilst my constituents made that choice for me.

Whilst Minister of State at MoD and DTI, Geoffrey championed British technology and promoted major projects, including the building of Airbus wings in Britain and producing a coherent UK space plan. When it came to the re-shuffle of 1987, he was tipped for a Cabinet appointment but instead got the sack. Margaret would not endorse his view of the support needed by British hi-tech industries. However, she compensated him with a knighthood and membership of the Privy Council.

The government's loss was industry's gain. Whilst still in Parliament we continued to work together on issues of common interest such as the successful campaign to develop the British Challenger tank rather than buy Abrams tanks from America. He then began a range of activities, which over the years included Marketing Director of GEC, founding Chairman of Strategic Communications Laboratories, Senior Partner of Terrington Communications, Chairman of the Intellectual Property Institute and membership of the Board of Governors of the British Film Industry.

He had a life well-lived and achieved much. He died at home with his family in Duncton, West Sussex, on 8 October 2024. His funeral at the local village church was broadcast live on YouTube as befits a man committed to hi-tech and with many friends around the country who wanted to say farewell.

Caroline Flynn-Macleod, founding Partner at Terrington Management LLP, adds:

Geoffrey Pattie was one of what was termed the "Gang of Four" – early supporters of Margaret Thatcher and who, when she was Leader of the Opposition, helped prepare her for PMQs. Having twice fought Labour-held Barking, Geoffrey was elected in Chertsey and Walton in 1974 with a majority of 11,963 holding the seat until his retirement from Parliament in 1997.

When Thatcher won the 1979 election, Geoffrey was appointed the Minister for the RAF. He was the one member of the team at the Ministry of Defence who was delighted to be there, given his deep personal interest in the subject. In 1976 he published a party pamphlet, *Towards a New Defence Policy*, advocating a "really fundamental look" at everything including the structure of Britain's membership of Nato.

He stayed five years championing a "two-way street" in defence procurement with the US, oversaw the UK's involvement with Airbus and was ahead of his time in his support for space research. When Thatcher decided to end the practice of single service ministers, Geoffrey was kept in the MOD and appointed the first Defence Procurement Minister.

In 1984 he was moved sideways to the Department for Trade and Industry as Aerospace Minister under Norman Tebbit, where he continued to advocate for the use of new technologies and persuaded Thatcher to take a £150 million stake in the International Space Station via the European Space Agency. His wisdom and experience of defence and procurement matters was sought by many in the long years of opposition until 2005.

His public service and business life continued as a backbench MP until 1997. He was Vice-Chairman (International) of the Conservative party. He was closely involved with and supported the emergence of democratic government in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989. In business, he was joint chairman of GEC- Marconi and marketing and communications director of GEC. He was a member of the General Synod of the Church of England. He co-founded Terrington Management LLP, a Westminster based defence and security consultancy and continued actively in business until the age of 80.

Called up for National Service he joined the Queen Victoria Rifles (KRRC) and on leaving Parliament became Honorary Colonel of 4 RGJ from January 1996 to 1999 and then served as Deputy Colonel Commandant The Royal Green Jackets from 1999–2007.

Geoffrey Pattie studied Law at St. Catharine's College Cambridge where he joined the Footlights. He once said "failed actors become politicians". He was called to the Bar, Gray's Inn in 1964. On leaving university he joined Collett Dickenson Pearce; in five years he became joint managing director, and stayed until becoming a minister.

Outside politics Geoffrey's passions were Middlesbrough FC and cricket and he played in both Parliamentary teams. He was married with one son and a daughter who predeceased him.

JOHN PRESCOTT

13 March 1938 – 20 November 2024

Labour MP for Kingston Upon Hull East, 1970-2010,
and Deputy Prime Minister, 1997-2007*By Richard Caborn*

JP was a good friend and comrade for nigh on 50 years. He served Kingston upon Hull East for 40 years, was a radical and progressive thinker and, when the opportunity came to deliver, he did just that. John would admit that he was not one of the best performing parliamentarians, but he was one of the best at

showing how to use Parliament to positively affect millions of working people's lives.

In a very short time after becoming Deputy PM, he and US Vice President Al Gore delivered the first climate change treaty - the Kyoto Declaration. At the same time, in his Department of Environment Transport and Regions, he delivered the greatest increase in affordable housing for decades. He fulfilled a promise he made that a Labour Government would help coal mining families rebuild their communities by setting up the Coalfields Communities Trust. He also commissioned the Marchioness public inquiry in response to justified demands of the families affected. He delivered real power and resources to the English regions through the Regional Development Agencies.

John came from a strong Trade Union and Labour background; he was a conviction politician. With few exceptions, he saw members on the other side of the House as the class enemy. The two red lines down the chamber of the House was not just two sword lengths to JP, but the divide between us and them.

One possible exception was Micheal Heseltine, a one nation Tory, whom he respected and agreed on issues like closing the north side divide. But when, as Sports Minister, I asked him to transfer the leadership of our Olympic bid to Seb Coe, JP's blunt reaction was "what a bloody Tory!" He did admit later it was possibly the right decision.

The pivotal role JP had played in the collective leadership of the Labour Government was a significant factor in its remarkable success. He saw his role as Deputy Leader of the Labour Party as a touch stone, the voice of the grass roots members, the voice of ordinary hardworking people. John was a great organiser and ceaseless campaigner. He believed that his responsibility was to communicate party members' concerns to the very heart of Labour's collective leadership of Blair, Brown and Prescott. He did that even when it was not the message the others wanted to hear. Hear it they did, and with respect, because John had the reputation of speaking the truth, summed up by a good friend "you might not like what he says but you believe him." That's the hallmark of integrity, an important attribute of any politician.

John was his own man. He didn't hunt with the pack, he thought out of the box and was driven with strong political beliefs and principles, appreciated and supported by his family and friends. He might be remembered for his two Jags but social change and justice are JP's lasting legacies.

TERRY DAVIS

5 January 1938 – 9 December 2024

Labour MP for Bromsgrove, 1971-74; Stechford 1974-83;
and Birmingham Hodge Hill, 1983-2004*By Richard Burden*

However long ago any of us served as Members of Parliament, I reckon all of us remember our first days in the House crystal clearly: an experience that for many of us brought back childhood memories of our first days at a new school.

You remember the guidance you got from

older hands who took you under their wing. For me, my fellow Birmingham MP, Terry Davis, was one of those.

He was the first person to show me around the House when I was wondering if I would ever get the hang of the bizarre geography of the place. As well as giving me hints about how to orient myself, he also demonstrated how he did the Line of Route for constituents. I shamelessly plagiarised his patter when my own constituents visited from that day on!

After a successful business career in companies like Esso, Clarks Shoes and Chrysler Parts, Terry Davis won the normally Tory stronghold of Bromsgrove in a by election in 1971. Bromsgrove reverted to type in 1974 but Terry returned to Parliament as MP for Birmingham Stechford in 1979, serving there and its successor - Birmingham Hodge Hill – for the next quarter century.

In 2004, Terry left Parliament having been elected as Secretary General of the Council of Europe, a position he held until 2009. Frank Schwabe, President of the Group of Socialists, Democrats and Greens on the Council's Parliamentary Assembly has described him as "a passionate defender of human rights, social justice and equality" who served the Council with "commitment, bravery and determination".

Those were also the qualities Terry also brought to the way he approached his role as a constituency MP. To say he took no prisoners when doing what he thought was right for his constituents would be putting it mildly. His tenacity was his trademark – as evidenced by one of his early election slogans which said "Vote Terry Davis. He'll get it done."

Terry began his life in Stourbridge in the West Midlands. In 1962 he graduated from University College London, before going on to gain an MBA from the University of Michigan's Ross School of Business.

In recent years, he returned to his childhood hometown with his wife, Anne. By then he was long retired from his positions in both. By then he was long retired from his positions in both Parliament and the Council of Europe. But his work was not done. He immediately became active in politics locally, taking on the roles of both Secretary and Vice-Chair of Pedmore and East Stourbridge branch Labour Party.

Terry Davis was not someone who gave up. Ever.

He is survived by Anne, daughter Katherine, son John, and grandsons Joe and Adam.

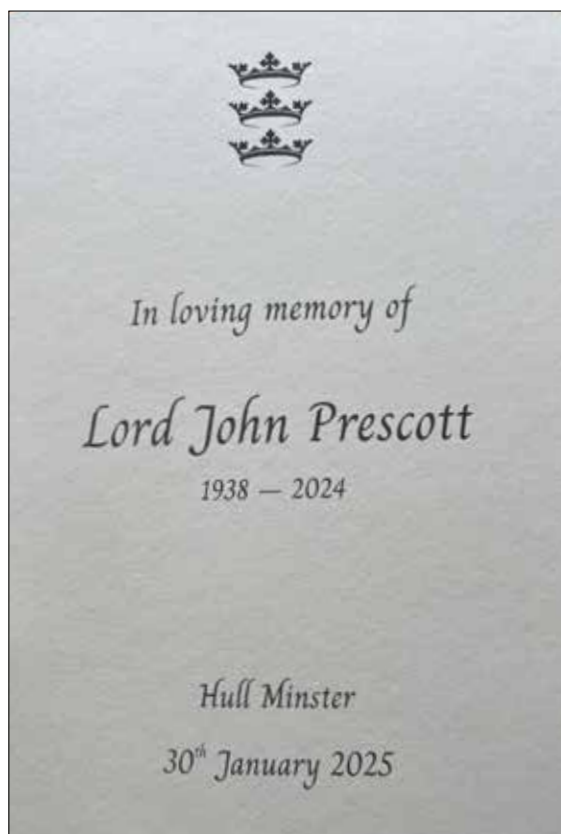
TRIBUTES

MY COMPLICATED FRIEND

By Sir Tony Blair



This is the text of the address by Sir Tony Blair at the memorial service held in Hull Minster on 30th January for Lord (John) Prescott, who died on 20th November.



Some lives exude a dull grey and the challenge is to fill a canvas; and some are so bursting in colour that the challenge is to contain them in a single portrait. No one ever described John as dull or grey.

John was a complicated man, wrestling frequently with the tangle of ambition and altruism, which motivates political animals. To be sure he possessed deep principles, but he was also determined to make his mark.

Self-doubt – which regularly overflowed in John – usually induces a retreat from struggle, but in John the opposite was the case: it was the spur which drove him to seek the struggle, to pull himself up from disadvantage, to aspire to the pinnacle of success, doubting all the while he was truly good enough to be there, but then proving that he was.

A brilliant legacy

His achievements were extraordinary. He was essential in designing the major constitutional reforms of our government – the Scottish Parliament, the Welsh Assembly, the first elected Mayor of London and the elimination of most of the hereditary peers of the House of Lords. He pioneered the idea of an integrated transport system. He championed inner city regeneration.

Throw him a problem and he would provide a solution. And I threw him a few. You may have forgotten the Dome! But today's generation rejoices in the O2 centre, probably the finest entertainment venue in Europe. John's doing.

And above all, he was a distinguished architect of the Kyoto Treaty on climate change – the first such agreement, and one which, without John - it is no exaggeration to say - would not have been secured.

All of these constitute a brilliant legacy.

Interpreting John

But the colour in the portrait, what places the affection alongside the admiration, is John the character.

There is not one of us who thinks of John without a smile.

John would be the first to say that he and conventional English grammar had an uneasy relationship - because he communicated not only with words but with body and soul.

Some years back, I met the lady who had interpreted for John during his visits to European councils. She gazed wistfully into the distance: 'John Prescott was my greatest professional challenge. I have my pride. This man was defeating me. Until I had an inspiration. Suppose I interpreted not what he said but what he meant. After that it was easy!'

There was never any doubt about John's meaning.

Where's Menzies?

In the early days of the Government I was negotiating, I thought quite discreetly, with Paddy Ashdown and Ming Campbell about the possibility of Lab-Lib cooperation. I was sat working at the Cabinet table. The door opened without warning and in steamed John.

"Where is he?" he demanded accusingly.

One of John's disconcerting habits was starting a conversation in the middle, with no beginning preamble.

"Where's who?" I said.

"Don't give me that!" he barked. "You know who I mean. Menzies." He lifted up the green tablecloth on the table. "You can come out from under there."

Menzies? Then it dawned on me. "You mean Ming?"

"Oh aye Ming you call him," he said infusing the word with several decades worth of working class scorn. "Yes, him."

He moved back to the door. "I just want you to know," he said as he exited: "I'm not having it."



An educator

John was guardian of the Party's conscience; but it's important to remember he was also its educator.

Our relationship would never have worked had we been two peas but in different pods. John was loyal, a quality Prime Ministers value highly.

But when the 'New' part of 'New Labour' had to do difficult reforms, John would insist on being part of the debate - not to obstruct, but to understand. And where persuaded would then be persuasive. He had the most refined and intelligent intuition about what Labour must do to sustain itself in power.

The Conservative Party exists, traditionally at least, to wield power; and finds nothing inherently unprincipled about it.

Like most progressive movements – the Labour Party and power are uncomfortable in each other's company. In its rational moments, which too often are preceded by a prolonged period of opposition, the Party knows it needs power to fulfil its purpose.

But it distrusts power, finds it desirable but dangerous to its self-worth, will advocate change but be curiously conservative in driving it or accepting the pain, the compromise, the trade-offs, which are its natural accompaniment.

This is the contradiction which John was instrumental in resolving, and in doing so, created the conditions by which that Government governed more than twice as long as any Labour Government before it.

John had the brain to make an argument and the personality to make it appealing.

'The Punch'

That personality will forever be memorialised by 'The Punch'! The 2001 election is trundling uneventfully towards the finishing line. Then one afternoon I get a call from Alastair. "John has just thumped a voter."

"Oh?" I say. "Hard?"

"Well, he laid him out – so, yes."

"Oh!" I say.

Anyway, cue pandemonium in the media and Party HQ. The general view amongst the campaign advisers is that it's not good for the Deputy Prime Minister to whack a voter. Even if provoked. I agree, not with enthusiasm, to call John and ask him to say sorry.

"John," I begin, and I blather on for a few minutes. John interrupts me. "Cut the crap," he says. "You want me to apologise, don't you?"

"Well yes, John - thank you for understanding."

"The answer's no. I am not bloody well apologising and that's the end of it!"

I watch the film of the punch again trying to feel outrage and instead find myself cheering him on.

That settled it. At the next morning's press conference, I decided on a line of which to this day I am inordinately proud. The media was on fire and the first question came breathlessly demanding what I had to say about the incident.

John was John

We loved John because he was John. Unique. Irrepressible. Irresistible.

And very human.

John would not tolerate a hagiography. He wasn't a saint, and we would have loved him less if he had been. He could be obstinate, hot-tempered, hypersensitive to his own amour propre - but somehow, his passion for the cause would extinguish any obstinacy, his generosity of spirit would cool the temper and his awareness of his own fragility soften the effects of any heightened sensitivity.

His troubles and his epic efforts to overcome them and master them made his humanity real.

I once said to him – "John, I wish you liked yourself as much as I like you."

It is right we celebrate his life's work. He played a huge part in the affairs of Government.

But I want to celebrate him also as a man. A good man. A man who started as my political partner and became my personal friend.

To Pauline his life partner, you were his rock and the waves no matter how fierce never overcame you. You are an amazing person in your own right and he knew how fortunate he was to have you at his side. And to David and Johnathan, he always spoke so proudly of you both. And with good reason. You supported him, sustained him and helped him through those last difficult years with love.

You will miss him. We will miss him.

But I hope – if John's looking down on us and not already in deep negotiation with St Peter over the accommodation – he will see in this vast gathering today a recognition of how the working-class boy from a small Welsh town rose to the highest ranks in the land, by merit, by graft, by greatness of courage and character and feel deservedly at peace.

A HISTORY OF BRITAIN'S PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES

by JACQUES ARNOLD



PATRICIA ARNOLD

243 London Road West
Malling Kent, ME19 5AD

Tel 01732 848388 e-mail:
constituencyhistory
@uwclub.net

A HISTORY OF BRITAIN'S PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES

This publication covers every constituency in the country, and is produced by Association member, Jacques Arnold.

First published in 1975, it is an immense work. The book is published in a multiplicity of volumes, for individual counties, cities and boroughs. The book is stocked by many public, academic and journalistic libraries, and has also been sold to Members of Parliament, candidates, political journalists, local studies centres and other political enthusiasts.

Volumes are available to Association members at a 50% discount.

The details of the publication are given below. The volumes are produced to order, updated to that moment, and orders for volumes may be sent to the address alongside Sales to individuals must be settled by either sending a cheque (made payable to P.ARNOLD) or by credit card. Purchases may also be made through our website (to obtain discount, use code XMP when asked): www.theroyalhousesofeurope.co.uk

This publication contains detailed descriptions of our present-day constituencies:

The geographical make-up of the constituencies, with details of the Boroughs they cover and the neighbourhoods they include.

- A description of the history of the constituency boundaries, running through successive boundary redistributions, with details of preceding seats running back to the 1832 Reform Act.
- Brief notes on the current M.P., and his or her parliamentary career and Government offices held.
- A political history of the constituency, and its predecessors, stretching back to 1885, with details of interesting results, and of all former Members for the seat.

- Detailed results since the 1918 general election, including by-elections up to the present day.
- Footnotes of M.P.s' and candidates' service as members for other constituencies, for the same seat before 1918, and as subsequent members of the House of Lords.
- A general summary on each constituency. This latest edition includes the results of the last general election, has been further expanded and now provides a thumbnail summary on each constituency. The publication has been fully revised and expanded to include all results back to the 1918 general election, and the details of the current constituencies based upon the redistribution introduced with the 2024 general election.

NEW 2024 EDITION © P. Arnold, ISBN 978-1-9163481-5-8

ASSOCIATION CONTACT DETAILS

Laura Blake, blakelb@parliament.uk, Telephone 020 7219 8207 – Editor, *Order! Order!*, Andy McSmith, andy@andymcsmith.co.uk
Association of Former MPs, House of Commons, Room G13, 1 Parliament St, London SW1A 2NE